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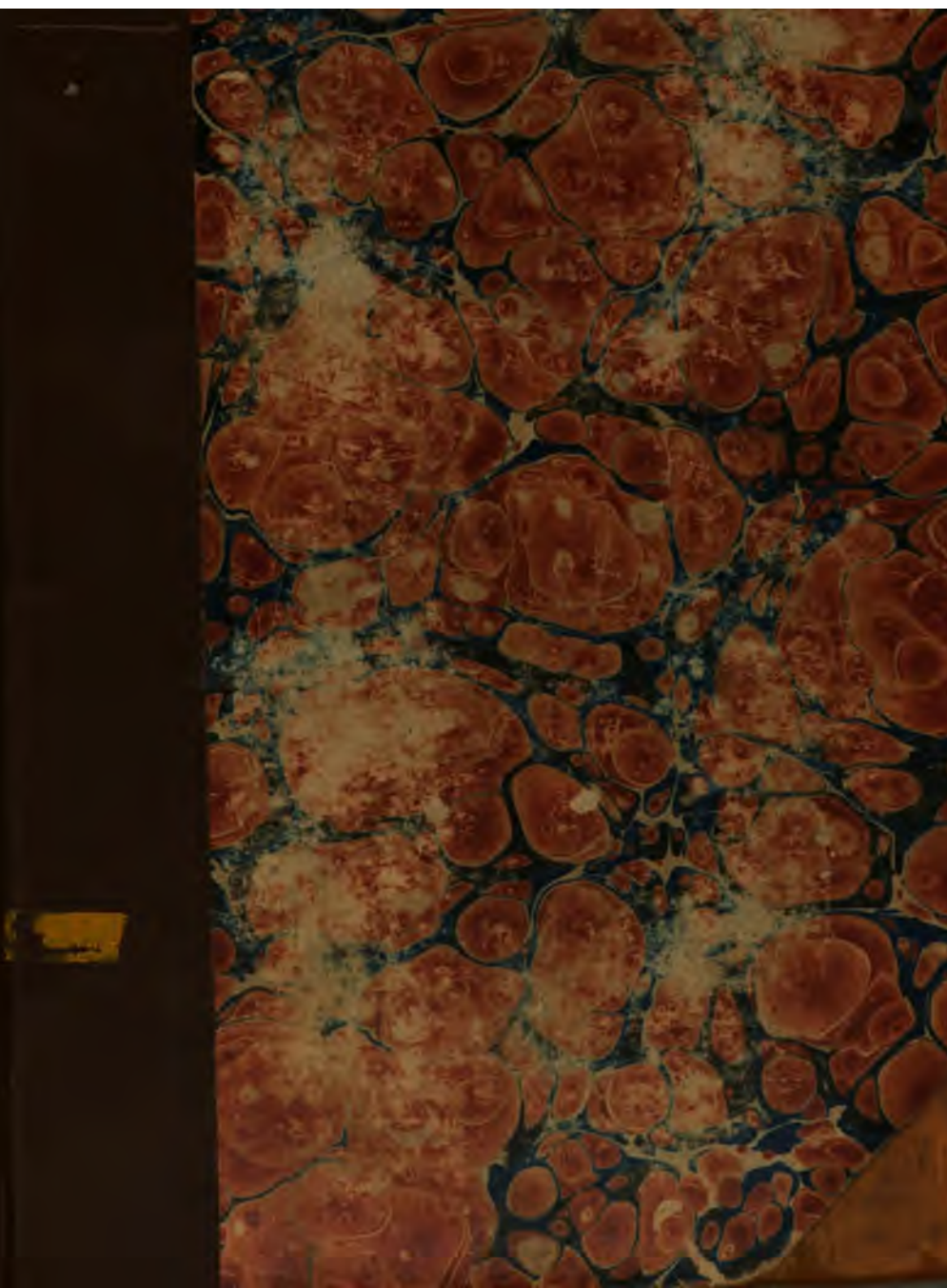
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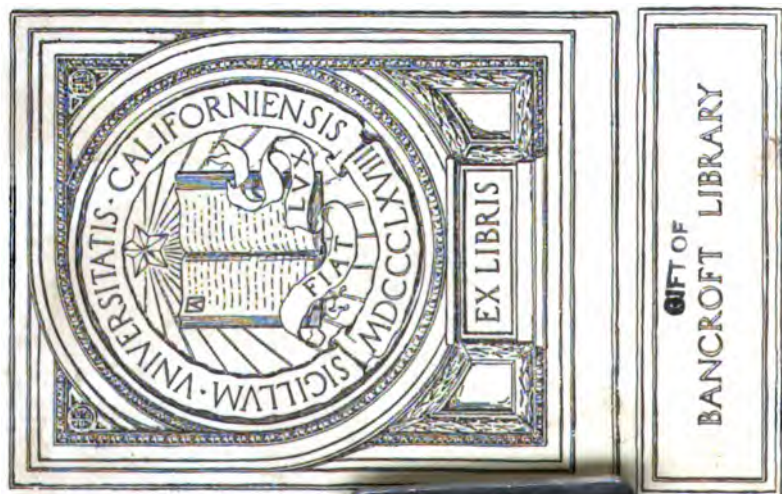
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COBBETT'S

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IRISH COURT-MARTIAL BILL.

Westminster, 3. April, 1833.

THIS bill was read a third time, and passed, last Friday night, 29. March. But it was not passed without a last effort to prevent its passing. When the motion was made for reading the bill a third time, Mr. CLAY, one of the members for the *Tower Hamlets*, made a speech against it; and declared his intention to oppose the passing of the bill; but having made no motion upon the subject, I thought it my duty to make one, which I did in the words, the very stinging words, which have been reported in all the newspapers, which ought to be upon record; but which, for reasons too numerous and too tedious to mention, I by no means think it necessary to insert in this *Register*. Before this agitating motion was made, we seemed to have got into too tranquil a state to suit me. I began to think that the thing was to end by a few complimentary words pronounced across the table; but I was extremely happy to perceive that my motion put an end to all compliments. The debate became one of the most lively that I had witnessed; and it ended with a speech from Mr. O'CONNELL, well worth all the time that we had taken in listening to others. It was the finest speech I ever heard in my life; and I really did wonder how it was possible for any man to hear that speech, and not feel indignant at the treatment which Ireland has received; and not being ready to suffocate with

rage against all professions of "*kindness and generosity*" coming from those who approve of this unheard-of and undreamed-of measure.

I had no desire to do anything more than to send this bill off marked with my last word of disapprobation. The bill had been modified in the committee: it had taken away some of the powers of the *courts-martial*: the committee had taken the crime of *libel* away from being tried by these *red-coat courts*: it had done several other things; but still it was too hateful to me to be suffered to pass without a last blow against it. My motion, which was, as I said before, a *stinger*, concluding with a proposition to read the bill a third time that day six months. I did not say a great deal; and what I did say was not very good-natured; and, therefore, I will insert no part of it here, being extremely unwilling to do anything calculated to sour the temper of my readers, or to make them discontented with his Majesty's amiable servants. At the end of this lively debate we came to a division, when there appeared

For the third reading.... 345

For my amendment 86.

I had set out with saying, that I did not care a straw whether anybody divided with me, except my honourable colleague, and I was, sure that he would. This was, however, the very thing upon which to put the House to the test with regard to this bill. All that had passed before might admit of *explanation*; but, we had now got it to be such as it would be, when it became a *law*, and, therefore, it was now necessary to ascertain *who those members were, who approved of a law like this*; and who were those who did not. The question was, who were the men that approved of *courts-martial instead of judges and juries*; and who were the men that disapproved of this. After this preface, I give the list of the minority of eighty-eight; dividing them

into English, Irish, Scotch, tellers, and
pairers-off.

Aglionby, H. A.—Cockermouth
Attwood, T.—Birmingham
Bayntun, S. A.—York
Bellew, R. M.—Louth County
Blandford, Marquis of—Woodstock
Brotherton, Josh.—Salford
Bulwer, E. L.—Lincoln
Bulwer, H. L.—Coventry
Clay, W.—Tower Hamlets
Cobbett, W.—Oldham
Ewart, W.—Liverpool
Faithful, George—Brighton
Fancourt, Major—Barnstaple
Fielden, John—Oldham
Fryer, Richd.—Wolverhampton
Gaskell, Daniel—Wakefield
Grote, George—London
Gully, John—Pontefract
Halford, H. S.—Leicester County
Hall, Benjamin—Monmouth
Handley, Benjamin—Boston
Hawkins, J. H.—Newport
Humphery, John—Southwark
Hutt, William—Hull
Ingilby, Sir W. Bt.—E. Lincoln County
Langton, Col. G.—E. Somerset County
Molesworth, Sir W., Bt.—East Cornwall
Palmer, General—Bath
Parcott, Jasper—Totness
Phillips, Mark—Manchester
Richards, John—Knaresborough
Roebuck, J. A.—Bath
Romilly John—Bridport
Romilly, Edward—Ludlow
Scholefield, J.—Birmingham
Stormont, Viscount—Norwich
Strutt, Edward—Derby
Tennyson, Right Honourable C.—
Lambeth
Torrens, Col. R.—Bolton
Turner, William—Blackburn
Tynte, C. J. Kemys—West Somerset
County
Wigney, Isaac N.—Brighton
Wilks, John—Boston
Williams, Col. Geo.—Ashton
Warburton, H.—Bridport

IRISH.

Baldwin, D. H.—Cork
Barron, W.—Waterford
Barry, G. S.—Cork County

Butler, Hon.-P.—Kilkenny County
Chapman, M. L.—Westmeath County
Daly, James—Galway
Dan O'Connor—Roscommon County
Finn, W. F.—Kilkenny
Fitzgerald, Thos.—Louth County
Fitzsimon, C.—Dublin County
Fitzsimon, N.—King's County
Galway, J. M.—Waterford County
Grattan, James—Wicklow County
Lalor, Patrick—Queen's County
Lynch, A. H.—Galway
MacLaughlin, L.—Galway
Macnamara, Major—Clare County
Martin, J.—Sligo
Nagle, Sir R. Bart. — Westmeath
County
O'Brien, C.—Clare County
O'Connell, Daniel—Dublin
O'Connell, Maurice—Tralee
O'Connell, Charles—Kerry County
O'Connell, John—Youghall
O'Connell, Morgan—Meath County
O'Connor, Fergus—Cork County
O'Dwyer, A. C.—Drogheda
O'Reilly, William—Dundalk
Perrin, Louis—Monaghan County
Roche, William—Limerick
Roche, David—Limerick
Ruthven, E. S. Dublin
Ruthven, Edward—Kildare County
Sheil, R. L.—Tipperary County
Sullivan, Richard—Kilkenny
Talbot, J. H.—New Ross
Vigors, N. A.—Carlow
Walker, C. A.—Wexford

SCOTCH.

Gillon, W. D.—Selkirk, &c.
Oswald, R. A.—Ayr County
Oswald, James—Glasgow
Wallace, Robert—Greenock

Tellers.

Hume, Joseph—Middlesex
Grattan, Henry—Meath County.

Pairers-off.

Bowes, John—South Durham
Cornish, James—Totness
French, Fitzstephen—Roscommon Co
Wood, Alderman—London

Now, the reader will perceive, that there were four hundred and thirty three members present: the list of the majority will scarcely be published

but, the rule of the Gospel ought to be the rule here: namely, "*Those that are not for us are against us.*" It is the duty of every member to be in his place upon such an occasion: the question was, whether a precedent should be established for trying the King's subjects by *red coats* instead of by judges and juries. Upon such a question a man must be clearly for one or for the other; and, therefore, unless in case of illness *proved*, or leave of absence *obtained*, the people have a clear right to conclude, that every member of the House who was not in this minority of eighty-eight, was on the side of the red-coat courts of justice. This is the light in which to view the matter. Here were no hairs to split. We all clearly understood what we were about: and the people will clearly see what we did upon this occasion. The citizens of London, for instance, will see, that two of their members were against the red-coat affair; and they will also see, that two of their members did not vote against the red-coat affair. I believe the list of the minority to be perfectly correct. Plenty of time has been given between the taking of it and the publishing of it. We all gave our names upon slips of paper, to one of our body who stood at the door as we returned into the House; so that there cannot very well be an error; but if there should be, I shall be extremely happy to correct it in the *Register*. It should be observed, that the four members who paired off, are not included in the eighty-eight; so that there were ninety-two members of the House against a law, which is to substitute military men for judges and jurors. This is the first public act, worthy of any attention, of this "*reformed Parliament*" and this "*reforming*" Ministry. It reads an awful admonition to the people of this kingdom, who will do well to reflect seriously upon it, and to prepare themselves for changes and events, of which it must be deemed to be the inevitable forerunner. It is impossible for any man precisely to foresee that which will take place before the close of the terri-

ble drama now acting in this kingdom; but every man may be preparing for very awful changes and events, and making provision beforehand, as far as he is able, so that he and his family may not, at any moment, be left destitute of bread. There is no telling what is to be proposed to us next, and no guessing at what the Parliament will do; but every man of information must see, that the elements of a great struggle are all gathering themselves together; and such men will not be deceived by outward appearances, and particularly by the *majorities* which the Ministers have had at their back. To outward appearance, in this scene of dissipation and squandering, all is prosperity, all is solidity, all is durability. So it was the very day that Noah entered into the ark: so it was in France, only one month before the country mansions were in flames, and the noblesse either killed, or driven to seek safety in foreign lands. I shall not continue this subject any further at present; but, certain I am, *that one of two things must take place: the taxing system must give way; or there must be a government of sheer force.* We see not the smallest disposition to give up one single farthing's worth of taxes: on the contrary, we see, that the taxes are actually augmented by a mode of collection more severe than any that ever was before resorted to; and, for my part, I do not perceive any apparent intention in any considerable number of persons in Parliament, to compel a reduction to be made in any department whatsoever. They talk of the necessity of taking off taxes, but oppose every effort to prevent the granting of supplies; and the Ministers lull themselves in the hope of being able to carry the thing along in just the same manner in which it has been carried on and brought to the present dreadful state. In this state of things all that I, as the author of this *Register*, can do, is to warn my readers of their danger. Paper-money is nothing of so ticklish a nature, that it may be annihilated in an hour: it is, in fact, mere wind: it wholly depends upon



public opinion, or rather, upon public delusion. An exposure of its intrinsic worthlessness, and a dissipation of all the errors entertained regarding it, must and will take place before the end of this session of Parliament: all the notions of all the wild projectors will be blown into air; and that Bank of England, which has been a successful bubble for a hundred and twenty years and more, will be laid as bare before the eyes of the people, as any piece of timber lying by the way-side. Hitherto, there seems to have been a sort of tacit convention amongst the members of Parliament, not to say or to do anything tending to dissipate the delusion which has been entertained with regard to this bank. In this respect the reform of the Parliament will have produced a great change. There are men put into the House of Commons by this reform, *who will be parties to no such tacit convention*. Men who think, and, indeed, who know, that paper-money is an evil and a curse; and from these men the people will learn to what degree they are in danger, and what measures they ought to take to provide against that danger. Precisely how many months or weeks, *assignats* might last, it would, perhaps, be difficult to say. I cannot positively say, that *assignats* will be tried; but I can positively say, that the present system cannot go on for any length of time. If the *assignats* come, then the affair will assume a *decisive character*; and every one will feel, in some sort *instinctively*, that the END is at hand; just as you see cattle and fowls, and particularly the latter, come and bustle about, and begin to get away to their shelter, long before we two-legged animals without feathers can hear anything of the thunder that is coming, or see anything of the lightning. When that time comes (and I think it is likely to come about next November), the Ministers will have something else to think about than Coercion Bills for Ireland; and about keeping in force stamp and auction taxes. In short, in six months after the storm shall come, even we, who

have been actors in the scene, shall hardly be able to bring ourselves to believe in the reality of what we have beheld. I remember, that I had, for several years, a French Count, who bound books for me, in *Dean-street, Soho*; and a very good bookbinder, and a very pleasant man, he was; and I wish, with all my heart, that I could say as much of all other *Counts*. I and my readers may laugh at this; but it is no laughing matter for *some other folks* that I could name. This was the Count DE CAUMONT, who had been fool enough to make a stand for the *Roi* and the *Lettres de Cachet* in 1788; and who, for that reason, had been pursued by the country people and driven out of France. His wife and daughter had the good sense to mount the tri-colour cockade, and to repudiate the count: and being "*de bonnes Sansculottes*," were suffered to remain and keep the Count's estate; so that, when Louis went back, the Count found himself upon clover. There is nothing like women for looking after the main chance; and, if you observe, they never look upon *bank-notes* as money. Ah, my God! how happy would it have been for England, if it had been governed by the wives and daughters of ministers instead of the husbands and sons!

Some very important matter was brought before the House of Commons on Friday, the 2. of April, by my hon. colleague, Mr. FIELDEN; whose speech upon the occasion has been reported in the newspapers, but so very imperfectly, that I must take care to give the true account here. The subject is, beyond all measure, the most important that has been brought before the House; and it is but justice to the House to say, that it appears to have made a very great impression upon it. He was heard but very imperfectly in the gallery, which arose, in a great measure, from those feelings, which, at times, almost stifled his voice altogether. He was born and bred amongst these

poor people; he is personally well acquainted with their sufferings; and in spite of his efforts to overcome them, his feelings overpowered him very frequently during the recital, than which nothing more heart-rending ever found its way to the ears of mortal man! And, it is from these meritorious and suffering persons, is it, that we take their earnings, to keep up *Museums* for the pleasure of loungers, and to supply pensioners and sinecure people with gilded chariots to ride in! Blood mingled with tears cry from the earth, and say, that this cannot go on.

Mr. FIELDEN presented a petition from Hebden-bridge and its vicinity, praying for the repeal of the Septennial Act, for the liberty of the press, and the adoption of the ballot; also, a petition from Wingham, in Kent, praying for a House of Commons more suitable to the dignity of the assembly and the important business that is transacted there; and this he (Mr. F.) recommended to be referred to the committee now sitting on that subject. The hon. Member then presented three petitions, coming from the township of Todmorden and Walsden, praying for the repeal of the stamp-duties on newspapers; the repeal of the duties on malt, hops, and soap; the repeal of the Septennial Act, and the adoption of the ballot; also, a petition from Padiham, Lancashire, complaining of distress, and stating that the township contains a population of 3,529 persons, and that 246 families, or altogether 1,381 persons, had been visited in January last; that all of these, capable of work, excepting four, were in full employment; that their average income in wages only amounted to *one shilling and ninepence and three-eighths of a penny* a head per week; that the rent, fuel, light, and repairs of the implements on which they work, amounted to *sixpence and one-eighth of a penny* per head per week, leaving these poor persons only *one shilling and threepence and one eighth* per head per week for food and clothing. The hon. Member stated, that this was one of those townships of Lancashire where

hand-loom weaving formed a principal branch of the employment of the poor, and was one of those comprised in the survey of thirty-five townships, of which he (Mr. F.) had circulated the result, and should take an opportunity of placing a copy in the hands of every hon. Member of the House to-morrow morning. The petitioners stated further, that the whole sum received by these poor persons in poor-rate, amounted to no more than ten pounds eight shillings and twopennee halfpenny a week. The petition was most respectably signed, having the names of the clergyman of the established church of the place, of the churchwardens and overseers, and most of the respectable persons in the township, affixed to it. Mr. Fielden presented another, from Blachinworth and Calderbrook, complaining of similar distress; and the hon. Member stated, that a great proportion of the poor persons in this township were in the employ of himself and his partners; and the allegations contained in the petitions he of his own knowledge knew to be true. The income, for food and clothing, which the families visited in this township received for each person for one week, was only *one shilling and sixpence*, that is, for food and clothing; and the poor-rate distributed amongst them amounts to only one pound seven shillings and fivepence; that out of 1,011 persons visited in this township, there were only three out of employ who were capable of working, the others being in full work. The hon. Member here observed, that several hon. Members had at divers times expressed doubts as to the truth of the extent of the distress which he had represented to the House. He regretted exceedingly that such doubts should be entertained, because it was calculated to prevent inquiry, and to delay, if not defeat, a remedy for this distress. What had been stated by him was either true or false; and if hon. Members residing in the neighbourhood where this distress was represented to exist, would take the pains to inform themselves on the subject, as he (Mr. F.) had done, he was satisfied they would arrive at the same

conclusions. The hon. Member then presented petitions from Langfield, Marsden, and Barrowford, complaining of similar distress; also one from the forest of Rossendale, embracing eight townships enumerated in the survey to which he had before alluded, and one petition from the township of Haslingden, all complaining of the same distress. Upon these the hon. Member remarked that the inhabitants of these townships are engaged in the manufacture of silk, of cotton, and of woollen; the petitions were most numerous and respectably signed, having the names of all, or nearly all, the ministers of the established church in the several townships, the churchwardens and overseers, many respectable professional men, and many of the most respectable manufacturers and tradesmen in the district from which they came, and he could assure the House that the petitioners were labouring under the severest distress. To show the wretchedness of these poor people, nearly altogether in full employ (a fact which should not be forgotten, and which was the worst feature in the case, because it was not want of employment, but want of adequate wages for that employment), he could not refrain from reading a letter which he had received from a respectable dissenting minister, though in humble life, in which is described the privation and suffering under which they labour. [The letter was as follows]:

"The distress we have witnessed in taking this survey is almost inexpressible. Had I not been an eye-witness of the state of the labouring poor therein contained, I should not have credited their wretched and miserable condition. In some families of six, seven, or eight in number, we find only one bed, and a lap or two of straw. The mistress of one family in particular, of seven in number, said they had only one blanket, and that nearly worn out, and nothing for the cradle, except an old cloak; the clothing of a large number of them is not worth more than six or eight shillings, and one or two years' rent behind; the nauseous smells

"and the miserable aspect of some of the inhabitants are truly distressing, and many there are that say they have not the means of procuring soap either to cleanse themselves, or what should be their linen. We are conscious that we have not under-rated their income, nor exceeded their number.

(Signed) "EDWARD ASHWORTH.

"P.S.—Potatoes to dinner—half a pound of mutton fat served five meals for five in a family, thin oatmeal porridge for breakfast and supper—bedding and clothing miserable—little children in the cradle, only straw to lie on, and covered with a cotton fent."

The hon. Member digressed for a minute to explain that this "cotton fent" is the remnant of the web, at the end of every warp, which is about a yard in length, and is the customary perquisite of the weaver: it is, in short, a yard of cotton calico. Mr. Fielden next presented a petition from Castleton, the town of Rochdale being partly situated in this township, and the manufacture there is flannel, woollens, and cotton, but principally the two former, complaining of similar distress, and stating that the earnings of the working people only amounted, after the reduction necessarily incurred, to one shilling and a penny and seven-eighths of a penny per week for each individual of the families visited, for food and clothing; that, of 2,427 persons visited, there were only 77 persons capable of work who were out of employ. The others were in full employ. The hon. Member here remarked that he was glad to see the hon. Member for Rochdale (Mr. Fenton) in his place, and he would hand over the petition to him, in order that he might bear testimony to the respectability of those who had signed it, there being the names of many of his best friends attached to it. The hon. Member then presented petitions from Spotland, Wardleworth, and Wuerdle and Wardle, all situate in and near Rochdale, complaining of similar distress; and he went on to state that it was worthy of observation that the work in which

these poor people were engaged was of a description which had not much competition from power-loom, and, therefore, the argument that power-loom caused the distress could not bear upon this subject, and was, indeed, here shown to be untrue. Mr. Fielden presented another petition from the township of Blackburn, signed by seven persons who had made the survey before alluded to, which stated that the township contained a population of 27,091 persons; that 1,738 families, containing in all 9,772 persons, had been visited by the petitioners; that there were only 452 persons capable of working but what were in full employment; that the total weekly wages of the families visited amounted to 828*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* a week, being an average of one shilling and eightpence and three-eighths of a penny for each person: that the average rent for each person amounted to three pence and five-eighths of a penny per week, and fuel, light, and other indispensable outgoings were threepence-halfpenny per week; these two last items being sevenpence and one-eighth, which, being deducted from one shilling and eightpence and three-eighths (gross income), left only one shilling and a penny farthing for food and clothing for each individual for one week, in the 9,772 persons in the families visited by the petitioners; that the parish relief received amongst the families visited amounted to no more than 24*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* per week, upon which the hon. Member observed that he had received a letter from a most respectable professional man in the town of Blackburn, stating that the petitioners, who had made this survey, were men of respectability in their situations of life, and that he believed that the examinations had been carefully made, and were as correct as it was possible to get up such returns. Mr. Fielden regretted that any attempt to discredit these statements should have been made, for he believed them to be substantially true. He had taken great pains to inform himself on this subject, both amongst those he himself employed and others in similar employments. In giving directions for these surveys, he

had desired the parties to visit those families only whose average income from wages for the whole of the family did not exceed two shillings and sixpence a head a week, and this had been in most instances observed, but in some cases departed from; and there was one which now came to his mind that he could not help adverting to, that was the township of Trawden near Pendle-hill, in Lancashire, where the visitors had given the result of the survey of almost all the families in the township. The population is 2,851, and there were 2,460 persons, six-sevenths of the whole number in the township, whose average income per head a week, applicable for food and clothing, did not amount to more than twopence-halfpenny per head a day, and that the whole of the families visited were in full employment. It was lamentable to him (the hon. Member) to have to detail an account of such distress; he knew how painful it was to hon. Members to hear such statements repeated in the House, but, believing them, as he sincerely did, to be true accounts, the subject appeared to him to be so important and so worthy of the serious attention of the legislature, that if he did not make these representations, however unpalatable, he should be guilty of the grossest dereliction of duty. He would only observe, in passing, that he had laboured, for many years, to prevent this reduction in the value of labour, but without success; he and others had petitioned this House over and over again. In 1829, he and a number of other manufacturers, had, through the medium of Lord Stanley, sent a memorial to Mr. Secretary Peel, detailing the distress which had been then of many years standing, but instead of receiving relief, soldiers, with their accompaniments, were sent down, and consumed the food which was so much wanted for these poor people! This distress, had been, by some, denied, and the argument used was, that the hands employed in mills were better paid for their labour. But this was no answer to rebut the fact of this distress amongst these poor persons. It was true that

those families employed in mills did receive better wages, but it should not be lost sight of that for one person employed in mills, he (Mr. Fielden) believed that there were three, at least, employed in this other description of work, which was so inadequately paid for; and the operation was this, that the price for labour in mills was being fast reduced to the wages received by those out of the mills. He and his partners had innumerable applications from persons working for masters who paid less than themselves for mill-hands, not because they were out of work, but with a desire to get into better employment. Indeed two or three hours a day were frequently taken up by one or other of his partners in giving answers to such applicants. In one mill, near to the works of himself and partners, the proprietors got a certain description of work done at five shillings, for which he and his partners paid seven, at least, and the effect would be that they would be compelled (as they had already been in hand-loom weaving) to adopt the prices of those who paid so much less than themselves, or otherwise abandon their business; for it was impossible to contend successfully against such competitors, and thus the wages of mill-hands would be brought to a level with the labour performed in the cottages of the poor, instead of the wages of the latter being advanced to the wages paid in mills. The petitioners all stated, that the value of their labour had been reduced, as measured in the necessities of life, more than one half since the close of the war, and they all prayed for a reduction of the necessities of life to the altered value of their wages. He had now presented those petitions which had already come into his possession, of about twenty townships comprised in the result of the survey which he had promised to put into the hands of hon. Members to-morrow morning, and he would now read to the House the result of that survey:—"That in thirty-five townships, the population is 203,349. The families visited are 8,362. The persons in these families, 49,294, being nearly one-fourth of the whole. The num-

ber out of work in the families visited, is 2,287. The number unfit for work in the same, is 23,060. The number of workers is 23,947. The total weekly wages which the families visited earn, are 4,447*l.* 18*s.* This sum will give for each of those who work, a weekly average of 3*s.* 8*d.*; and for each of the whole number of persons visited, a weekly average of 1*s.* 9*d.* The rent paid by the families visited is, per annum, 32,693*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* This sum gives an average of 3*d.* a week for each individual in the families visited. Fuel, light, and wear of implements, will be an average for each individual of, at least, 3*d.* a week; and this, with the average rent of 3*d.* being deducted from 1*s.* 9*d.* the average income of each individual, leaves for food and clothing for each individual for a week, 1*s.* 3*d.* The whole parish relief given weekly to the families visited, is 139*l.* 7*s.*, or for each five-eighths of a penny. And the average income of each for a day, for food and clothing, from both wages and relief, is 2*d.*" Mr. Fielden next presented a petition from Thomas Vevers, Christopher Tinker, and George Beaumont, of Huddersfield, confirming the account of the distress in that neighbourhood which he (Mr. F.) had stated on a former evening to the House. The petitioners stated that, since the examination made in 1832, the wages for merinos, cassanetts, and woollen cords, had been reduced; that the suffering amongst the poor was extreme; that many hands were out of work, that the poor had to sleep upon straw, and to live upon potatoes and oatmeal and water, which they had aptly called "tremblers," being a composition of oatmeal and water boiled, and which is a little thicker than water-gruel, but not of a consistency to be called porridge; that some of them scarcely ever tasted animal food, now-and-then, however, obtaining an onion, which they considered a luxury. The statement of the distress at Huddersfield had been denied by the hon. Member for Huddersfield, who was reported to have said in his place in this House, that

there were very few persons in that neighbourhood who earned less than two shillings a day, and most of them earned three shillings a day. It no doubt was true, that those employed in mills in that district, were better paid than those employed at their own homes, but the number of the latter far exceeded that of the former, who might be distressed, to the extent described, while the former were better off. He therefore expressed his doubts as to the correctness of the information of the hon. Member for Huddersfield; for he had had the accounts which he (Mr. F.) had given of this distress corroborated by many other individuals, and by the result of a partial survey, taken in February last, by which it appears that there are 120 families, containing 621 persons, whose weekly income does not exceed fourteen-pence and seven-eighths of a penny per week, when the necessary expenses these families have to pay, are made, will reduce their income for food and clothing for each individual to *tenpence per week*, or less than *three halfpence* per day; and which went to confirm the allegations of the petitioners, as well as the statement of Mr. Stocks, on which he (Mr. F.) founded his account given to the House on an early evening in the present session, and which he would now read to the House. Mr. Stocks's statement was, that an examination had been made in 1829, and it showed that, out of a population of 29,000, there were 13,226 who had only an average of twopence-halfpenny a day for subsistence. The hon. Member then read what Mr. Stocks gave him in writing in January last, namely, "That the condition of the above population is worse at the present moment; and it is believed that the average at present would not exceed two-pence per day for all expenses; and that it is believed that 40,000 are in the above condition in the upper division of Aggbrig, containing 103,384 inhabitants." The hon. Member then said that these statements were appalling; they were either true or false; and it behoved the hon. Member for Huddersfield, and the Members for the West

Riding of Yorkshire, to make inquiry, and to satisfy themselves and this House, whether such distress did exist; and he hoped that during the recess, they would make particular inquiry on this subject; for it was one to which too much attention could not be given by hon. Members of this House. If the condition of the labouring poor, who should be the consumers of their own productions and the productions of others, could not be improved, it threatened a dissolution of society. He begged to apologize for the time that he had occupied the House, but what he had stated to them appeared to him to be so important, that he trusted he should be excused for having done so. In concluding he would read to the House the result of a visit to a number of families near Huddersfield, made by Captain Wood in March, 1832.

Seamenden township.

1. Benjamin Sykes—Family seven; weekly income 7s.; live upon potatoes and thin water-porridge; no bed-clothes; clothes worn out; and nearly naked; rent 36s.

2. James Clay—Family seven; in one room, $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards by 5; rent 34s.; all sleep in one bed; the room holds their loom also; income 6s. per week; never any bread or animal food.

3. Mary Sugden—Family of three; weekly income 1s. 9d.; sleep in corner of loom-room, on straw laid on the floor, without covering except the rag; they wore in the day-time; no furniture.

4. William Lamb—Family four, weekly income 5s.; live upon potatoes, and salt, and thin water porridge; no milk, cannot afford to pay for it; no bread nor meat; has wove 160 yards, and travelled 48 miles, for 16s. 4d.

5. Hannah Parkin, widow—Four children, (left with child, and now incapable of working); income 4s. 6d. per week; live on oatmeal porridge, without milk, or anything else; no furniture of any kind, except bedstead. When asked, replied "don't know how they live." The poor woman distracted, and children in great want; at present receiving 2s. per week from the parish.

6. James Bailey—Family seven; weekly income 5s.; live on a little oatmeal and water; all sleep in one bed; no blanket.

7. Joseph Sykes—Family of four; weekly income of 4s.; all in one bed and one blanket; almost starved to death at night.

8. James Dyson—Family four; weekly income 3s.; all in one chaff bed, with one blanket; his wife lately confined, and all the nourishment she had was oatmeal and water.

9. William Bottomley—Family nine; rent 3l.; which had just been distrained for (landlord in possession of all); weekly income 9s.; (2s. 6d. from parish) for which he has to go to Rochdale, twelve miles; labours fourteen hours per day; three beds of straw, with only one blanket in the house; it is nine years old. These wretched beings live on thin water porridge; they have one gill of milk for breakfast, which the mother mixes among the porridge; for dinner, potatoes; bread never seen in their houses; meat unknown.

Visited about twenty other houses, where the same scenes of misery were found. We took the houses at random. Scamonden has 912 inhabitants, and at least two-thirds will be found in this situation.

A most important feature (showing the hopelessness of their situation), that there was abundance of work, and "more," they said, "might be had, if they could find time to do it." A man can earn about five shillings, clear of expenses of winding, per week. Out of which he has rent, clothes, and keeping to provide; and in this district a man has generally eighteen miles to walk with his work.

Mr. Stocks, who led me to these scenes of wretchedness, assured me that a population of about 40,000 may be found in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, of the poorest class, whose daily income will not average 1½d. for each person. The visit was made March 1832.

JOSEPH WOOD.

List of the townships from which Mr. Fielden presented petitions on the 2. April, 1833.

Wardleworth,
Castleton,
Spotland,
Wuerdale and Wardle,
Marsden,
Langfield,
Blackinworth and Caldenbrook,
Padiham,
Blackburn,
Barronford,
Forrest of Rossendale,
Haslingden,
Huddersfield.

Mr. FIELDEN, in reply to Mr. G. W. WOOD, said that the best answer to the hon. Member for Lancashire was contained in a letter which he received yesterday, and which contained a report of a speech of Mr. GEORGE SMITH who was chairman of one of the committees for securing the return of the Right Hon. POWLETT THOMSON. It spoke for itself, and, without saying one word more on the subject, he would only detain the House while he read it.

Speech of Mr. Geo. Smith of Manchester, at the election dinner to celebrate the return of Mark Phillips, Esq. and the Right Hon. Powlett Thomson, as representatives for the town of Manchester, on the 28. December, 1833.

On the health of the working classes being drunk at the above-named dinner, Mr. Smith rose and spoke as follows:

"Being extensively connected with the working classes, I beg leave to reply to that toast. Our house employs certainly upwards of one thousand of those miserable beings, the hand-loom calico weavers, and we pay all this host of work-people with from 250l. to 300l. per week, probably an average of about 5s. 6d. per head per week, (cries of shame, shame!); and lest you should think that our house is fattening on the vitals of those poor people, I will state to you a fact which I would not otherwise have stated; namely, that the last year our house manufactured and sold 300,000 pieces of hand-loom calicoes. We conducted our business with as much economy as possible. We made no bad debts, and yet, at the year's end, we had not

"gained an average profit of a penny per piece. I mention this to show you that all that can be afforded to the weaver is given to him."

FACTORY BILL.

My readers know that Mr. SADLER brought in a bill to prevent children of too tender years from being worked for more than ten hours in the day in the divers factories. A great part of the masters are opposed to this bill; and PATTEN, STANLEY's colleague for North Lancashire, has been chosen by them to make opposition to it. The opposition was made last night (Wednesday), in a motion for delay in order for further inquiry. A very great part of the members are gone out of town. When the House divided, there were seventy-four for the delay, and seventy-three against it, the Ministers taking part with PATTEN. I was compelled to be absent on account of a hurt in my knee, which makes it necessary that I should not sit with my leg down for a long time together. If I had been present there would have been only a tie; as it was, there was a majority of one. If there had been a full House, I am by no means certain that the majority would not have been greater in proportion. My colleague was present, and did his utmost to prevent this delay.

My readers should rightly understand this subject. These children attend upon machinery; and the longer the machinery goes in every twenty-four hours, the more the master gets. The masters cannot compel the parents to let their little children work thus; but, the parents are compelled by their necessities; those necessities arise from taxation; therefore, here we come again to the source of all the evil. The Ministers oppose this bill, because they believe that it will diminish the source of taxation by causing less goods to be made. They will continue to oppose it, I dare say; and I think it very probable that it will not pass into a law. For my part, I know that there is no

remedy but in taking off the taxes; but still these poor children ought to be protected, let the consequence be what it may; for that which is inflicted on them now, is really very little short of murder by inches.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THERE has been a sort of report from these people, in the form of a letter addressed to Lord MELBOURNE. I always said, that the main object of this commission was, to muster up a parcel of stories from people, picked out for the purpose, to justify more severe measures against the working people; and to introduce, under pretence of protecting property, a sort of *Bourbon police* into all the villages and country towns; a police in uniform, carrying daggers and pistols, like those in London. I have mentioned this several times in the House of Commons; I saw that dirty FEELER, the base and hard-hearted editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, broaching this scheme, some time ago. I was sure that he was in communication with those who had the intention to do this thing. Why, they have had an armed police in Ireland a good while. They have had what they call a "constabulary force;" "a police force;" "a red-coat force;" and now they have got red-coat courts of justice. There are people who think, that the same thing will do in England; I see no prospect of its not being attempted; but I know that it will fail: that is to say, I know that it would produce confusion ten thousand times greater than that which is sought to be avoided. Already there are watchmen kept to guard the great mansions in the country; already do policemen scour off from London to assist those horrible vagabonds, the gamekeepers in the country. The aristocracy and country gentlemen, as they call themselves, would, I verily believe, jump with joy to get the police-force; for this would serve them as watchmen and gamekeepers, and be paid for by the industrious

people. Thus, the *potato-diet* (and this ought to be called the potato-commission) would be, as these wisecracks think, completely enforced. The fact is this: the country labourers insist upon not being starved. They have the means of preventing their starvation, and the police-force is to deprive them of those means. Alas! it will never do! it will only bring open war; and it is truly astonishing, that the aristocracy cannot see, that the end of these things, if they should be so foolish as to adopt them, must be *destruction to themselves*. It is a strange thing, that they will not look at the *cause* of the poor-rates, and the fires. It is a strange thing, that they will not recollect what took place in France; that they will not perceive that they are marching just in the steps of the aristocracy of *Louis XV.* They had *gendarmarie* in every village; and yet, while these *gendarmarie* were in the villages, still in the villages, they were driven from their mansions, and those mansions were burnt. Is it not time for ours to begin to think of the final consequences? Is it not time for them to begin to think about obtaining security other than that which is given by daggers and pistols? The people want to live well, as they ought to live; and until they do live well, no *gendarmarie* schemes will be of any avail for any length of time. It was easy to see what this poor-law commission would be, when we saw *STURGES BOURNE* one of the commissioners! That which they have now published is a little beginning. It lets out, however, the scheme of the *gendarmarie*; and puts us upon our guard, and enables us to give it a *warm* reception. This I, for my part, shall not fail to do. Our aristocracy ought to recollect, that there are two items in *their affair*, which make it more dangerous than the affair of the French *noblesse* was. *FIRST*, they had *no church-and-poor property in their hands*; they had no lay-tithes and abbey-lands in their hands; and, what is of still more importance, they had no savings banks and paper-money. They had a *debt*, indeed; and it was that which, in fact, brought them down;

but they had no bank with a *few hundred thousand louis-d'ors in its chests, with twenty-six millions of pounds afloat in paper!* They had not this terrific item; and, even only three years before their houses were in flames, their chance of escape seemed not to be so very bad. Our aristocracy has a terrible affair to deal with; therefore, it is time for them to begin to think about something besides a *gendarmarie*. I shall have plenty of occasions to return to this poor-law-commission affair; but I shall only find it that which I expected; abounding with schemes, not to make the poor better off, but to make them receive less money in the way of relief.

SEEKING the oppressions which we endure; seeing how small a share of the taxes is paid by the aristocracy, and how large a portion of them they receive, it appears to me, that this is the great evil of the country; we have seen the game laws hardened to a degree that our fathers never could have dreamed of; we have seen the new trespass law, and the new Highway Acts, almost deprive us of the right of setting our feet upon any part of our country; we have seen the trial by jury in great part laid aside, as far as related to the offences of the common people; we have seen our property seized by the tax-gatherers of various descriptions, and by tithe-gatherers, and taken from us without any trial by jury; we have seen our property taxed most enormously by stamp and auction duties, while the landowners have escaped those taxes, and while we have been compelled to pay pensions and sinecures to support the families of this aristocracy. In short, we have seen ourselves ruined, pressed down, one after another, into a state of pauperism; and now we behold schemes for establishing a *gendarmarie* to compel us to submit in silence to all these wrongs. What, then, are we to do in such a case as this? What are we to do in our own defence? It appears to me, that there ought to be established an association

under the following title, and for the following objects :

DEFENCE ASSOCIATION;

Or, an association for protecting tradesmen, and other the industrious classes, against all unconstitutional encroachments of the aristocracy.

To be established in London, with a chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary.

To correspond with all parts of the kingdom; and to receive statements of acts done towards the industrious classes, which would be proper subjects of representation to the Parliament.

To give advice upon the subject, and obtain redress where that is possible.

To receive statements relative to all acts of oppression, particularly relative to the game, the excise, the stamps, and the assessed taxes; and in all cases to be very particular in giving the names of the parties and the places of their residence,

To obtain, in reference to the direct taxes, an accurate list of the names and places of residence of all the great landowners in each county; to ascertain, as nearly as possible, when each of them came to his estate, and whether he got it by purchase, heirship, or bequest; and also to ascertain the probable worth of it; and also the probable amount of timber, underwood, and stock, sold by auction on the said estate, within the last thirty years, in order that an estimate may be made of what would have been the amount of auction and stamp duties on the said estate, if the stamp and auction duties had been levied thereon in the same manner as on personal property; and, the time it would be material to state, in order to calculate the interest which the landowner has derived from not having had to pay these duties.

To cause to be printed, upon a small piece of paper, and at a very cheap rate, a true pedigree of every great landowner, showing how much of the public money he or

any of his relations have received, not omitting his predecessors for three or four generations; showing how he came by his estate, and particularly showing what men, women, or children, appertaining to him, are or have been on the pension or sinecure list, and to cause a sufficient number of these papers to be circulated amongst the industrious classes in *his own immediate neighbourhood*; so that we may all know one another well.

To get the names of all the justices of the peace [in the several counties, and to ascertain whether they be receivers of *tithes* or of *taxes*, and to what amount.

To ascertain, as nearly as may be, the amount of the lay-tithes, of the *abbey-lands*, of the *college property*, of the *bishop's property*, and of the *dean and chapter property*, in each county; and also of the *corporation* and *public charity property*; and to ascertain in whose hands each parcel of this property is. The association might take care to furnish lists of the *abbey-lands*; and the correspondents would inform them in whose hands they are, and the worth of them.

There are divers other things to mention of a most interesting nature. I throw out this merely as a hint for others to improve upon. This is the sort of "*commission*" that is wanted; and I would call it the "*Reckoning Commission*;" for it is absolutely necessary that we begin to make up our accounts, and to *have them ready*. It would be a sad thing for us to be taken by surprise. When we all know one another well, we shall easily arrange matters quietly, we shall easily come to an "*equitable adjustment*."

PETITIONS PRESENTED BY ME ON THE 1. OF APRIL.

1. FROM the mayor, aldermen, common council, burgesses, and other electors and rate-payers of the town and borough of Kidnely, in the

- county of Carmarthen, praying that the Irish Coercion Bill may not pass, and praying that the real cause of it may cease, namely, the cruel exaction of tithes.
2. From the electors, rate-payers, and inhabitants of the county of the borough of Carmarthen, expressing their alarm at the introduction of the Irish Coercion Bill, and praying the House not to pass it, also praying that justice may be done to Ireland, and that the English may be no longer taxed to collect Irish tithes.
 3. From the electors and rate-payers of the towns and borough of Saint Clears and Pentre Llanfngangel, in the county of Carmarthen.—The same prayer.
 4. From Preston, in Lancashire, agreed to at a public meeting called by the mayor, praying that their Irish brethren may not be subjected to a military law.
 5. From the city of Norwich, praying for repeal of taxes, and that no more blood may be shed to compel payment of tithes in Ireland.
 6. From the parish of Callan, county of Mayo, praying that the Coercion Bill may not pass.
 7. From the parish of Muhar, in the county of Kerry, praying they may not be degraded by subjection to military law.
 8. From the inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets, praying that the Coercion Bill for Ireland may not pass into a law.
 9. From the parish of Kilvine, in the county of Mayo, beseeching the House not to pass the horrible bill which is to enable a few military officers to transport them for life.
 10. From the city of Ely, for the repeal of the assessed taxes.
 11. From Chipping Norton, for the repeal of some of the present taxes, and for the substitution of a regulated property-tax.
 12. The petition of Timothy Hutt and Mark Anthony Johnson, praying for a repeal of taxes, and against coercive measures for Ireland.
 13. The petition of James Hamson, of Thorne Falcon, complaining of the dreadful pressure of local taxation.
 14. The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Manchester, praying for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge.
 15. Petition of James Dunn, Esq., of Gray's-inn, barrister-at-law, complaining of certain proceedings of certain magistrates.
 16. Petition of William Blaxland, of Leamington, against the longer existence of tithes.
 17. From Joseph Townsend Holman, of Gray's-inn, praying that a law may be passed to authorise the defendant, in cases of libel, to produce the truth in justification.
 18. Petition of R. Webb, of Harcourt-street, Marybone, praying for a repeal of all the taxes on knowledge.
 19. Petition from the borough of Ly-mington, in the county of Hants, praying for the adoption of the ballot at elections.
 20. From the society of Free Inquirers, in the parish of Marybone, praying the House to adopt measures, so that all persecutions for religious opinions may cease, and that it will take into its consideration the hard case of the Rev. Robert Taylor.
 21. A petition from the same, praying the House to adopt measures to put an end to all religious persecutions, and to take into its consideration the hard case of Richard Carlile.
 22. From the undersigned inhabitants of the borough of Manchester, setting forth the numerous evils attending upon making laws at midnight, and praying the House to alter its present practice as to this matter.
 23. From the undersigned inhabitants of the city of Norwich, against white slavery; setting forth the state of degradation and misery in which the working classes now are; setting forth the injustice of paying in gold the interest of a debt contracted in paper; setting forth the

- injustice they have endured from laws passed by the aristocracy and its nominees; setting forth the injustice of the tithe system; praying for that equitable adjustment for which they prayed in the year 1823; praying that a bill may be passed to give protection to electors at future elections; praying for a repeal of the taxes which most oppress the working people, and praying that no supplies may be granted until these measures be adopted.
24. From the inhabitants of Eocleshill, in the county of York, praying the House to pass the Ten-hour Factory Bill.
 25. From the frame-work knitters of Blasford, in the county of Nottingham, praying the House to take their hard case into its consideration, and to afford them relief by those means which the petitioners very respectfully beg leave to be permitted to suggest.
 26. From the working classes and others of the borough of Great Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk, describing the horror they feel at seeing their Irish fellow-subjects subjected to trial before red-coat courts of justice, and praying the House not to pass any bill having that object in view.
 27. From the members of the Political Union of the borough of Clitheroe, in the county of Lancaster, praying that their Irish brethren may not be subjected to a government wholly unknown to the constitution, and also praying the House to repeal the odious and unjust *Corn Bill*.
 28. From the inhabitants of Spitalfields, praying that the Martial-law Bill for Ireland may not pass, and praying the House to adopt just measures towards those who have proposed it.
 29. From James Peters, of the city of Bristol, against the proposed bill for new laws relating to the keeping of the Lord's-day.
 30. From the inhabitants, electors, and rate-payers in the borough of Llanelli, praying the House to reject the horrid bill for coercing Ireland, and for compelling the people of that ill-treated country to pay tithes at the point of the bayonet.
 31. From the council, associates, and friends of the Northern Political Union, in public meeting assembled, praying for the enactment of the vote by ballot at elections for members to serve in Parliament; and for a repeal of the unjust and odious Septennial Act.
 32. From the inhabitants of the hamlet of Lea, in Lancashire, praying the House not to pass the Martial-law Bill for Ireland, and praying it to impeach those who had dared to propose it.
 33. From John Martin of Canterbury, complaining of the abuses of the law by attorneys, and praying for an alteration and a simplifying of the law, in order to render justice more cheap.
 34. From Thomas Parkin, complaining of the conduct of certain magistrates, praying for redress.
 35. From a public meeting of the national union of the working classes, held at the White-Conduit House, against the Irish Coercion Bill.
 36. From the inhabitants of Oldham, praying that coroners' courts may be in future open public courts, and that the transactions therein may be fair.
 37. From the undersigned inhabitants of Manchester against the Irish Coercion Bill.
 38. From the labourers of Stoke-holy-cross, in the county of Norfolk, setting forth the real causes of their poverty and misery, praying for redress therein, and praying also that their Irish fellow-subjects may not be trampled under foot.
 39. From the inhabitants of Cong, county of Mayo, against the Irish Coercion Bill.
 40. From the inhabitants of Manchester, against the Military Law Bill for Ireland, signed by 15,000 persons.
 41. From the inhabitants of Anghavass,

county Leitrim, against the Military Law Bill.

42. From the members of the political union of Jedburgh, against the Irish Coercion Bill.
43. From the inhabitants of the town of Eye, Suffolk, against the Irish Bill.
44. From the inhabitants of Rose Garland and Inch, county Wexford, the same.
45. From the inhabitants of the town of Lismore, the same.
46. From the inhabitants of Lymington, in Hampshire, the same.
47. From the inhabitants of Neyharth and Lisbony, praying for the abolition of tithes in Ireland.
48. From the Norwich Political Union, against the Irish Coercion Bill.
49. From the inhabitants of Johnston, in Renfrewshire, against the same.
50. From the members of the Pollockshaw Political Union, praying for triennial Parliaments.
51. From the burgesses of the borough of Denbigh, setting forth abuses of their corporation, and praying for redress.
52. From the members of the Political Union of Kilburny, county of Ayr, praying that the Irish Coercion Bill do not pass into a law.
53. From the inhabitants of Botley, county of Southampton, describing the alarm and horror which they feel at the bill for trampling Ireland under foot, and saying that they verily believe that this measure is nothing but a stepping-stone for introducing the same into England, and praying that the bill may not pass.
54. From the members of the Political Union of Chowbent, against the bill, and against tithes.
55. From the inhabitants of Hammer-smith, against the bill.
56. From the National Political Union, praying that the Irish military-law bill may not pass, till the petitions against it have been presented.
57. From Thomas Wilson, complaining of injustice done him by the officers of the customs, and praying

for an investigation of his hard case.

58. From the inhabitants of Tonbridge, county of Kent, praying for a diminution of taxes, for an extension of suffrages at elections, and also praying that the Irish Court-Martial Bill may not pass into a law.
59. From certain members of the National Union of the Working Classes, praying that their burdens may be lightened, and that they may be treated fairly by the Parliament and the Government.
60. From Richard Newsham, soldier of the 53d regiment, complaining of unjust treatment, and praying the House to investigate the grounds of his complaint.
61. From the inhabitants of the town of Clare, Galway, praying that the bill which is to take from them the protection of trial by jury, may not pass into a law.
62. From the Protestant Dissenters of Oldham, in the county of Lancaster, praying that their places of worship may be exempted from taxes and rates, in the same manner that the established church is; praying, that the registration of baptisms and burials may be so altered, as to make it convenient and just with regard to them; and praying, that they may not be compelled to have the marriage ceremony with regard to them, performed in the established church; also praying that they may be exempted from paying rates to the established church.
63. From the members of the council of a society calling itself the National Political Union, assembled at Saville House, Leicester-square, March 23, 1833, complaining that the whole of the taxes are partial in the extreme; that they are made to fall upon the industrious classes and to spare the rich; praying for the repeal of all the taxes that press on articles of consumption; and praying that, if a great amount of taxes were still necessary, they might be raised by an equitable property-tax.

64. From James Webber, woolcomber, at Collumpton, in Devonshire, praying that all useless places, unmerited pensions, and all sinecures, may be abolished: praying that the taxes may be taken off from the necessities of life; and praying that no foreign king may receive a pension, drawn from the labours of this country.
65. From Stewart Bowman, hairdresser, of Long-lane, in the city of London, humbly representing to the House, that he and his brother tradesmen, already borne down by taxes of various descriptions, would be utterly ruined if the House were to agree to the bill now before the House, for the better observance of the Lord's-day; representing to the House that the performance of their business on a Sunday is absolutely necessary for the decent appearance of people at places of Divine worship; and imploring the House not to pass the said bill.
66. From James Rothwell, late a soldier in the 1st regiment of Royal Dragoons, complaining that, after having served faithfully in the said regiment for four years, and having received three dreadful wounds, and having been discharged with a pension, has now had that pension taken from him; and praying the House to be pleased to interfere in behalf of himself and his suffering family.
67. From the inhabitants of Wingham, in the county of Kent, complaining of the partiality of taxation, particularly with regard to the stamp duties and duties on auctions, which they say are so frequently partial and unjust.
68. From John Templar, of Lymington, in the county of Hants, complaining of the gross and crying partiality of the stamp taxes, and setting forth how he and his family have suffered by those taxes, and praying the House to do justice in the case.
69. From Thomas Cliffe, of Bradford

(signed on behalf of a great number of the inhabitants), complaining of the weight, partiality, and oppression of local taxation.

70. From Joseph Sload, of the town of Sheffield, in the county of York, praying that the House will not grant citizenship to the Jews; stating, that these people do no useful thing, but live by usury, craft, and cunning.
71. From the inhabitants of the parish of Killfiro, in the county of Mayo, praying that the House will not pass a law to deprive Ireland of the trial by jury.

LISTS OF THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY,

On the 21. March, on Mr. T. Attwood's Motion,
 " That a Select Committee be appointed to
 " inquire into the Causes of the general
 " Distress existing among the Industrious
 " Classes of the United Kingdom, and into
 " the most effectual Means for its relief."

For the Committee (tellers included) 160
 Against ditto, with the Ministers... 194

Total number in the House.... 354
 Majority 34

MAJORITY.

Abercromby, Hon. J.	Clive, Hon. R. H.
Adam, Admiral	Codrington, Sir E.
Althorp, Viscount	Curteis, H.
Anson, Sir G.	Curteis, H. B.
Bannerman, A.	Dalrymple, Sir J. H.
Baring, A.	Dashwood, G. H.
Baring, F.	Davies, Lieut.-Col.
Baring, F. T.	Divett, E.
Barnard, E. G.	Donkin, Sir R. S.
Beaumont, T. W.	Dundas, Capt. D.
Benett, J.	Dundas, Hon. J. C.
Bentinck, Lord G. F. C.	Eastnor, Viscount
Bernal, R.	Elliot, Hon. Captain
Brougham, W.	Evans, W.
Brougham J.	Evans, G.
Bulwer, E. L.	Ewart, W.
Burton, H.	Fazakerley, J. N.
Bulteel, J. C.	Ferguson, Gen. Sir R.
Buxton, T. F.	Fleming, Admiral
Browne, D.	Forester, Hon. G. C. W.
Burdett, Sir F.	Forster, C. S.
Carter J. B.	Foulkes, Sir M.
Campbell, Sir J.	Fitzgibbon, Hon. R.
Chapman, M. L.	Gaskell, J. M.
Chaytor, Sir W.	Gisborne, T.
Chetwynd, Capt. W. F.	Gladstone, W. E.
Chichester, Lord A.	Gore, M.
Clements, Lord	Grant, Rt. Hon. C.
Clive, E. B.	Grant, Rt. Hon. R.
Clive, Viscount	Graham, Sir J. R.

Gray, Hon. Colonel
Gronow, Capt. R. H.
Grote, G.
Haile, J.
Handley, W. F.
Harvey, D. W.
Hawes, B.
Heathcote, J.
Herries, Rt. Hon. J. C.
Hill, Lord A.
Hill, Lord M.
Hobhouse, Sir J. C.
Horne, Sir W.
Howard, Hon. F. G.
Ingestrie, Lord
Johnston, A.
Johnstone, Sir I. V.
Keane, Sir R.
Kennedy, T. F.
Lamb, Hon. G.
Lemon, Sir C.
Littleton, E. J.
Lock, J.
Lushington, Dr. S.
Maberley, Col. W. L.
Martin, J.
Martin, J.
Marsdale, T.
Maxwell, J. W.
Midmay, P. St. J.
Milton, Viscount
Morrison, J.
Morpeth, Viscount
Mullins, F. W.
Murray, J. A.
Nicholl, J.
O'Callaghan, Hon. C.
Oliphant, L.
Ord, W. H.
Ormeie, Earl of
Oswald, J.
Palmerston, Viscount
Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir R.
Pelham, Hon. C. A. W.
Pendarves, E. W.
Perrin, L.
Petre, Hon. E.
Peter, W.
Pinney, W.
Phillips, M.
Ponsonby, Hon. W.
Potter, R.
Poulter, J.
Ricardo, D.
Rice, Hon. T. S.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Rider, T.
Romilly, E.
Romilly, J.
Robarts, A. W.
Rolle, R. M.
Russell, Rt. Hon. Ld. J.
Russell, Lord C.
Sandon, Viscount
Sheil, R. L.
Sheppard, T.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, Hon. R. S.
Smith, R. V.
Stanley, Rt. Hon. E. G.
Stanley, Hon. H. T.
Stanley, E. J.
Stewart, Sir M. S.
Stewart, E.
Spencer, Hon. F.
Straunton, Sir G.
Strutt, E.
Stewart, R.
Tennet, J. E.
Thomson, Rt. Hon. C. P.
Todd, R.
Verney, Sir H.
Villiers, Viscount
Walter, J.
Warburton, H.
Ward, H. G.
Weyland, R.
Whitmore, W. W.
Willoughby, Sir H.
Wood, G. W.
Wood, C.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Wynn, Rt. Hon. C. W.
Wyndham, Wadhams
Teller.
Duncannon

The list appears to be incomplete.

MINORITY.

ENGLAND.

Aglionby, H. A.
Astley, Sir J.
Attwood, M.
Attwood, T.
Bainbridge, E. T.
Beaucherk, Major A.
Berkeley, Hon. C. F.
Bewes, T.
Biddulph, R. M.
Bish, T.
Blackstone, W. S.
Blake, Sir F.
Brigstrick, W. P.
Briggs, R.
Briscoe, J. I.
Brocklehurst, I.
Brodie, Captain
Bruce, Lord E.
Bulkeley, Sir R. W.
Calvert, N.
Cayley, Sir G.
Cayley, E. S.
Chandos, Marquis of
Chaplin, Colonel T.
Chichester, J. P. B.
Clayton, Col. W. R.
Cobbett, W.
Collier, J.
Cooke, T. H.
Dare, R. W. R.
Darlington, Earl of
Davenport, J.

Dawson, E. S.
Dilwyn, L. W.
Duncombe, Hon. W.
Egerton, W. T.
Etwell, R.
Faithful, G.
Fellowes, Hon. N.
Fenton, J.
Fenton, Captain L.
Feilden, W.
Feilden, J.
Fryer, R.
Guest, J. J.
Guise, Sir B. W.
Gully, J.
Hall, B.
Handley, H.
Harland, W. C.
Herbert, Hon. S.
Hodges, T. L.
Hoskins, K.
Hoy, J. B.
Hume, J.
Hyett, W. H.
Ingham, R.
James, W.
Kemp, T.
Knatchbull, Sir. E.
Lister, C.
Locke, W.
Lygon, Hon. Col. H. B.
Mahon, Viscount
Mills, J.
Norreys, Lord
Palmer, R.
Parker, J.
Parker, Sir H.
Parrott, J.
Pease, J.
Pigot, R.
Plumptre, J. P.
Pryme, G.
Rickford, W.
Rippon, C.
Robinson, G. R.
Russell, C.
Sanford, E. A.
Scholesfield, J.
Seale, J. H.
Shawe, R. N.
Simcoe, Sir R.
Skipwith, Sir G.
Stavely, J. K.
Stoke, W.
Torreus, Colonel
Townley, R. G.
Trelawney, W. L. S.
Trevor, Hon. R.
Turner, W.
Tynte, C. J. K.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Wigney, J. N.
Wilks, J.
Williams, Col. G.
Wilmot, Sir. J. E.
Windham, W. H.
Winnington, Sir T.
Walker, R.
Watkins, L. V.
Wason, R.
Watson, Hon. R.
Welby, G. E.
Yorke, Captain C. P.
Young, G. T.

SCOTLAND.

Arbuthnot, General
Colquhoun, J. C.
Dunlop, Captain J.
Ewing, J.
Ferguson, Captain
Gillun, W. D.
Gordon, Captain W.
Halliburton, Hon. D.
Hay, Sir J., Bart.
Hay, Colonel L.
Maxwell, Sir J.
Maxwell, J.
Oswald, R. A.
Rose, H.
Sharpe, General M.
Siucclair, G.
Wallace, R.

IRELAND.

Baldwin, Dr. H.
Barron, W.
Bateson, Sir R.
Bellew, R. M.
Butler, Hon. P.
Dobbs, C. E.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Finn, W. F.
Fitzgerald, T.
Fitzsimon, N.
Galway, J. M.
Hayes, Sir E.
Lalor, P.
Lambert, H.
Macnamara, Major
Martin, J.
Nagle, Sir R.
O'Brien, C.
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, M.
O'Connell, C.
O'Connell, J.
O'Connell, Morgan
O'Connor, F.
O'Dwyer, A. C.
Perceval, Colonel
Roche, W.
Roche, D.
Ruthven, E. S.
Ruthven, E.
Stewart, Sir H.
Talbot, J. H.
Talbot, J.
Vigors, N. A.
Walker, C. A.

Blandford, Marquis, locked out.

EXTRACT

FROM

Facts (founded upon Parliamentary Returns), illustrative of the great inequality of the Taxes on Houses and Windows, showing how unjustly and oppressively they bear upon the middle and industrious classes. —
Dunn and Son, Fleet-street.

[Concluded from p. 320, No. 13.]

HERTFORD.

According to the official returns there are in this county

Each paying inhabited house-duty annually.

2 houses rated at 200 <i>l</i>	£28 6 8
5 150 <i>l</i>	21 5 0
2 110 <i>l</i>	15 11 8

The principal residences in this county

are

Cashibury Park—Earl of Essex
The Grove—Earl of Clarendon
Colney House—P. Haddon, Esq.
Gorhambury—Earl of Verulam
Luton House—Marquis of Bute
Brocket Hall—Lord Melbourne
Hatfield House—Marquis of Salisbury.

Vast dimensions—park several miles, noble apartments : rated at 200*l*. per annum, and paying 28*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. inhabited house-duty for this princely seat.

Stagenhoe Park—J. Carbonel, Esq.
Balls—Lord J. Townshend
Farnhanger—Earl Cowper
Wood Hall Park—S. Smith, Esq.
Ashbridge Park—Countess of Bridgewater

In a park five miles in circumference.

Tytenhanger—Earl of Hardwicke
Sandon House—Lord Lovel
Hyde Hall—Lord Clambrassil
Warren Wood—Lord Roseberry

Two noble Marquises,

Six noble Earls,

Four noble Lords,

rated as dwelling in houses stated to be of the value of two of 200*l*. five of 150*l*. two of 110*l*. per annum, Take Ludgate-hill, Cheapside, or Cornhill, from No. 1 to No. 12, we shall then find twelve inhabitant householders rated at a similar rate, probably in many instances higher? comparing the property of the twelve principal residents in

the county of Herts with that of the twelve metropolitan householders, the result will prove that where one pays one-twentieth of their annual income in direct taxation, the others do not pay one-hundredth part of their annual income; consequently, a most undue weight is thrown upon the springs of industrious exertion; no mode of taxation can be more thoroughly unequal in effect than the inhabited house-duty.

It has been urged in support of the inhabited house duty, that it is a "FAIR TAX;" that it is in fact a species of "PROPERTY TAX;" the parties supporting this fiscal measure, assuming that of course the rental or annual value of the dwelling represents the property of the several occupants. This is most obviously incorrect and unfounded, both in theory and practice, particularly as applying to the metropolis, and large manufacturing towns. Does the rental paid by traders, &c. in general represent their property? Can each of the many thousands whose dwellings throng the main and by-streets in this vast city, in Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, &c.—can the majority of these parties say, that they are respectively worth enough to purchase the freehold of their dwellings? and should they be in possession of property sufficient (after payment of all debts) to purchase the premises in their occupation, it would then be apparent that the inhabited house duty alone (to say nothing of the window-tax) is to them a property-tax of nearly fifteen pounds per cent. per annum on the annual value of their property. And if this is the case with those who could purchase their premises, how fares it with the tens of thousands whose struggles can scarcely make head against the stream, men of small capital and resources, but who are nevertheless compelled to dwell in houses from locality liable to a heavy rental, and consequently heavy taxation: is not the house-duty to such persons a property-tax, varying from fifteen pounds to thirty pounds and upwards per cent. per annum on the annual value of their property?

Reversing the picture—does the annual value of the dwellings occupied by the powerful and wealthy classes represent within reasonable bounds the value of the property of these classes? and what sort of a property-tax can that be, which varies between thirty pence, and thirty pounds per cent. per annum in the amount claimed from various individuals? Many have asserted, and with a great semblance of plausibility, that though the rate of taxation presses apparently heavily on the middle and industrious classes, yet it is not so in reality; the price and value of the various commodities, &c. which they respectively supply, being enhanced in value to the public from the pressure of taxation being so great. This may easily be answered; competition, in every thing, and on all sides, regulates and keeps down prices. And are we to take a certain payment against uncertain gains, a substance for a shadow? Who would feel satisfied with this answer? “I am compelled to charge “a higher price than would be charged “to you elsewhere, from the weight of “taxation which presses more forcibly “on me, in consequence of my premises being in a street in which the “rate of taxation is very high.” Who is there that does not purchase by price and quality, without reference to or regarding the burdens to which the seller is subjected, whether they be light or whether they be heavy? And should it be allowed that such is the case, that the house duty is paid by the purchaser and consumer in the end, we arrive at the confession, that the present house duty is both an, income tax and a dwelling-house duty; that part which may be termed an income tax being levied exclusively on the middle and industrious classes from their precarious and uncertain gains; and is it not therefore, a tax on industry? If the annual earnings of industry are thus to be diminished by the payment of this tax, what is to prevent the extension of the same principle to the annual profits of all mines, companies, manufactories, and mercantile establishments throughout the kingdom; omitting any reference

to the annual value of all landed property, funded, &c.?”*

It must be perfectly clear, that a tax like that levied on inhabited houses, where from situation alone for particular purposes, a house of one tenth part of the dimensions and intrinsic value commands, though not as a dwelling, yet for the purposes of trade, a higher value in rental, cannot be just or fair—how can rental display the value of the dwellings of the different classes of society? Mere rental never can accomplish the most desirable effect of equalizing the weight of taxation; the value of a house varying from the situation, even more than from size. There would be no difficulty in finding magnificent and princely dwellings in any of the counties rated at a sum not exceeding that levied on houses in all respects infinitely inferior in value as dwellings in any of the densely crowded parts of the metropolis; dwellings which would not be considered fit for the residence of any person of independent property, though perfectly well adapted to the uses to which they are applied, and for which a most ample rent is paid by the tenant from his industry and exertions. It has been stated, certainly not without good reasons, that the complaints against the house and window duty (particularly the house duty) are not general, but confined principally to the metropolitan districts: the cause of this apparent apathy (if such exists), the Chancellor of the Exchequer fully answered, in stating, “that “he was aware in the various counties, “houses worth three or four hundred “pounds per annum were rated for “taxation at thirty or forty pounds per “annum each!” An assertion in which the noble Lord is most fully borne out, as will be apparent by the inspection of the returns for each county. In obedience to, and in the fulfilment of, the law, the inhabitants of the metropolis and large towns have been paying at (or

* Annual value of landed property:—England, 49,744,622*l.*; Wales, 2,153,801*l.*; Scotland, 6,625,655*l.*; total, 58,551,078*l.* Capital of funded property, 737,130,668*l.*; dividends thereon, 25,772,296*l.*

nearly at) the rate of two shillings and tenpence in the pound on the value of their dwellings, in which valuation has been included, as far as the trading classes are concerned, the heavy rental paid for their shops and warehouses; but it would appear, that this law, which ought to have been a just and equal law, applicable without deviation to all—this law, so plain and legible in some places, has been in others a withered and illegible scroll. Those who have paid threepence half-penny in the pound on the annual value of their dwellings instead of two shillings and tenpence in the pound, as directed by the law of the land, have in truth no cause, for complaint, neither would the metropolitan or any other householders, had they been taxed at the same rate: the repeal of the house and window duty would at once effect that, which the removal of indirect taxation has hitherto failed to accomplish, and relieve those who have been the greatest sufferers from oppressive and unequal taxation.

Thousands now pent up in lodgings would immediately take houses, and by so doing, lessen all parochial rates. Each of such fresh occupants of houses now empty and untenanted, must be purchasers to some extent of articles of British manufacture and industry, which would have remained uncalled for if they had continued lodgers; the beneficial and salutary effects caused by the removal of these oppressive imposts would speedily be visible in increased employment, diminution of poor-rates, and in a general diffusion of satisfaction and contentment amongst the most useful members of the community; in fact, a cheering feeling of renovation and strength throughout the entire social system.

London, February, 1833.

INTERESTING PROCEEDINGS

AT

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

(From the "True Sun" of 2. April).

FACTORY BILL.

MEETING AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

(From a Correspondent).

ON Monday last a requisition was presented to the Mayor, and his worship appointed a meeting to be held in the Guildhall, March 29, at two o'clock.

The requisition was signed by high Churchmen, Saints, Whigs, and Tories, whilst the appearance of a single Radical name was carefully avoided. The meeting, too, was appointed on the very day and at the very hour when the labouring class could not attend. The pathetic, tea-drinking saints, ready to struggle "to the death" for the liberation of the black slave, whilst they never show their faces or raise their voices against English or Irish despotism, thought this an excellent opportunity to deprive the truly liberal of their just merits, and gain to themselves by cant a name for liberality and humanity. The leaders of the Northern Political Union (immense and terrific, both from its numbers and its intellectual importance) were on the alert, and although the time was short and everything unfavourable, determined to act their part, and issued a placard to the following effect:

"The Council deem this meeting to
"be of the greatest possible importance,
"not only to the labouring classes, but to
"the country at large, knowing as they
"do, that the passing of such a bill
"will ultimately tend to compel the
"removal of those enormous imposts
"which have driven both masters and
"workmen to the verge of ruin and
"starvation. The Council accordingly,
"approving heartily as they do of this
"object, and feeling that on the deci-
"sive nature of the manifestation of
"public feeling, especially on the part
"of the labouring classes, on this
"occasion, as well as on the pro-
"priety of the documents which
"they adopt, will essentially depend

"not only the abolition of this execrable system of *infant slavery*, but that of *English slavery altogether*, the Council therefore call on their associates and friends of the Northern Political Union to attend and *do their duty*."

The Union leaders were early in their attendance, and took up a commanding position near each other. On the magistrates' bench we observed the Rev. Mr. Hawkes, the Rev. J. Taylor, James Losh, Esq., Recorder, Robert Plummer, Esq., with other gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, as well as the Rev. G. S. Ball, of Bierley, Yorkshire, the eloquent advocate of the Ten-Hour Bill. The right worshipful the Mayor took the chair soon after two o'clock, and was slightly cheered.

His worship opened the business by stating to the meeting that he never felt greater delight in his life than in beholding so large an assemblage of the inhabitants as he witnessed on that occasion; yet, when he considered that humanity was the object for which they had met, it did not surprise him. They had met on an important occasion, and that was, to petition Parliament for the protection, health, and prosperity of the rising generation. He did not, in the observations he was about to make, charge the great bulk of the manufacturers with a want of humanity, for he was aware that was not the fact, as many took a lively interest in attending to the health and comfort of their infant charge; yet he might be allowed to suggest, that if classification were adopted, and a relief, by changing twice a day, effected, a great step would be gained in obtaining the completion of the measure the present meeting seemed so anxious to procure. He trusted that those who intended to go into the discussion of the question would act with moderation; as party contentions might defeat the object he hoped they all had in view—the amelioration of the infant population of the manufacturing districts. (Loud cheers).

Mr. THOMAS DOUBLEDAY immediately rose, and was greatly cheered. He said that although his name did not appear as one of the requisitionists, yet he could

assure the meeting that the fault did not rest with him, as he was friendly to the measure, but in those by whom it was got up; for he was connected in a commercial point of view with the clothing districts, and therefore felt individually interested in their prosperity, as well as in the welfare and comfort of the operatives. And although no one could doubt that distress to a frightful extent existed in the great manufacturing towns, yet in seeking justice for the many, we should take care to do injustice to none. He maintained that the cotton and woollen manufacturers were not the authors of the long and continued distress under which themselves and their operatives laboured, but that such distress arose from the acts of Government, from Peel's Bill, and the corn laws. (Loud cheers). In considering the details of the Factory Bill, he said if labour were decreased, a decrease in wages would assuredly follow. He held a paper in his hand, which had been drawn up by a gentleman intimately connected with the manufacturing districts' (Mr. John Fielden, of Todmorden, Mr. Cobbett's colleague for Oldham), in which the sufferings of the poor weaver and his starving family were depicted in vivid but true colours, and in which it was stated, that while the hours of labour were increased to a length for which the physical powers of man were scarcely able to endure, the remuneration for such exertion had decreased in an equally alarming degree. But such a state of things could not exist. The increased use of machinery in all the manufacturing towns had tended to produce an immensity of goods, yet although employment was not complained of, the distress of the workmen was increased in an equal ratio. It therefore appeared to him the most effectual, and in short the only plan, was a speedy reduction of the national expenditure. (Cheers, and question). From 1815 to the present time they had been getting worse, which he attributed to Peel's Bill, which came into full activity in 1829, through the instrumentality of the Duke of Wellington, who did not know what he was doing. (Laughter).

This had ruined the weaver. Having thus briefly stated his sentiments on the measure, he would pass to the resolutions which he should have the honour to move, upon which, if they were adopted, a petition would be founded, calling upon Parliament to reduce the national expenditure, and restore the currency to the state in which it existed in 1793. Mr. D. concluded by requesting that his resolutions might be read.

Mr. MAYOR objected, inasmuch as the meeting had been called at the desire of the requisitionists, for a specific purpose; and that, as a matter of courtesy, the resolutions prepared by the requisitionists ought to have priority of consideration.

Mr. DOUBLEDAY replied, that, as chief-magistrate, the chairman should on all occasions experience every courtesy from him. Although he (Mr. D.) did not sign the requisition, yet he maintained that his resolutions should have the precedence, unless he was called on by his worship to sit down. The conduct of the requisitionists, he contended, did not lay him under an obligation to treat them with any courtesy extraordinary.

Mr. MAYOR, after some farther discussion, determined to take the sense of the meeting, which evidently was in favour of Mr. Doubleday's resolutions; when

JAMES LOSE, Esq. the recorder, rose and observed, that he knew no more of the requisition than Mr. Doubleday, but hearing that a requisition had been originated, he found out where it was, signed it with pleasure, and Mr. Doubleday might have done the same. He disavowed all want of courtesy to Mr. Doubleday on his part.

The Rev. W. HAWKS, rector of Gatshead Pell, said that although he was one of the requisitionists, yet he felt no repugnance to Mr. Doubleday's resolutions having precedence; and he was happy that they had his assistance in the good work. (The resolutions had not then been read). It was not the work of party, but a labour in which all sects and parties heartily joined, in the hope that their united exertions would

secure the object for which they had assembled. If politics were introduced, the termination might be different; as he was not aware that either the currency or the corn laws were thought of by the requisitionists. All they intended and prayed for was, a sound and vigorous population, every one healthy and happy—men like our forefathers. (Long and enthusiastic cheering, in which the Unionists joined).

Mr. DOUBLEDAY, in reply, stated that the rev. gentleman had been reasoning on air—(No, no)—and not on the arguments he had advanced in submitting the resolutions for the adoption of the meeting.

Mr. JOHN FIFE rose to second the resolutions of his friend Mr. Doubleday.

Mr. JOHN BROWN, the deputy town clerk, by request, then read the resolutions. The having it presented by Mr. Cobbett was received with long and loud cheering, and the having it signed by the Tory mayor and town clerk, with immense laughter.

Mr. JOHN FIFE again rose to second the resolutions that had just been read; and adverting to the term "courtesy," which had been used in an early part of the discussion, said that instances had occurred not only in that hall, but in other parts of the town, of the chairman having unceremoniously left the meeting over which he had been called upon to preside, to avoid the adoption of any resolution, not in accordance with his own opinion or those of his friends. (Loud laughter and cheers).

Mr. MAYOR called for an explanation, as he was so often called on to fill the office he at present held, and as the imputation did not apply to him. (Hear!)

Mr. FIFE said it was the wish of his friends to have the signature of their respected chairman to the petition that had been drawn up, and which would be read in due time. Thus was the motive explained. (A laugh).

The worthy chairman seeming satisfied with the explanation.

Mr. FIFE proceeded to contend that it was to the grasping and overbearing aristocracy, that all the ills they had met to discuss, owed their origin; and

such being the fact, he heartily concurred in all that had been said by Mr. Doubleday, as well as in the facts and arguments embodied in the resolutions; and he was prepared to maintain the same; such were his reasons for supporting the resolutions.

The Rev. Mr. BULL then presented himself, and said that as he was an entire stranger, it was only by permission of the chairman that he could address them; and if he obtained that permission, he should proceed. (Cries of "Go on," and cheers). He had, for the last seven years, resided and officiated as a clergyman in the manufacturing districts, and he was perfectly acquainted with the distresses and sufferings of the useful class of individuals that inhabited those districts. He agreed with many of the observations advanced by Mr. Doubleday, but he could not concur in the assertion that the manufacturers were not to be blamed in any degree, as many of the ills that factory children were doomed to suffer, might be attributed to the harshness of their employers. He was also of opinion that deep research ought to be made in order to effect a mitigation of the dreadful evils to which children employed in factories were subjected; but yet he thought that Mr. Doubleday had only glanced at, instead of fully entering into, the question. The speaker next adverted to Mr. Fielden, M.P. for Oldham, whom he represented as one of the largest manufacturers, as also one of the most intelligent men in England; and he was proud to add, that that gentleman, fully alive to the importance of the interesting question they were then assembled to discuss, had agreed to second the motion of Lord Ashley in the House of Commons, on the second reading of the Factory Bill. (Hear, hear). He had also to state, that Mr. Cobbett had agreed to pin his faith to that of his colleague, Mr. Fielden; and Mr. O'Connell, to whose eloquence in this cause, he (Mr. Bull) had had the pleasure of listening in London, was also anxious that the question should not be mixed up with any other subject. America had been referred to by Mr. Doubleday; and that gentleman

was aware that taxation to any extent did not exist in that country,—in fact, he believed that country had paid off its national debt—(hear, hear)—and yet he could state on the best authority, that longer hours were demanded by the manufacturers in that land of freedom, than in this country. Since the question had been mooted here, it had been taken up in the United States, where it was argued that excessive labour was requisite and necessary, to enable them to compete with their rivals in the market. In England, Mr. Bull observed, that for the last seven years the length of hours had increased, and wages decreased. He then, in eloquent terms, pointed out the religious and moral blessings that would attend the passing of the Ten-Hour Bill. Many of the master manufacturers were with the advocates for the bill, and they allowed that less labour would not abridge wages. But he would ask, how can manufacturers, if they cannot pay wages, erect the splendid mansions they inhabit? Do they get the builders to work without pay? or even the land and splendid parks, where all these improvements are carried into effect in such a magnificent style? He presumed not. He, therefore, fearlessly maintained that better wages could be afforded; for it was evident that the labouring infants assisted and aided in rearing those splendid mansions. (Loud cheers). He had at one time intended to have entered into a detail of the population of the manufacturing districts, their several employments, and the amount of remuneration—scanty remuneration received by all classes, but it would occupy too much time on the present occasion. (Cries "Go on"). Instead of doing so he would content himself by stating, that he had, in a former period of his life, been a zealous advocate for the abolition of negro slavery, and he should for ever be ashamed of himself, he should be the most disgraceful hypocrite, if he expended all his sympathies upon foreign objects of compassion, and did not advocate as heartily and as zealously the cause of the poor infants in the manufacturing districts, at

home. He should lament if the great and opulent town of Newcastle, by its proceedings that day, in mixing up other matters foreign to the subject, should mar the object they had assembled to carry into effect; and he could assert, if such should prove the fact, that it would deeply injure the cause they had intended to serve. (Cries of No, no, and cheers). Mr. Cobbett took the same view of the question, as did Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Fielden, while all three deprecated its being made a political or party question. It was one of genuine and unsullied philanthropy, of pure humanity. (Loud cheers). But he could not for one instant suppose that the mover and seconder of the resolutions intended the question not to be treated on its own merits, and on those only. He had to state that he had, as an advocate in the cause, attended public meetings in most of the large towns in England, and that was during the discussion of the Reform Bill, as well as meetings in the great manufacturing towns of Glasgow, Paisley, and Dundee, as also of others of minor note in Scotland, and at not one of these meetings, all numerously attended by the working classes, was the question of politics attempted to be introduced. (Hear, hear). When it was taken into consideration that this question had met with general support by those most deeply interested, and the intense interest it excited in all parts of the kingdom, he trusted that, although a stranger, he might be allowed to press upon the gentleman (Mr. Doubleday) the propriety of withdrawing his string of resolutions, and of allowing him to introduce his amendment. The rev. Gentleman concluded an eloquent address by moving an amendment, and sat down amidst loud and vehement cheering.

JAMES LOSE, Esq., had great pleasure in seconding the amendment of the rev. Gentleman, and hoped it would receive the unanimous decision of the meeting, especially after the truly eloquent address they had just heard with such unmingled admiration. Having said thus much, he might justly add, that if such conduct as that which had

been attempted to be forced on the meeting were to be allowed, he should say that no business could be done. He admitted that the evils of the country had originated in misgovernment, and then entered into an argument to refute the positions of Messrs. Doubleday and Fife, and expressed a doubt whether any two of the opposing gentlemen perfectly agreed upon any one subject. (A laugh). He had, he believed, met those gentlemen somewhere. (Continued laughter and "Question"). He begged pardon; he thought he had been making a speech; if not, and it was their pleasure, he would sit down. (Cries of Go on). They had not met to discuss political subjects, many of which had been introduced, which perhaps none of them understood (a laugh); and if the meeting did not agree on the subject for which it had been distinctly convened, they would most assuredly make themselves a laughing-stock to the public. A great deal had been urged by the supporters of the resolutions in favour of the objects of the meeting, but he believed sinister intentions might be concealed under various forms. He believed it possible, without imputing improper motives, that there might be a wish to obtain a triumph on this occasion. He had no objection to discuss any public question as to the state of the country with the gentlemen if they chose to do so, but this, he again asserted, was not the time, as they had met on the present occasion for a specific purpose. As to the petition that had been proposed, it would be ridiculous to think of it. Perhaps the gentlemen might have a majority in the hall; if so, the question would be lost, so far as regarded Newcastle. He agreed that it was a matter of extreme delicacy to let gislate between masters and servants, but expressed an opinion that the present case was one that rendered such a step justifiable. The learned Gentleman concluded by seconding the amendment.

CHAS. ATTWOOD, Esq., rose to support the resolutions of his friend, Mr. Doubleday, and to propose a petition founded upon them, he having vindi-

coated himself from a charge of want of courtesy, perfectly to his satisfaction. Mr. Fife had said, that the oppression of the poor originated in the grasping avarice of the aristocracy, a sentiment in which he heartily concurred; although he must admit, that he wished it to have been modified—

Mr. Losh: I beg pardon, but I wish to go, I have—

Mr. Attwood said, that he had some observations to make on what had been stated by the learned Gentleman, and he wished that he could remain, in order that he (Mr. Attwood) might not be misrepresented in what he might say.

Mr. Losh resumed his seat.

Mr. Attwood proceeded. He said that Mr. Losh had asserted that the evils of the country had originated in misgovernment, and also that education would, in due time, remove those evils. To this he begged to dissent, as also to the assertion, that a misunderstanding might possibly exist between his friend, Mr. Doubleday, and himself. But he assured the learned Gentleman they agreed as well, as, he was sorry to add, the Whigs and Tories. Mr. Attwood proceeded to read various extracts from the speech of Mr. Losh, and commented as he went on, with great warmth and animation, and added, that they had met, not to petition for factory children only, but to point out to our legislators the causes of the present unparalleled distress. It had been said that we could do no good by mixing up politics with the subject for which the meeting had been called. To which he answered, let us try; he should say, let us speak a little plainer, and we may triumph.

Mr. Losh: You may triumph over me: only don't abuse me. (Laughter).

391 The Rev. Mr. Hawks attempted to address the meeting, but was hooted down by the unionists.

Mr. Losh: I am charged with being the tool of a party, which is untrue; therefore, if you wish to refer to me, speak to facts.

Mr. Attwood insisted that he had not used the word "triumph" in the sense in which the learned Gentleman seemed to interpret it.

A long and desultory conversation followed, in which Mr. Losh agreed that the offensive word had not been used in the way he supposed.

Mr. Attwood continued. He said he disclaimed to triumph over any person; they had met to seek an object which he thought they could attain, and that was the cause of helpless infant children. It was very probable that the House of Commons would not receive their petition; yet its rejection would do good on a future day. In the delicacy of any interference between master and servant, he perfectly agreed with Mr. Losh; having stated thus much, he had only to add, that if it pleased the learned Gentleman, he might withdraw.

Mr. Losh then rose, and left the bench.

Mr. Attwood then resumed, and commented at considerable length on the eloquent speech of the Rev. Mr. Bull, with the statements in most parts of which he perfectly agreed. He could speak from personal knowledge that the rev. Gentleman, in describing himself a friend of the poor, had only stated what was correct. He paid a well-merited tribute to Mr. Sadler, who, he said, "was one of the best and most talented men that sat in the late House of Commons, and was not excelled by any man in the present House of Commons." Mr. A. next levelled his artillery at the sinecurists, great officers of state with no employment, and the tax-eaters, all of whom were, he maintained, upheld by the sweat of the labourer; yet he was sure that the labourer was worthy of his hire. The unanimity of the operatives in the large towns in Scotland with regard to the Factory Bill, as stated by the rev. Gentleman, was no guide to the inhabitants of this town, who were capable of judging for themselves; and he maintained that the proceedings of himself and friends could facilitate the liberation of the poor factory children; but, if not, they would assemble again, and pass a series of resolutions and a petition, without allusion to any other subject. Mr. Attwood concluded by requesting that the petition he held in

his hand be read, and strongly recommended its adoption by the meeting.

Mr. MAYOR next rose and said, that before the petition was read, he begged to protest against the proceedings of the day. When the requisition was presented to him, and he was informed humanity was the sole object, he instantly agreed to convene the present meeting; had he been aware other subjects were to be introduced into the discussion, he should certainly have taken a day or two to consider the subject, and consult his friends before he had called this meeting. (Oh, oh.) He, however, would not object to the petition being read.

The petition was then read by Mr. Brown.

The Rev. Mr. BULL rose and said, he did not doubt but that Mr. Attwood and his friends supported the bill with all their hearts—he could not doubt it; but he might add, that at the great meeting in London, persons of all political grades, joined in agreeing that a line of neutral ground should be marked out, on which they might all meet, in order to attain the object all classes had so much at heart. Admitting that the tax-eater had distressed the poor manufacturer, yet he avowed that the monopolist had done so too, and in an equal degree, and who got the profit?

Some one in the hall—The parsons! (Laughter).

The Rev. Mr. BULL—The parsons! Well, I shall tell you what I get very soon. The rev. Gentleman then proceeded. He said the monopolist was in a great measure to blame. Where was the industrious little master manufacturer now? Why, working sixteen hours a day, and all owing, he could vouch for it, to the great monopolist. There were also persons who lay in bed all day, and caroused all night, from the labours of their own offspring, whose cause they had assembled to advocate. The late Sir Robert Peel, but not till he had feathered his own nest, was the first to propose a legislative enactment in behalf of children employed in factories, and he was well acquainted with the suffering of that hapless race. He hoped

the meeting would furnish him with some other document than the laboured petition they had just heard read; or what would the mothers of the little sufferers say to him on his return to Yorkshire, if he informed them that they had to wait till the currency, retrenchment, and the corn laws (hisses), were to be discussed, before the cause of their children was to be taken into consideration!

The Rev. WILLIAM HAWKS contended that it was impossible to adopt the resolutions and petition of Messrs. Doubleday and Attwood.

A conversation between the Rev. Mr. Bull and Mr. Attwood followed, during which the latter again passed a high eulogium on Mr. Sadler; and added, that it gave him great pain to oppose the rev. Gentleman on the present occasion.

The Rev. Mr. BULL said, if they sent the petition recently read, to Parliament, so far as regarded factory children, it would do harm. It would give the enemies of the bill an excellent handle, of which they could not fail to take advantage. He then proposed a resolution, which was declared to be an insult to the meeting. It was received with all the scorn possible.

Mr. ATTWOOD said, that he had no objection to insert a specific clause in the petition, in favour of the Ten-Hour Bill.

The Rev. JAMES PRINGLE followed. He argued strongly in favour of the bill, and urged that Mr. Attwood and his friends should at some future time meet, discuss, and adopt their own measures.

Mr. JOHN FIFE, from the prisoners' box, replied to the sophisms of the Rev. Mr. Pringle, and was loudly cheered. He had heard with pleasure the sentiments of Mr. Bull, but with some of the observations he could not agree. It had been said we lived in a Christian country. Look around, and you will see the cottage desolated, to add to the splendour of the castle; the rich impose laws to make themselves richer and the poor poorer; and it was the aristocracy,

and the aristocracy only, that were to blame.

Mr. JONATHAN PRIESTMAN moved that the petition agreed on by the requisitionists be read; which having been done,

Mr. T. M. GREENHOW, in a brief address, seconded it.

Mr. MAYOR now proceeded to take the sense of the meeting on the resolutions moved by the opposing parties, and premised that although he was a Tory, he was, and ever had been, a friend to freedom of speech. A show of hands was then taken, and a great majority of the meeting having decided in favour of the resolutions and petition proposed by Messrs. Doubleday and Attwood, the Mayor said, "the meeting is dissolved." Several voices exclaimed, "Sign the petition." His worship replied: I cannot. If I do, to use a sporting term, you will have trapped the mare. He said, too, that the town-clerk was out of town, he believed. This was denied, as he was seen only a few minutes before in the hall.

Mr. ATTWOOD then proposed that Messrs. Fife and Doubleday sign the petition, instead of the mayor and town-clerk.

Mr. MAYOR said that he did not think that would be consistent.

Mr. FIFE asserted that the Mayor could not dissolve the meeting without the sanction of a majority.

A tumultuous discussion ensued, in which Mr. Fife and others took a part, during which Mr. Mayor retired, accompanied by his friends, amidst the greatest hisses, groans, and yells.

Mr. FIFE was then called to the chair, amidst loud cheering, and requested to sign the petition as the organ of the meeting, to which also Mr. Doubleday was requested to add his signature.

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Fife, as chairman, and the meeting separated at six o'clock.

Thus the unionists by a *ruse* defeated the combined factions.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

ABRAHAM, W., Fareham, Hampshire, china-dealer.

WOODHOUSE, T., jun., Milk-street, cheap-side, hosier.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

RICH, G., Curzon-street, May-fair, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

ASTBURY, J., and S. Davison, Eccleshall and Stone, Staffordshire, brewers.

BOURCHIER, E. M. and S. Bonsor, Oxford-street, tallow-chandlers.

BREEDS, B., Hastings, Sussex, lime-burner.

FAIRBURN, J., Castleford, Yorkshire, grocer.

FRASER, D., Pulteney-terrace, ship-owner.

GREIG, A. M., Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, wine-merchant.

MARDON, J., Euston-place, Euston-square, saddler.

MORRIS, J., Cheltenham, baker.

NATHAN, M., Skinner-place, Size-lane, stationer.

NELL, R., Grantham, Lincolnshire, book-seller.

PRESTON, F., St. George's-place, Hanover-square, and Sloane-street, Chelsea, confectioner.

SMITH, W., Lymington, Hampshire, surgeon.

STAINBANK, J. D., Honiton, Devonshire, grocer.

TIPLER, W., Banbury, Oxfordshire, currier.

TOWERS, J., Strand, insurance-broker.

WHITE, J., Newark-upon-Trent, victualler.

YORKE, W., Cirencester, Gloucestershire, ironmonger.

TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 1833.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BYERS, G., Pall-mall, hatter.

LUPTON, J., and J. Hudson, Wakefield, wool-agents.

BANKRUPTS.

ATTREE, J., Brighton, grocer.

BAREHEAD, G., New Malton, Yorkshire, corn-merchant.

CHARLESWORTH, J., Halifax, merchant.

CURTIS, R., Warrington, Lancashire, tanner.

MATCHITT, J., and R. J. Matchitt, Derby, grocers.

MEEK, J., late of the Lyceum Tavern, Strand, spirit-merchant.

METCALF, C., Leeds, common-brewer.

SLATER, J., and W. Slater, Strand, wax and tallow-chandlers.

STEVENS, S., Brierley-hill, Staffordshire, builder.

WATKINSON, T., Liverpool, tobacco-nist.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

JAMIESON, R., Glasgow, wright.
JOHNSTONE, J. Glasgow, hatter.
ROBINSON, W. E., and W. Cowan, Borrow-
stowness, corn-merchants.

LONDON MARKETS:

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 1.—
The supplies from the home counties fresh up
to this morning's market were but moderate,
and the condition generally improved. The
trade opened dull, and continued so through-
out the day. The better descriptions of Kent-
ish and Essex corn moved off hand at a decline
of 1s. per quarter from the currency of this
day se'nnight, and the secondary and inferior
parcels at a reduction of full 2s., and the
business transacting at these rates very
limited. Old foreign and free native Wheat,
owing to its scarcity, continued tolerably
steady in value. In bonded qualities we heard
of no actual sales being effected, although
some little inquiry still existed.

A good many parcels of Barley having
remained over from Friday's market, added
to a good supply this morning, caused the
stands to exhibit a full show of samples.
Although bright malting qualities continued
scarce, yet sales could not be effected unless
at a decline of 1s. per quarter, and staided, as
well as distilling and grinding descriptions,
were difficult to quit at the same reduction.

Superior samples of Malt are saleable at
our quotations, but other descriptions meet
little or no attention.

Oats this morning were in moderate supply,
although a good many were left on hand at
the close of last week, the trade ruled heavy,
and the article experienced very languid sale
at Monday's currency.

Beans commanded the terms of this day
week, and old qualities were scarce.

Peas in limited request, and unaltered in
value.

Flour heavy sale, and Irish dull, at 40s. to
41s. per sack.

Wheat	54s. to 63s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	30s. to 34s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Bollers	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	13s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	38s. to 40s. per cwt.
— Sides, new	40s. to 43s.
Pork, India, new	117s. 6d. to —s.
— Mess, new	67s. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	72s. to 74s. per cwt.
— Carlow	66s. to 76s.
— Cork	70s. to 72s.
— Limerick	68s. to 70s.
— Waterford	60s. to 66s.
— Dublin	52s. to 60s.
Cheese, Cheshire	50s. to 74s.
— Gloucester, Double	48s. to 52s.
— Gloucester, Single	48s. to 52s.
— Edam	40s. to 50s.
— Gouda	40s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	44s. to 54s.

SMITHFIELD.—April 1.

This day's supply of Beasts and Lambs was
moderately good; of Sheep, Calves, and
Porkers, rather limited. Trade was, with
each kind of meat, dull. With Beef, Mutton,
and Lamb, at a depression of full 2d. per
stone; with Veal and Pork at barely Friday's
quotations.

The beasts consisted of about equal numbers
of short-horns, Devons, Scots, Norfolk home-
breds, and Welsh runts, chiefly (say at least
1,800 of them) from Norfolk, with a few from
Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northampton-
shire, and our western districts; about 200
Herefords, as many half-fat Irish, and about
100 Sussex Beasts, from Buckinghamshire,
Kent, Sussex, and various quarters; with
about 150 Town's end Cows, a few Staf-
fords, &c.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new
Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced
crosses, in the proportion of two of the former
to five of the latter; about an eighth South
Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal
numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and
polled Norfolks, with a few old Leicesters
and Lincolns, horned Dorsets, horned and
polled Scotch and Welsh sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 4.

The arrivals this week are good. The mar-
ket dull, with the prices rather lower than on
Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		87½	87½	87	87	87	87

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A CURIOUS WEEK!

Bolt-court, 9. April, 1833.

I, who expected to gallop off last Saturday, to get amongst the fields for a fortnight, and who had great need of it, have been kept here until to-day, by a series of circumstances the most curious, and the most interesting to the public, that can possibly be imagined. It is said by many, and by a famous poet in particular, that Providence never interferes in the affairs of men in an immediate and partial manner. For many years I have believed the contrary: so many instances have occurred to me, wherein I have yielded to an indescribable influence against my own previously concerted plans, and against my own settled judgment; and the result has shown so clearly how wrong I should have been if I had not thus yielded, that I cannot help believing, most firmly, in a superintending Providence interfering at times in the affairs of men and of nations.

No boy at the morning of breaking-up at school, ever was more on tip-toe to get home to his indulgent mother, than I was, last Friday morning, to get away to a little obscure parish, amongst the heaths of Surrey, thirty-six miles from London; and, if any body had come to Bolt-court on Saturday morning, and asked why I was not off, I could not have given an answer. After post time on Saturday it seemed a sort of infatuation to remain; and, while I then began seriously to think about setting off, came a letter from COVENTRY, touching me to point out some fit per-

son to trip up the heels of ELLICE! Thus taken on a sudden; yet seeing the vast importance of the matter; seeing the vast importance of giving this famous blow, not only at the man who had voted all through for the Irish red-coat bill; but also at that family which seems to have a stomach of no bounds; seeing these things, I first made my appeal to a friend or two in the city; quite fit, in all respects. That having failed, owing to a modesty on their part which I cannot comprehend; and there being no time for making further inquiry, it being necessary to answer the letter on Saturday, I recommended my second son, the eldest being so situated, as to place, as for me to be able to get no answer from him before Monday at the soonest. These two sons are upon a perfect level in my estimation, with regard to a matter like this. Then, they are so ticklish as to such a matter; so thin-skinned as to anything being said about their merits, that I was obliged to make the offer without getting the consent of the son that I finally named. Thus situated, I did not know what to do; but, I resolved to do something at any rate; and, therefore, on Saturday I wrote the following letter, and sent it off to COVENTRY by the post of that night.

TO

Mr. ALEXANDER YATES,

In reply to a Letter of his of 3. April, requesting me to name some person to represent the City of Coventry in Parliament.

Bolt-court, 6. April, 1833.

SIR,—I received your letter last night, and I recommend you to put in nomination my son, JOHN M. COBBETT; not because he is my son; but because I think him more fit to aid me in doing the good that I wish to do to the country, than any other man that I know. He will be at Coventry on Tuesday morning; and it will be no mortification to him, if he should be obliged to do

else attempting anything; except that it will be a mortification to him, to find the city of Coventry so degraded as to be ready to re-elect a man, who forms one of the swarm of the Prime Minister's family, and who has got a place of thousands a year by the means of that seat in Parliament which Coventry has given him. In every instance, since you last elected him, he has voted for diminishing our liberties and augmenting our taxes. He has voted for navy estimates, amounting to nearly three times the sum that they amounted to during the last peace. He has voted for army estimates, amounting to nearly four times the sum that they amounted to during the last peace; he has voted for giving nearly seventeen thousand pounds, out of taxes, partly levied upon you, to purchase curiosities and to uphold a lounging-place for the idlers of London; and he has voted for a law for trying the people of Ireland by soldier-officers, instead of by judges and jurors. I do hope, that there is virtue enough amongst the men of Coventry, to make them resolve not to blast their characters for ever by the re-election of this man. To re-elect him would be to do your utmost to prevent your country from being rescued from utter ruin. The Ministry, have deprived Ireland of the trial by jury and of the right of petition; they have rejected a motion for the diminishing of sinecures; they have told the nation that they mean to take off no taxes; they have declared their intention not to repeal the Septennial Act; and, as Mr. ELLICE now makes one of this Ministry, you, by re-electing him, will declare, that Ireland ought to be ruled by *martial-law*, and ought not to have the right of petition; and that there ought to be this precedent for inflicting the same upon England: you will declare to the nation, that no sinecures ought to be abolished: you will declare to the nation, that no taxes ought to be taken off: you will declare that seven years' parliaments ought to continue! Are you ready to make these declarations in the face of your country? I trust that you are not. If you be, to be treated

like slaves to the end of your lives would be punishment far too light for this crime against your country.

Hoping for other things, and always retaining in my mind a recollection of the generous sacrifices made for me by a majority of the resident freemen of Coventry, I have been induced, in answer to your application, to recommend my son to you upon this occasion. You will want nothing to convince you of the magnitude of my labours, and of the vast importance of a person on whose knowledge, talents, and fidelity I could always rely. I do much without such aid; but, alas! not a tenth of what I should be able to do with that aid. Life is uncertain; the continuance of health is, if possible, more uncertain. The bare reflection that my son was ready at hand to supply my place, would be a consolation, an encouragement, a support, such as I could find in nothing else.

By this time, at any rate, even my bitterest enemies must be convinced of my sincerity, my zeal and devotedness to my country. In none of these do I surpass this son; but, such are my feelings about the matter, that, if I knew of another man more capable, or as capable, of serving you and his country, I would name to you that man instead of my son. Far am I from believing, that his being chosen to be a member of Parliament would tend to add to his happiness; while, alas! I too well know how much it would add to his toils; but, I know, at the same time, that, in a crisis like this, it is his duty to tender his services to his country; and, having made that tender, his duty will have been discharged; and, if the tender be rejected, he will, amidst all the ruin and all the cries of his countrymen, have the consolation to reflect, that he has done everything in his power to prevent the calamities that shall call forth those cries.

I authorise you, sir, to make this letter public in any manner that you please, apprizing you, however, that talent, zeal, and devotion, are all that my son has to tender. Never did one belonging to him touch the public money;

and to expect him to expend money for the public, would be unreasonable, indeed. He will go to Coventry and tender you his services: if you accept of them, you will find in him a faithful representative: if you do not accept of them, he will return a happier man than he went; because he will have the reflection, that the sufferings which he has so long been desirous to relieve, are become fitted to the minds of at least one portion of his countrymen.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Along with this letter, of which I authorised the publication, I sent another to Mr. YARMS, stating, that, if he and other friends thought that there was a fair chance of success, *by my going down and staying out the election, I would go*; and requesting to have an answer by the post on Monday. Thus were my precious holidays swallowed up until Monday noon. I must now go from the Coventry affair, for a little while, to another affair still more interesting; though, when I return to the Coventry affair again, that will be found to be most deeply interesting too.

On Monday morning, about nine o'clock, how great was my surprise, to find that RICHARD NEWSHAM, the flogged soldier of the 53rd regiment, was actually in my house at Bolt-court, where I myself was. My readers will recollect that I, in presenting a petition from this soldier (who was stationed AT HULL), on the 1. of April, gave notice that I should move for the petition to be printed and laid upon the table, and thereupon move for *the minutes of the courts-martial in Gibraltar*; the public will also recollect that Mr. GRANT, the Judge-Advocate-General, said that NEWSHAM was a very bad man; that he had been tried by six courts-martial; that he had *deserted twice*; and that he, the Judge-Advocate, should think it his duty to *oppose the motion*, of which I had given notice. These things remained when we sepa-

rated for the holidays, and when I was on tip-toe to get away out of the hearing of everything in London. Let the public read the following letter to the *Secretary-at-War*, and hear the sequel of it; and then cast aside, if it can, all notion of a superintending Providence.

Bolt-court, 8. April, 1833.

SIR,

I understand from RICHARD NEWSHAM himself, that he has been *sent to London and to you*, in order, as he is told, *to be sent to join his regiment at Gibraltar*; and he also tells me, that there is a vessel in the river, on board of which he expects to be sent *immediately away*! He says, that he would much rather be killed at once, in England, and have his body given to his wife and children. The circumstances connected with my presenting the petition of Newsham; the answer and declaration of Mr. Grant, the Judge-Advocate-general; the manner in which Newsham has been hurried up to town; his being *put in the black-hole last night for the manifest purpose of keeping him from me*: all these things, sir, are, if they were related publicly, calculated to fill every just man with horror: and, if they were to be consummated by the sending of Newsham out of the country, at the very moment when the whole nation knows that I am about to bring his cruel case before Parliament, you, sir, have too sound a head not to perceive the inevitable consequence with regard both to the public and the army.

I impute evil motives to nobody, and particularly, sir, to yourself; but I do hope, that, for the honour of the country, and in the sacred names of justice and mercy, that this poor man will not be sent out of the country.

Sir,

I have the honour to be,
with great respect,
your most humble,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

To the Right. Hon.
The Secretary-at-War.

P.S. I send this by my secretary, who

will, I hope, be the basis of an intimation from you, that Newsham shall not be sent out of the country.

Mr. ELLICE, who is now the Secretary-at-War, sent me word by Mr. GUTSELL, that Newsham *should not be sent out of the country*, and told Mr. GUTSELL to assure me, that *my letter gave him the very first knowledge that he had ever possessed relating to the matter!* Ah! who, then, gave the order to send this man away? Who signed the route, which brought him up to London, under an escort! He had committed no new offence: it is not alleged that he had: why put him in the black-hole in London?

The details must, however, be reserved for the present. This is *Tuesday noon*; and I must relate the official proceedings up to this time, leaving commentary for a later time. I got the following note from Mr. ELLICE this morning; and, to-day, at one o'clock, I sent the answer that follows it.

Mr. Ellice presents his compliments to Mr. Cobbett, and begs that he will have the goodness to call at the War-office to-morrow at one o'clock, should that hour suit his convenience.

Cleveland-square, 8. April, 1833.

Bolt-court, 9. April, 1833.

SIR,

Your note of yesterday was directed to this place, but carried to my house at Westminster, in consequence of which I answer it this morning, instead of having answered it last night. This is a specimen of the manner in which even the lowest underlings of Government perform the duties imposed upon them. If Newsham, who has probably about a tenth part of the pay of this letter-man, had acted thus, he would have been guilty of a "*disobedience of orders*;" which is only another phrase for "*mutiny*."

With regard to my going to the War-office to-day at one o'clock, my answer is this: that I never stepped my foot

into a Government office in the whole course of my life, and that I never will do it, unless I should live to see this taxing, policing, and barrack system brought to an end.

But, sir, I shall be extremely sorry to give you any unnecessary trouble in this business; and, therefore, I send Mr. GUTSELL, my secretary, to whom I beg you to have the goodness to communicate anything which you shall be pleased to desire to make known to me; it being, of course, understood, that this is a matter, the circumstances relative to which; must all be communicated to the public, first or last.

In the meanwhile, sir, I have to express to you my best thanks for the promptness of the answer which you had the goodness to send me yesterday by Mr. Gutsell, particularly as it contained an assurance that Newsham should not be sent out of the country; to which I have, with perfect sincerity, to add, that this was no more than I expected from your justice and humanity. I shall be glad to receive any communication that you have to make upon this subject; and I beg you to be assured, that this soldier, while I am labouring to protect him from wrong, will never hear from my lips anything, which shall, in the most distant manner, have a tendency to induce him to forget the sacred obligation which he contracted, to yield implicit obedience to all the lawful commands of his superior officers.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

with very great respect,

your most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To the Right Hon.
The Secretary-at-War.

Mr. Gutsell saw Mr. Ellice, the Adjutant-General, and another gentleman, who gave him an assurance, that NEWSHAM should not be sent away till after the investigation in Parliament. The conduct of the whole of them is reported by Mr. Gutsell to have been very polite; they all expressed a desire.

that every thing fair should take place: and it appears that it was the Adjutant-General who released NEWSHAM from the black-hole on Sunday night. It appears that they are determined that NEWSHAM should be quartered somewhere near London, until the termination of the discussion in Parliament relative to his affair. For my part, all that I desire is, that justice may take place: I have exhorted NEWSHAM to behave unexceptionably well; and, during my absence from town, which will commence to-morrow (Wednesday), I have given direction that he shall have free quarter at my house at Westminster, where I know that they will be very careful to endeavour to keep him from doing wrong; for we are to make great allowances for this man, situated as he now is. He will have scores of people, especially soldiers, tempting him to drink, in order to hear his wonderful story, which he will be eager enough to relate. Therefore, very great allowances are to be made for him. He can neither write nor read: is a man naturally of very high spirit, tenacious of his rights, and persevering to the last degree. All this is not only excusable, but in fact, is virtuous; and if the exercise of these qualities sometimes amount to a military offence, a just man will view such offence with a lenient eye. With regard to the details of his treatment, during about nine years, I will not attempt to enter upon them in this place. I hope it may be found unnecessary to do it at all; for, though I abhor standing armies and barracks, I by no means wish, as long as they do exist, to render them more dangerous than, in their very nature, they always must be, in a state calling itself free.

To-morrow morning I set off for COVENTRY, to prevent, if possible, the return of a man who voted for red-coat courts of justice.

THE LATE MR. KINLOCH,

MEMBER FOR DUNDEE.

It was my intention to have said something on the loss which the people had sustained by the death of this gentleman; but nothing that I could have said would be so befitting as the following address from the people of Glasgow to Mr. KINLOCH's constituents at DUNDEE, which I take from the *Glasgow Chronicle* of the 4. instant.

GLASGOW POLITICAL UNION.

(From the *Glasgow Chronicle*, 4. April.)

At a public meeting of the Glasgow Political Union, held in the Lyceum-rooms, 2. April, 1833, JAMES TURNER, Esq. of Thrushgrove, V. P., in the chair,

It was moved by Mr. Peter Mackenzie, seconded by Mr. John Birkmyre, and unanimously resolved, That the following address on the recent lamented death of George Kinloch, Esq. of Kinloch, M. P. for Dundee, be now subscribed by the chairman, in name and on behalf of the union, and transmitted by him to the chairman of the Dundee Political Union.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN. — We address you for the first time with much sorrow, occasioned by the sudden death of your distinguished friend and representative, George Kinloch, Esq. of Kinloch.

Permit us to assure you, that of all the elections which recently took place in Scotland, under the Reform Bill, none gave us greater satisfaction than the election at Dundee.

It animated the friends of liberty throughout Scotland. It afforded to them this cheering reflection, which, we trust, will be remembered by their children, and their children's children, that the man who was obliged to flee from his country, and to become an outlaw for it, because he had the virtue, and the rare public courage to stand forward on the 22d day of December, 1819, and to proclaim in fervid, and as we shall now take leave to say, in appropriate, and therefore not seditious language, —

the ~~dom~~ of despotism, and the retribution that awaited, as it still surely awaits, the wilful shedders of innocent blood at Manchester—should afterwards, and on that very day thirteen years, be triumphantly elected by thousands of freemen in his native town, as their representative in the first reformed Parliament.

Fellow-Countrymen—We applauded your choice—we almost envied your situation. For, in thus electing Mr. Kinloch, of Kinloch, you did honour to yourselves—you rewarded patriotism, and held out a great example to all your countrymen.

Nor did you confer this honour on Mr. Kinloch for the reasons alone to which we have adverted. You were aware of his sterling abilities and private virtues. You knew that the principles of civil and religious liberty were enshrined in his heart.

It is, we cannot help noticing, a striking feature in his short but honourable career, that he was the *first* member from Scotland who took his seat in the House of Commons for the present Parliament, as he was the *only* Scottish member who appeared in the memorable minority on the *first* division in that House; while now we have to mourn the fact, that he is the *first* member removed by the hand of death.

We honour, we revere his memory, not only for the above reasons, but because we know that he remained faithful to his political promises and principles to the last, unlike many of our other Scottish members, in whom we thought we might with equal confidence have confided; but who, unfortunately for themselves, if we may be permitted to judge from their own conduct, only employed “the word of promise to the ear to break it to the hope.”

It has occasioned us much concern to think that the invaluable life of Mr. Kinloch has, in all human probability, been sacrificed to the incessant care and anxiety he manifested to protect the rights and liberties of eight millions of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, from one of the most arbitrary and despotic bills which, we take leave to say, was ever

introduced to Parliament in its worst history,

We cannot, fellow-countrymen, make known to you all the sentiments that agitate us on the present occasion. But we beg of you to accept this sincere and heartfelt expression of regret, for the great, the irreparable loss, which you have sustained, with the nation at large, by the death of your honoured representative.

We know that the inhabitants of Dundee had the honour to produce one distinguished martyr to the cause of liberty and justice in the year 1793, in the person of the virtuous and memorable Thomas F. Palmer. We had almost said that they have produced another martyr to that cause in the year 1833, in the person of the now-lamented George Kinloch, of Kinloch.

In conclusion, fellow-countrymen, we would now invoke the sacred name of liberty, and fervently pray that, as you have been distinguished by your patriotism in times past, so you will now endeavour to place the mantle of the patriot, Kinloch of Kinloch, on some one who will at least endeavour to tread in his footsteps.”

JAMES TURNER, Chairman.

Extracted from the Minutes.

A. HEDDERWICK, Secretary.

DISTRESS IN SCOTLAND.

I TAKE the following from the *Glasgow Free Press* of the 6. instant; and I beg my readers to look at this matter attentively. What a strong confirmation of the statements of my honourable colleague, Mr. FIELDEN! Here are NO ANONYMOUS communications: no general assertions; but facts clearly proved, and that, too in the most solemn manner. Though the “reformed” House of Commons refused even to inquire into the distresses of the country, the people, it seems, are determined that the *truth* shall be known. This is the sensible way of proceeding; this is the way to shame those who, whilst they are fattening on the industry of

the people, deny the existence of distress to any extent.

CONDITION OF THE OPERATIVE WEAVERS.

The subject to which the following affidavits have reference, is so extremely important and interesting, that we stretch a point, notwithstanding their length, to give them a place. In explanation it may be necessary to state, that in consequence of the incongruous information which has been elicited of late in the House of Commons, respecting the real condition of the labouring classes, it was thought proper, at a public meeting, to appoint a committee to inquire into the state of those in and around this place. As the population, with few exceptions, consists altogether of hand-loom weavers, the committee considered it unnecessary to carry their researches farther than that class; and to arrive with accuracy at their real earnings, a number of weaving agents were desired to examine their books with the greatest care, and find out what was the net money each weaver had got, whom they had employed, during the last three months. The average is seen in their depositions; and, to put it beyond the possibility of a quibble, it was thought proper to take them upon oath. A petition founded on the fact is in course of preparation, praying for inquiry into the cause of distress, and will be dispatched to Mr. Gillen immediately. If many such petitions and affidavits were laid before the House, a motion similar to that of Mr. Attwood's would not be rejected a second time:

Upon this 26th day of March, 1833, appeared before the bailie and councillors of the burgh of Kilsyth, James Morrison, weaving agent, who depones and saith, that he has been employed as a weaving agent in Kilsyth for several years. That it is consistent with his knowledge, that the price paid for hand-loom weaving during said period, has, compared with the former state of trade, house-rent, and provisions, been very low. That, from daily intercourse with those employed by him, he is aware

that great destitution and poverty prevail among them. And he farther depones and saith, that in order to ascertain the average amount of wages received by said hand-loom weavers, deponent hath examined and collated his books and accounts, and findeth that, during the last three months, the said average rate of wages paid to, and received by said hand-loom weavers, amounts to, and does not exceed, the sum of three shillings and tenpence halfpenny per week, from which one shilling per week must be deducted for loom-rent and candles, leaving them only two shillings and tenpence halfpenny per week for house-rent, food, clothing, children's education, church accommodation, and other numerous incidental charges. And deponent farther saith, that it is consistent with his knowledge and belief, that the said average amount of wages has been lower than just now stated within, and during the last twelvemonths. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

JAMES MORRISON.

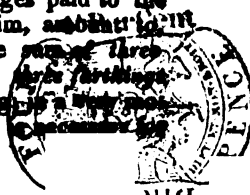
JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day and manner appeared Alexander Abercrombie, agent, who, being examined *at supra*, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witness in all things, with this difference, that the wages paid to the weavers employed by him amount to, and do not exceed the sum of *two shillings and elevenpence halfpenny*, after deducting the necessary expenses incurred in finishing the work. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

ALEXANDER ABERCROMBIE.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day and manner appeared Robert Anderson, weaving agent, who being examined *at supra*, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all things, with this difference, that the wages paid to the weavers employed by him, *amount to* and do not exceed the sum of *three shillings and fourpence* *per week*, after deducting, *as a moderate calculation, what*



finishing the work. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day and manner compared Henry Rankin, weaving agent, who being examined *ut supra*, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all things, with this difference, that the wages paid to the hand-loom weavers employed by him amount to, and do not exceed the sum of *three shillings and threepence per week*, after deducting the necessary expenses incurred in finishing the work. And this is truth, as the deponent shall answer to God.

HENRY RANKIN.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Council Chambers, Kilsyth,
March 26, 1833.

Upon the day compared William Jack, weaving agent, who, being examined *ut supra*, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all things, with this difference, that the wages paid to the weavers employed by him amount to, and do not exceed the sum of *two shillings and tenpence per week*, after deducting the necessary expenses incurred in finishing the work. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

WILLIAM JACK.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

At Kilsyth, this 26th day of March, 1833, appeared before the bailie and councillors of the burgh of Kilsyth, Daniel Taylor, weaver, Kilsyth, aged 49 years, who depones and saith that he has been a weaver for thirty-four years. Recollects that a description of goods called lappets was introduced at that period; that these goods were at that time paid at the rate of one shilling and sixpence per ell: and the deponent is not aware of any goods of precisely the same description now going, but from his knowledge of the rates presently paid for goods of a nearly similar description, that were these now in demand, they would not be paid at more than twopence-halfpenny per ell.

And deponent further states, that the depreciation has been in the ratio just now stated.

And deponent further saith, that pullicates, wrought in a 1,200 reed, have been a common kind of work wrought in and about Kilsyth for more than thirty years; that within said period he has known ninepence per ell paid for weaving this description of work; that during the last twenty years and more, the prices paid for weaving have been generally on the decline; and that *one penny three farthings* is all that is given for what was formerly paid at *ninepence* per ell.

And deponent farther states, that all descriptions of goods with which he is acquainted, have fallen in the price paid for weaving in the same proportion. And deponent saith, that certain incidental expenses, such as loom-stand, rent and candles, cannot be furnished for less than one shilling per week.—And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

DANIEL TAYLOR.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day compared James Bankier, weaver in Kilsyth, aged 48, who, being interrogated, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witness in all things, with this difference, that starching webs, carriage, and twisting, amounting to five per cent, appear not to be included in the statement made by the preceding witness. And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

JAMES BANKIER.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day compared Andrew Findlay, weaver in Kilsyth, aged 42, who depones and saith, that he has been employed as a weaver for thirty years; has been paid for weaving 1,200 pullicates *ninepence* per ell, and has known others paid *ninepence halfpenny* for weaving a similar description of goods; and he farther states, that, within these last few years, he has wrought the same description of work as low as *one penny farthing* per ell. In all other things he agrees with the

last witness. And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

A. FINDLAY.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day compared Daniel M'Farlane, weaver in Kilsyth, aged 54; has been employed as a weaver about forty-three years, is generally acquainted with the different descriptions of work that have been wrought in and about Kilsyth for more than twenty years; that he has been acquainted with the condition and habits of the working population during the period above stated, and that he has observed a great deterioration in the domestic comfort of the people around him, arising, in his apprehension, from the great reduction in the rate of wages paid to workmen, in all the departments that he is acquainted with in the manufacture of cotton goods. That the people generally are *poorly fed, and worse clothed*; that people in his situation of life are frequently compelled to neglect the education of their children, partly from poverty, and partly from the pressing demands made upon them, to avail themselves of the earliest possible opportunity of increasing their income, by the labours of their infant children. And deponent farther states, that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all other things. And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

DANIEL M'FARLANE.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Council Chambers, Kilsyth,
March 26, 1833.

Kilsyth, 28. March, 1833.

I have long been acquainted with the above deponents, and have no reason to question the truth of what they have said. In the course of discharging his duty, the subscriber has been called for more than thirty years, steadily and occasionally, to visit many families in this place and neighbourhood, and is well acquainted with their circumstances. He has of late years observed a progressive deterioration in household furniture, and the dress of parents and children. He knows that in various cases the education of the young has

been neglected through poverty, and the attendance of the aged on the public services of religion has been given up through want of proper clothing. That friendly and charitable institutions are allowed to languish, and the necessities of life in many cases procured with difficulty. Every thing, indeed, bespeaks a state of wretched destitution, and unless some means be devised for alleviating the public distress, the most deplorable consequences may be expected.

JOHN ANDERSON, Minister.

I feel myself called upon to declare that the preceding facts and statements are consistent with the knowledge and experience of seventeen years, which I have had among the class of the community referred to.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Kilsyth, 1. April, 1833.

Kilsyth, 1. April, 1833.

I have examined the above statements, and am acquainted more or less with the individuals who have made said statements upon oath, and I attach entire credit to the fidelity and accuracy of their report as to the lamentably low state of the weaving department of our trade. I have known this place for nearly twelve years past, during which period the weaving conducted here has been all along in a depressed state, and the effects are but too apparent in the diminution of comfort in domestic life, neglect of education, and attendance to religious ordinances, occasioned in many instances by depressed circumstances.

WILLIAM BURNS, Minister
of the Parish of Kilsyth.

We, subscribing to the above statement as consisting with our knowledge, have in addition, to state, that the weekly earnings as above, low as they are, go on the supposition that the weavers have *constant* employment, and labour the usual hours, that is, *fourteen hours a day*.

JAMES LANG, Elder.
ALEX. HENDERSON, Elder.

(From the Glasgow Free Press.)

KIRKINTILLOCH.—Owing to their long-continued distress, in consequence of the lowness of wages, and after having had some correspondence with the weavers' committee of Glasgow, the weavers in and around Kirkintilloch, thought it advisable to call a general meeting of their body, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the establishment of a board of trade, upon the plan proposed by the weavers of Glasgow. The meeting accordingly took place here, in the New-Light Burgher Meeting-house, on the 12. March, when Mr. W. Steven was unanimously called to the chair. After stating the object of the meeting, and making a few sensible remarks upon their miserable condition, he concluded by expressing it as his opinion, that they, in conjunction with all the hand-loom weavers in the country, ought to make one simultaneous struggle to free themselves from what he might say was worse than Egyptian bondage. A few pithy resolutions were then read, moved, and seconded, and unanimously adopted. A petition founded upon these resolutions was then read and agreed to. After which the meeting was addressed by a delegate from Glasgow, who read a letter sent from the hand-loom weavers of Bolton, who were also in progress of petitioning Parliament for the same object. After having given votes of thanks to the chairman and others who conducted the business, they immediately dispersed.

This meeting was composed of decent clean tradesmen, of from 10 to 70 years of age, who all conducted themselves with the greatest propriety and good order, during the whole proceedings. But amongst them could be perceived countenances which told, in language not to be misunderstood, that all was not right—that within there were the yawnings of nature for food—that by their once-comfortable firesides there were the infant but unavailing clamours for bread, with the once-cheerful but now-famished and disconsolate wife. Would that some of those had been present who receive their thousands and

tens of thousands of public money, for doing almost literally nothing. Perhaps the sight would have brought a shake of the head from a Lord Althorp had he been present, although he and others can solemnly declare that they do not believe there is much distress in the country.

The committee next ordered the clerk to write to J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., M.P., desiring his support when the petition should be sent, to which he returned the following answer :

London, March 11, 1833.

SIR,—I had the pleasure of receiving your letter relative to the petition which it is purposed by the weavers of Kirkintilloch to address to Parliament for the establishment of a board of trade. You may depend upon me presenting your petition, and corroborating from my own personal knowledge the severe distress under which the weavers of Kirkintilloch, as well as the west of Scotland, are suffering. I wish I could hope for any relief to this from the proposed board, as in that case I should most cordially support it; and it is only my apprehension that the plan proposed, of fixing the prices of the fabrics of cotton, silk, and wool, is one which cannot be carried into effect, and which, if it could, would not, I fear, afford practical relief, which prevents me from pledging a positive support on my part to the object of your petition. If I can be convinced that it will benefit you, no one will support it more cordially, as I believe I may say that no one feels more anxiously for your present distress. I am sure you would not ask me to support it if I could not discover any benefit to arise from the plan proposed. I have had a communication with the members for Glasgow, to whom the weavers of Glasgow had written on the subject; their answer, and a letter from the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, will, I have no doubt, be communicated to you, or you can have access to it by applying to the committee of the weavers of Glasgow. I assure you that the signatures of electors, deeply as I feel indebted to my friends at Kirkintilloch,

are not necessary to induce me to take an interest in a petition emanating from the weavers of Kirkintilloch, and in any thing which they may conceive has a tendency to promote their welfare, in which I feel so anxious a desire to be able to promote.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
JOHN C. COLQUHOUN.

Mr. David Horn.

The petitions were sent off, accompanied with the following letter :

Kirkintilloch, 20. March, 1833.

SIR,—Yours we received of date 11. March, in answer to ours of date 8. curt, and take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude for your promptitude in attending thereto, and for the interest you seem to take in our prosperity. With the same post you will receive our petition, signed by 880 weavers ; also a petition from Waterside, parish of Kirkintilloch, and Torrens, parish of Campsie, signed by 660 weavers, both of which we hope you will lose no time in presenting unto the hon. the Commons' House of Parliament. It was our intention to have joined the whole into one petition, but such is our extreme poverty, that we could not command as much cash as pay the postage for extra weight. We are sorry that you seem to entertain doubts relative to the practicability and utility of our proposed plan. For our views on this subject, we refer you to the circulars sent by the Weavers' Committee of Glasgow, which we think throw some light on the subject. We have seen the letter you referred to as published in the Glasgow newspapers, of the hon. the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and with all deference to the high station, great talents, and vast experience of the hon. President, we beg leave humbly to differ from him in opinion on this subject. The practicability of the plan proposed, seems to us all but self-evident. We wish not to cramp the energies of our employers, by wishing a fixed price for our labour, which they cannot at all times pay. No ; all we wish for is, that whatever the majority of our respectable manufacturers say they are able to pay

for the time being, should be the minimum price, until such time as they in conjunction with a committee of weavers, should see meet to alter or amend the same. And that such an understanding should exist between manufacturers and their weavers, as that this rule should be observed by both parties under a given penalty imposed by Government. In short, we wish for nothing more than the benefit of what almost all other mechanics possess within the compass of their own power, and the exercise of which, for their own benefit, seems even in the eye of Government itself so necessary, that it has received the sanction of the legislature under the Combination Act ; the necessary benefit of which, however, we are deprived of, and what is worse, under circumstances which deprives us of all hope of ever enjoying its benefits, but for the interference of the legislature in our behalf. This, sir, is the sum of our petition. But we will, perhaps, be told by those who are ignorant of the ruinous nature of the complained-of grievance, that we are wrong, that it is the power of steam with which we have to contend, and that it is that which brings down our wages to such a low ebb ; but we must humbly tell such that we believe no such thing. We grant, indeed, that steam has been the means of reducing the price of our labour to a certain degree ; but we cannot think that it could bring the price of hand-loom labour below what it could be done for by steam. Be this as it may, we are willing to contend with the steam, for we know its power ; but we can no longer contend with the low infatuated adventuring manufacturers, the power of whose avarice presses us almost to death ; an avarice, the depth and power of which is beyond the ken of the most enlightened statesman or philosopher. A stronger proof of the practicability of the proposed plan, need scarcely be given than this, that the continual cry of our employers is, Get such and such houses to raise their prices, or else we will be necessitated to bring down our prices to a level with theirs. But it may be said, to interfere with the free

dom of trade, is bad policy. If all things were conducted upon free and equitable principles, we would say so too; but such you are aware is not the case. And hence the reason we ask for legislative interference in our behalf. Is it bad policy for Government to interfere in a country molested with marauders and murderers? To introduce severe, nay even martial law, in such circumstances, seems necessary, and seems to be the opinion of those who hold the highest situation in our state. Now, sir, the only difference between our case and that of the peaceable inhabitants of such a country is, that they are driven from their houses by ruffians; we by our feeling, but embarrassed landlords. They are murdered by the bludgeon; we by starvation. They, by persons justly liable to the most ignominious punishment; we, by persons under the protection of a law, which the hon. President seems to think it would be impracticable to alter, and sees no expedient to demand such an alteration. And most of this distress occasioned, we conceive, in consequence of the want of the remedy for which we pray. If in the case of Ireland (admitting all to be true that is said of her) such measures as are pending in Parliament are deemed expedient, surely, surely they will not be so inconsistent as to deny us our request. But what most of all astonishes us, is the hon. President's affirmation, that the proposed plan is neither practicable nor expedient. What can he mean by not expedient? Does he mean that our circumstances will otherwise soon be bettered; that some thousands of our idle sinecurists and pensioners, who never did a plack's worth of good to their country, are to be paid off; that the enormous load of taxes under which we groan, will soon be lifted from our shoulders, and thus the necessities of life will be reduced in conformity to our small incomes? Or, does he mean that our foreign commerce is about to be extended, and that great demands for our labour will raise its price, without the legislative enactment we seek to obtain? Or, does he mean that our

circumstances are not so bad as to require such interference? The first of these opinions cannot be his, otherwise such an important item could not have been omitted in his brief letter,—and as for the extension of our foreign commerce, it would by no means do away the evil of which we complain. And if it be possible that he be yet ignorant of our distress, we would humbly refer him to our manufacturers' own books; to the many pitiful details of our distress which have of late appeared in the public newspapers; and also the memorials which have been sent to Lord Althorp. And if he still be unconvinced, we would ask him the following questions: Does the almost absolute starvation of nearly a fourth part of the intelligent mechanics of the country, not call loudly for some legislative interference in their behalf? Does the wretchedness of our children, the fast declining and almost desolate state of our manners, occasioned for want of education,—added to the unfeeling and infatuated conduct of a number of ruthless and unprincipled speculators, not form a sufficient expedient to justify legislative interference? Such facts may neither touch the feelings, nor convince the judgment of the hon. President, and he may still adhere to his former opinions. But we certainly will be greatly mistaken, if you, who of late travelled amongst us, and with your own eyes saw our distress, and heard our mournful tale, and again and again gave us reason to believe that your enlightened judgment was on the rack to find out expedients for our relief, and that your refined and energetic feelings were participating in all our sorrows—we say, that if, after all this, we be disappointed of your support, we will be disappointed indeed. But we hope better things, and that you will, with all the energies of your soul, wield your mighty sword of eloquence in behalf of your distressed constituents and countrymen, and you will thus embalm yourself in our affections, and we, with grateful hearts, will aid in handing your name down to posterity, as the friend and benefactor of man; and thus will

an honour and a benefit be conferred upon you, more glorious, and more lasting, and satisfactory to your enlightened mind, than all the honours and emoluments that the highest office in this great empire could bestow.

DAVID HORN, Secretary.

To J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., M.P.

To the foregoing Mr. Colquhoun sent the following reply:

London, 29. March, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th, and of the two petitions from the weavers of Kirkintilloch, and of Waterside, Torrance, which reached me this morning. It will be, I fear, some time before I can possibly present them, as my name stands low on the list now, and the names are taken in their order; but the moment my name comes on, your petitions, along with many more on different subjects which I hold, will be presented.

You do me more than justice in believing that I deeply sympathize in your distress—so much so, that I was induced, principally by my feeling of anxiety on that subject, occasioned by what I saw at Kirkintilloch of the condition of the weavers, to vote for Mr. Attwood's motion, for a committee to inquire into the causes and remedy for the distress of the country. I am very far from agreeing with Mr. Attwood in his motion, that the distress can be relieved by a change in the currency, which I take to be as absurd as the idea would be, that we should get more corn by changing the measures by which we measure it; nor can I agree with those who expect that the condition of the operative classes can be directly relieved by a reduction of taxes. I believe the reduction of taxes to be a great and imperative duty, and to be useful in its effects upon our foreign trade, in which way it affects (indirectly) the industry of the country. But I see no hope of direct relief to the operative from reduced taxation, as I fear you would find now, as you have found since the war, that as taxes were taken off the

necessaries of life, prices would fall, and the wages of labour also. Such has been our past experience—such would be, if I do not greatly mistake it, our future history. I far rather agree with you—whoseem to me to go much nearer the root of the matter in your present wish to fix the *rate of prices*, and the *consequent rate of wages*. I honestly assure you, that your scheme is, to my mind, much more reasonable, as a scheme of relief to national distress, than the scheme of the political economists, who bid us look to relief from changes in the currency, or a reduction in the taxation. My doubt is (as I hinted before) whether practically your views can be carried into effect. You will observe that the evil you complain of, is not the effect of any combination on the part of the manufacturers to reduce prices, which reduction falls upon you—it is the effect of the *underselling of a few*, who disturb the fixed rate of prices, and force the combined body of manufacturers to fall down upon a lower level of prices. This is the evil which you state to me as the result of your experience. Now the law which you wish, would, in establishing a board, only legalize as it were this, which already exists—the natural wish of manufacturers to keep up a certain fair scale of prices; but the law would not reach, because it could be easily evaded by the few who would continue in spite of the law to undersell their neighbours, and bring down the scale of prices. It would, in fact, give them a premium, as I am afraid you would find that a law of this nature would be evaded by the dishonest, and observed only by the honest, who would be the great sufferers. I suspect you would prove, that in the prices of your manufacture, as in the prices of all articles, the rate is fixed by a general competition, over which the law has no power; and if you attempted to fix a limit beyond which the competition should not pass, the limit would be set up by law, but the competition would creep under, and escape into the lower field from which you wish to exclude it. In a contest between an artificial

low and the natural operation of demand or supply, it has been always found that the latter triumphs, and the former becomes a dead letter,—and so I fear it would be in this case. I throw out my views hastily: but I state them lest you should think I do not give my attention to the subject. They are, however, quite open to conviction, and I shall rejoice to be convinced that there is a way in which the legislature can assist you, whatever doubts I may have upon the point. That is my only difficulty, for my wish is to serve you; and I would seek your relief by any laws which I could believe would serve you. It is painful to me (more painful than I can express), to see your sufferings, and to feel the weakness of legislative power to help you. Pray express my sympathy and sincere good wishes to all the petitioners, and believe me, with great sincerity,—dear Sir, yours, &c. JOHN C. COLQUHOUN.

Mr. Horn.

P.S.—I ought to add that the terms and reasoning of your letter impress me with feelings of the highest respect and esteem.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. LORD ALTHORP.

MY LORD.—Deeply interested as I am in the manufacture of one of the principal necessities of life, soap, I shall not waste your Lordship's time in apologizing for addressing to you a few plain observations on the state of that trade, and on the policy and necessity both of a remission of the enormous impost upon the article, and of an alteration in the mode by which that impost is secured and collected. Though no advocate of that system which renders necessary a scale of taxation unheard of in any other age or country, I yet certainly do not, my Lord, submit these remarks in what your Lordship may perhaps be inclined to deem an "ignorant impatience" of being taxed. On the contrary, I shall take care to show that the alterations I propose are fairly consist-

ent with the integrity of the revenue, at the same time, that they will, beyond a doubt, afford an immense boon to the public, and a proper benefit to the manufacturer, who has a right to reap a fair profit for the employment of his capital, time, and talent. With the system which renders this tax necessary I shall not meddle; but shall merely point out to your Lordship the extremely heavy pressure of the tax upon all classes, but most especially the labouring classes. I shall next show your Lordship the great temptation and facilities for evading the duties under the present system, and then proceed to try to convince your Lordship, that a great remission of the present duties, under proper regulations, is perfectly compatible with the interests of the revenue: and *first* as to the burden of the present duty. The hard soap duty is, as your Lordship knows, 28s. per cwt. or 3d. per lb. upon the article hard soap, including all kinds, those used by the rich as well as by the poor, this being a little diminished by the allowance of tenths for shrinkage, or for whatever consideration it was allowed. I should think, however, that the duty actually paid cannot be stated at less than 26s. per cwt. and is probably a little more. Looking then at the amount of this duty, which, be it remembered, was the "*war duty*," I beg your Lordship to observe that the present manufacturers' selling price for ordinary good bright yellow soap, is 57s. per cwt., for inferior brown soap, 53s. per cwt. The wholesale grocer adds to this, from 1s. to 2s. per cwt. and the retailer 4s. more as their profits, so that the consumer is paying 60s. to 61s., or 6½d. lb., per cwt. for good bright yellow soap, and 58s., or 6¼d. lb., for inferior brown soap. Thus to the poor man who uses the worst kind, your Lordship sees the duty amounts nearly to one hundred per cent. upon the article. To the rich man the case is different; he uses the finest scented curd or white soap, for which the manufacturers' price is 71s. per cwt. and the retailers' about 77s. per cwt. or 8½d. per lb. upon which the duty of threepence is not above 70 per

cent. thus making about 30 per cent. difference in favour of the rich above the poor consumer. In addition to this, I need not observe to your Lordship that, the labouring man must necessarily use more soap than he who is exempted from the duties of the workshop, the warehouse, or the manufactory, nor has he the same means with the rich of keeping his children clean, and therefore, the cleansing material is to him far more a necessary of life than to the rich. I now turn to the second branch of my subject, the facilities for smuggling which exist under the present most imperfect and inefficient regulations. They are innumerable, by one who has not had the advantage of practice to enable him to complete his list—and many as they are your Lordship need not doubt they will be taken advantage of when it is considered, that, at present, by smuggling a single ton of hard soap in a week, any person may nett a clear income of 1,200*l.* per annum—and so on in proportion. If human nature were even better than it is, my Lord, it would be folly to expect that temptations like these will not be too often yielded to, and I shall, therefore, insist no further on the absolute necessity of curing, or attempting to cure, the imperfections of the present system, as soon as they can be pointed out. The great facilities for smuggling soap, have arisen, I beg your Lordship to observe, from the reduction of the salt tax, the tax on brimstone, and the candle duty, added to the inefficient regulations of the excise. Before the remission of the salt tax, hard soap was necessarily made nearly altogether from barilla and kelp, wood ashes being generally far too dear to be much employed; and these substances, embarrassed the smuggler by the refuse they leave, which he could neither keep nor get rid of, without great difficulty and suspicion. Since, however, the decomposition of common salt by means of oil of vitrol, has opened out the manufacture of British barilla or rather soda, a fine alkaline salt of great strength and without refuse can be used—and by this means a fraudulent maker may finish the boiling of soap in a few hours with-

out leaving any trace almost of what has been doing. The next facility arises out of the remission of the candle duty. Before that remission the candle-melter was, as your Lordship knows, subjected to the same strictness of excise surveillance as the soap-maker. This, however, is no longer the case—where no duty is obtained, the excise, though nominally surveyors, are not so in any efficient reality. The candle-maker deals in tallow, the great component part of soap, and is generally a retailer of soap with his candles. There is nothing to prevent his having alkali on his premises with perfect legality and even without suspicion; his utensils may be applied to soap boiling as easily as to melting tallow; and I need not tell your Lordship that the trade of smuggling soap is to a lax conscience far preferable to that of making candles at any profit now to be obtained by such trade. The inference is obvious.

The great injury to the honourable soap-maker, however, arises out of the miserably inefficient regulations of the excise itself, which seem framed to apply to those who stand least in need of them, and to give every chance to the probable evader of the law.

According to the present usage, those houses, the scale of whose business presupposes a payment of considerable duties, are very properly strictly and perpetually watched. An assistant is constantly stationed on the premises, the gauger is seldom absent, and the district supervisor suffers no day to pass without seeing that all is going on as it should. With the smaller manufactories, however, this is not the case. There is no stationed assistant on the premises, which are visited only at intervals of several hours, and the routine of the business carried on therein is consequently only imperfectly known to the surveyor. Now, my Lord, taking into consideration the temptation described, the ease by which in a few hours a making may be finished, taken out, and fresh materials, having exactly the same appearance, substituted—I ask you, my Lord, is it either foolish or uncharitable to suppose that such men

sometimes be the case? Certainly not, neither is it to suppose that men of good property are less likely to enter into a trade with dishonest motives than those destitute of it. Quitting this part of the subject, however, I shall now describe some of the other facilities for smuggling, which spring from the present erroneous system, and I crave your Lordship's attention to the regulations as to drawbacks, which are unquestionably the means of introducing frauds innumerable. Your Lordship is aware that in Ireland no soap duty is paid at all, and that of late years the full drawback of 28*l.* per ton has been allowed upon all hard soap exported from England to Ireland, as if Ireland were a foreign country.

The first effect of this has been to add to the miseries of unhappy Ireland, by destroying the soap trade there altogether. And how this happens, a little explanation will make very evident. I have already stated that, the nett duty really paid upon soap is about 26*s.* per cwt. The drawback, however received, is 28*s.*, so that here is a clear bounty of two pounds per ton in favour of the English manufacturer and against the Irish. Your Lordship will perhaps ask how it happens that this bounty does not exterminate the soap trade in *all* foreign countries as it does in Ireland, and the question is a natural one: but your Lordship must remember that in exporting soap to *really* foreign countries, the indirect taxes on soap, that is to say, the tallow duty of 3*l.* 2*s.* per ton, and the barilla duty of 2*l.* per ton, the palm oil duty 2*l.* 10*s.* and the cocoa nut oil duty 2*l.* per ton; that on rosin as a component of rough turpentine, which are not drawn back, neutralize the effect of this bounty when English soap is brought in competition with foreign soap, which is made of untaxed tallow or untaxed olive oil, (of which last article the English soap made is most foolishly deprived by a prohibiting duty for the advantage of Russia), and untaxed barilla, &c.; while in Ireland, where these taxes are paid, the bounty acts to the destruction of the Irish soap-maker. But this is only a small part of the evil. Does your Lordship

suppose that the soap exported to Ireland never comes back again, and that the steam-boats which bring over Irish paupers do not also bring over other forbidden articles, equally injurious to the revenue? They do, my Lord; and many a herring barrel and many a linen bale (in appearance), are well loaded with hard soap for the English market, upon which the drawback has been obtained.

But this is only one kind of drawback, there is a second sort to be considered. Upon all hard soap used in the milling of woollen cloths, &c. three-fourths of the duty are remitted, and the drawback is obtained by the exhibition of invoices which were formerly verified on oath by the manager or one of the managers of the manufactory, and now are by the manufacturer himself. Now, my Lord, it is evident that by exhibiting false invoices drawbacks to a considerable extent may be obtained upon soap which never even existed; and if there be such a thing as a roguish soap-maker or cloth-manufacturer, is it possible, does your lordship think, to suppose that they have not found this out?

So much for drawbacks, I trust I have pretty clearly shown the evils resulting from them, and I am now to trouble your Lordship with the system of *certificates*. At present, with every parcel of soap sent out by the manufacturer there goes a certificate, specifying the weight, &c., and soap sent from a manufactory *without this* is liable to seizure. This is very well in appearance, but on the other side it also happens that soap which *has* a certificate, nobody thinks of seizing, and as there is nothing to prevent the certificates from being got back again, and as it is an easy thing to alter a date, so it turns out that one certificate may cover more than one parcel of soap, and this without chance of detection, as the excise keep no stock account, and have no check of any sort upon the manufacturer; in this matter, thus the certificate is a cover, and not a preventive of fraud, and as at present managed, is evil unmixed, and not productive of any benefit to anybody but the dishonest.

Such, my Lord, is the situation of the

situation which seems to unite everything likely to prevent either the seller or buyer of soap from having *clean hands*; by which the public is taxed as much for the benefit of the smuggler as of the revenue, and in which between the two, the fair-dealing manufacturer is depressed exactly in the ratio of his honesty and good conscience.

I have now arrived, my Lord, at the difficult part of my subject. It is always easy to describe evils, but often hard to find the cure. Can I find a cure for these? To say that I can, would be arrogance extreme, to say that I am willing to try, may be allowed to pass, at all events, for nothing worse than well-meaning officiousness.

If your Lordship could for a moment be supposed to condescend to ask me what course I should take to cure those evils, I should at once reply—*first*, diminish the temptation to smuggle; *next*, increase the preventives of smuggling.

If the duty on hard soap, from three-pence per lb., were at once struck down to a penny per lb., two-thirds of the temptation would at all events be extinguished at a blow, and the public would be benefited to the extent of about 2d. per lb. upon every pound of hard soap used—that is to say, brown soap would be nearly one-third cheaper than it is now, a great boon to the poor man.

If the allowance made to woollea manufacturers, &c. upon the soap they use in mulling were put an end to, the Government would be a gainer to the extent of one-fourth of the amount of that impost; as these manufacturers would then pay a penny where before they paid only three-farthings per lb.

In addition to this I should at once decide upon stationing an assistant exciseman at every soap house, great and small, and in order to lessen the expense to Government I should charge every soap-maker 25*l.* for his annual license, and those who made more than 500 tons, at the rate of 1*s.* per ton for all above the 500 tons, and I should also empower the Board of Excise in cases of conviction for smuggling, to call upon the trader so convicted, if he

continued to carry on his trade, to find two sureties in 500*l.* each that he would not again commit the offence.

I have reason to believe, my Lord, this plan was partially acted upon when the remission of the beer duty occasioned a temporary over-supply of excisemen.

The result was, that the duty upon soap was in that year increased 50,000*l.*, and that about a twelfth of that increase was paid by the house to which I, your Lordship's humble correspondent, am attached; and that I am ready to prove that the greater part of the increase which we paid was in consequence of orders from the towns and districts of Hull, Selby, and York, in which towns and districts several smuggling houses were broken up, or temporarily suppressed, in consequence of the experiment which I had recommended.

Taking the effect of all these measures, it is clear that smuggling would receive a check, that would go far to extinguish it; and that this joined to the increase of consumption, would make up, to a great extent, the loss in revenue arising from striking off two-thirds of the tax. It has been asserted to me, by one who had opportunities for knowing, that the soap smuggled, compared to the quantity that paid duty, was at as one to two. If anything like this be the truth, it must be clear to your Lordship, that the gain upon this would at once bring the revenue up to the pitch of three-half-pence per lb. upon the quantity that is now paying duty.

What the increase arising out of increased consumption would be, it is impossible for me even to guess, but I am sure that it would be great. At present to buy soap sufficient for a working man and his family, would make a hole in his income, for which cleanliness itself would be no excuse. Families, on the average, are of five persons, the father, mother, and three children. Wages throughout England cannot, I fear, be called more than ten shillings per week to the labourer. To buy, therefore, one pound and a half of the commonest soap at sixpence or sixpence farthing per lb. the present price, runs

away with a twelfth or thirteenth of his whole weekly income, and yet this quantity for an artisan, his wife, and his three children, is far from sufficient.

If he bought 2½hs. under the reduced duty, the gain to the revenue would be considerable. Whether this duty of one penny per pound on hard soap could be levied in poor, miserable, maltreated Ireland, it is not for me, but for your Lordship to say, but if it could, I firmly believe the Exchequer would lose little by the proposed change.

In conclusion, I would beg leave earnestly to press upon your Lordship the policy of extinguishing the duty upon the various vegetable oils which may be used in the manufacture of hard soap, especially olive oil. It is known to your Lordship that the soaps of France and Spain, indeed most of the continental soaps, are produced by the union of olive oil with alkali, and that the olive may be grown to an interminable extent, not only in the warmer climates of Europe, but in America, Asia, and Australia. Why then, I ask, should this country be solely dependent on Russia for the principal constituent of her soaps, tallow? or, why should tallow be allowed to supplant, in England, the vegetable? why should this be? especially when all consider that the supply of tallow from Russia must soon find its limit, and be inadequate to meet the increasing demand for this country, in which (I state the fact to your Lordship with poignant feelings of grief, but it is a fact which I have means superior to those of most men in this country of knowing), the supply of home-produced tallow, in proportion to the population, is every day decreasing, because, my Lord (I must speak out), the labouring classes are unable to live as they ought to do upon butchers' meat.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
your Lordship's obedient servant,
THOMAS DOUBLEDAY.

" ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, AND " VOTE BY BALLOT."

(From Cobbett's Magazine.)

The saying which VIRGIL puts into the mouth of *Choræbus* is translated by DAYDEN aptly enough to have been studied as a motto for the Whigs:

" Let fraud supply the want of force in war."

But the Trojan leader, along with his host, was the victim of his own stratagem; and the Whigs are likely to share a like fate unless they change their mode of warfare. This line naturally comes to memory on reading some articles which have appeared of late in the *Edinburgh Review*; which articles exhibit the most arduous rummings of man's brain to find reasons, that we ever saw in our lives. The object is, to show that further reform in the House of Commons is not necessary; and it is but just that as many as possibly can should do these articles the honour of reading them; because, if the writer have not made out the case upon which he pleads, he has at least given one of the finest specimens of what it is to exhaust all a man's powers of arguing on one side of a question; he is the most laborious and perspiring drudge of faction that ever took the implement of Grub-street in hand. The *Ballot*, in particular, seems to have given him the horrors; and no reason that he can here find can be so contemptible but it becomes a weighty fish in the Reviewer's net. The readers of these articles should, at the same time, turn back to another which appeared in the same *Review* in the year 1807, where they will see the question of reform handled in an equally masterly way (the labourer's task then being to show that no reform at all was necessary), and wherein that question was set at rest after the manner of Mr. Canning's setting-at-rest for paper-money: that is to say, so that it might only become a subject of livelier agitation at a future day. Perhaps some will say, that it is unfair to compare things which occurred so long ago with those occurring so lately, that the *Edinburgh Review's* article of 1807 ought now to be

mere matter of amusement for political antiquaries, and that it should already be classed among things which connoisseurs consider as of the "*true antique*," and, consequently not to be looked upon as at all applicable to our own time. We should think, however, that this cannot be admitted in fairness; because, while the *Reviewer* of Edinburgh is one of great penetration and foresight, it is for the *same faction*, and to gain or keep the *same profits* in place, that he has all along been at work. Besides, the difficulty of distinguishing between what is too old to apply and what is not, has been more strikingly proved by what this *Reviewer* said only a few weeks ago compared with an event that has taken place even since that: we mean, the bitter taunt of the Whig *Reviewer* at the Tories, charging them with having incited the Radicals to further reform, in order to produce a revolution, coupled along with the fact that the Tories and Whigs have, since the date of that taunt, made up again, like true brothers, and are at this moment making a joint stand against the Radicals! Thus much let us say, at the outset of our notice of farther reform, just by way of a compliment to the consistency of its Whig opponents.

The above is, to some, a frightful title to write under. But we prefer taking this to anything of the more moderate sort, if it be only out of further compliment to the Whigs: for this, "*Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot*," is only the extreme wish of a power, the influential fear of which brought the Whigs into place, and placed a reforming Chancellor on the woolsack. We were at first going to address ourselves, under this head, "*To all honest Whigs*;" but the words were no sooner down, than we started at the sight of them, and ran our pen through them; not choosing to seem as if promising a string of ineffectual jokes upon a serious subject, which our readers might naturally think we were doing if they saw us connecting the idea of *honesty* along with the name of *Whig*. We shall prefer, there-

fore, to submit our observations to the judgment of all *moderate reformers*, as a pretty numerous class of the nation are called.

In doing this we shall confine ourselves as nearly as we can to the statement of our own views, independently of what has been said by those with whom we disagree. The invitation, however, which the sophistry of the Edinburgh *Reviewer* gives to expose him, is almost irresistible. But we have no room to notice him more than generally: to see through him completely, one must read all he says; so we recommend our readers to look at the two last of his numbers, and especially at that for January, in which, among many other things equally shameless, he says, in speaking of the *Ballot*, "*The Ultra Tories have brought many ills upon their country; they, and their natural allies, seditious mobs, in both parts of the empire; may possibly add this to the catalogue.*" The term "*Ultra Tory*," taken with those others which the confusion in public opinion has given birth to, "*Ultra Whig*," "*Moderate Whig*," "*Ultra Radical*," "*Moderate Radical*," &c., shows that the two pure factions that have been co-operating so long, are nearly at an end; and that, if men would make any distinction between politicians as respects their *principles*, it must now be between honest men and rogues, whatever name they give themselves; and this *Reviewer* seems to claim a distinguished rank among the latter of the two. The Whigs, to charge the Tories with sedition; the Whigs, who bullied the Tories out of place so short a time since, and thrust themselves in, by calling this same "*seditious mob*" to their aid! The Tories had the odium of holding all nominal power when the popular irruption took place; and now the insolent Whig talks as if *he* (the rogue!) had no hand in bringing about that condition of the people which gave rise to the necessity of compliance with the people's demands. But did not the Whigs help to do all the worst acts of oppression and cruelty: did they not, per-

secretly, among other things, praise the employing of spies to carry on bad government, and vote for bills of indemnity to avert the legal consequences to a ministry who had broken down the people's best safeguards in the law?

Contrasting the harm done by the Tories (they being ever assisted in it by the Whigs), along with the good done by the Whigs, we cannot, of course, forget that greatest of all their good deeds, the *Septennial Bill*; a law whereby every member of the House of Commons has a right to sit for nearly one quarter of an age, without his constituents having any means of calling him to account. This sitting for seven years is a thing not to be argued upon at all. There may be some dishonest politicians, who are interested in its continuance, some Whigs who would have brass enough to look you in the face and defend it. All conscientious and sensible men are agreed, that if the constituency be such as are fit to judge of a man's merits as a member of Parliament, and if the mode by which elections are conducted be good, that, then, the duration of Parliaments and recurrence of elections ought to be a mere matter of convenience, like the holdings of markets and fairs. And this is what the Parliament, as at present reformed, will very soon admit and act upon, or its present reformed state is likely to be of little benefit to the nation.

The great, and the only question in fact, at issue on reform is, how far the people ought to be suffered to interfere in the management of their own affairs; and this, we know, is a very ticklish question with the "moderate" reformers. Too much liberty among a nation does, it is said, lead to anarchy; this sort of excess, therefore, we admit, is exceedingly dangerous, since anarchy in a civilized state is infinitely worse than the quiet of barbarism. But what, again, is to be said of a government, possessed of all but absolute control, which so manages the people's concerns as every now-and-then to cause the "lower orders" to force themselves, by violence, into power, and to start up,

and, looking the Government in the face, say, "We are wiser than you!" If the "lower orders" have done this, it is the fault of the "higher" alone; because the "higher" have ruled the whole roast. There are many of the "moderate" reformers whom we respect, on account of the reasonableness of their views. But they have an unreasonable as well as a reasonable side. Take a man, for instance, unconnected with any government squandering, who has five hundred acres of land belonging to him, and who knows that, in case of a revolution, he might possibly lose the whole of his property; this man has a good reason for desiring to prevent anything tending to such a loss: he is *interested*, to be sure, but he is not the less just as long as his interest does not clash with that of the nation in general. His just motives for his own security, however, naturally induce him to hold opinions which are unjust towards the community in general. Blinded by his interest, he does not see that, for the sake of temporary quiet, he would only keep up a system which makes the danger of revolution everlasting. He has no *politics*, in fact, but the immediate necessities of his own fortune dictate. His thoughts for a nation's sake are applicable to some happy state of things which does not exist. Let such a man look back through the events of not many months past, and he will see that all the reform hitherto produced has come, not out of that moderation of which he is the advocate; but from that spirit of revolution which must ever be a concomitant of immoderate use of power in a government. Cannot such a man see how much more secure he would be, if the government he has to depend on did not, as ours is incessantly doing, rouse a turbulent spirit with the people? How can he wonder at the people's impatience, knowing, as we all do, that there are hundreds of men, and not of the "lower orders" alone, who, while they feel obliged to profess attachment to "established institutions" in public, talk pure republicanism in their private lettings-out: how can

he wonder that the mere "ignorant" should be unable to see enough difference between a *king* and a *president*, to reconcile them to an unnecessary squandering of tens of millions every year?

The complaint of the laborious is, that they have not their proper share in making the laws. To which we have heard some of the "political economists" answer, and especially in speaking on the question of *pledges*: 1st. That the greater part of the people's misery has been occasioned by their own misconduct; and, 2dly. That listening to the popular voice has a *revolutionary* tendency. One or the other of these positions must be withdrawn: they cannot both be maintained but by two courses of argument the very opposite to each other: the two together lead to a dilemma. We cannot, in one and the same breath, reproach the people with having abused their own discretion, and at the same time justify a government in not having permitted that discretion to be exercised, any more than we can charge a man with a want of good faith in whom we have never placed confidence.

The people must either take some part in minding what belongs to them in the state, and thereby be responsible for themselves; or they must leave it entirely to others; in which latter case those others must be liable to be called upon for an *account*. There can be no practical good towards the nation in abusing the laborious as *ignorant*, *mob*, *rabble*, *populace*, or *lower orders*. For the country to be well off, any such mob &c., ought not to be; and if there is a class of the community to which such opprobrious terms can be justly applied, its existence can be the consequence of nothing but bad government. No; the people are not "ignorant" in these matters, excepting in one thing, as to which all civilized nations are more or less destined to be so, that is, in the true designs of those who hold, or aim at holding, the profitable office of administering what comes into the treasury. Of the true intentions of such men the people at large under a bad government can hardly ever

be thoroughly informed; because, while the whole of the time of the governors is taken up in contrivances to deceive those for whose good they affect to be thinking, the great majority of every nation, whether well or ill governed, are, for the greater part of their time, occupied in ploughing furrows of land, sowing and reaping crops, spinning and weaving, forging metals, sawing boards, handling bricks and mortar, navigating vessels, or labouring in or superintending some other of the various works of industrious life. Here it is that ignorance does exist, that is, as to the acts of a government which makes itself too responsible to the people by taking all the authority into its own hands. And hence it is that, under a despotic government, a nation's wrongs are generally first announced to it through its wants, that when the "Commons" find out those grievances, they are impatient for redress, and that then is apt to take place that which moderate reformers are afraid of, namely, reform by the means of a revolution. Where have the most bloody revolutions taken place, but among those bands of slaves that have been the most cruelly oppressed? The people do not perceive while an act of the legislature (such, for instance, as the Septennial Bill) is *being done*, what effect upon themselves is likely to become the *consequence* of it: they are first aroused by the effect itself operating upon them. It is in this view of government that we see the superiority in practice of the American representation over our own absolute rule. With the Americans we see that the government is not trusted to do too much of itself at a time without the people having an opportunity to take their own review of what has been done, and to approve or disapprove of it. That people are not left in ignorance or in a state of helplessness as to a bad measure, till all the harm of it falls upon their own shoulders.

But is it not necessary, we are asked, that the people should place confidence in their government? Most assuredly it is. The Americans have always a sufficient of that feeling, and so must

every nation have that is really free. But there is another sort of confidence we often hear called for, and particularly when any extraordinary act of treachery is about to be committed; that is, what old-fashioned twaddle calls "confidence in his Majesty's ministers;" and this is a very different species of confidence. To rely entirely on any ministers would be the same thing as trusting all to an absolute power. Very different to rely upon men chosen by yourselves to represent you, and to rely on a servant you do not know and who is chosen by another. The fact which we have before stated cannot be too often repeated, that abuses, even under the best governments, arise *insensibly*; that the people is hardly ever so alive to them as its interest would require. Looking at the general history of all nations, with their revolutionary changes, the last thing in the people that rulers can find fault with is, the want of a respect for the rulers on the part of the people. Necessity has ordered that there shall be at least enough of that respect. The business, or the indolence, the personal interests of individuals in all states, make them less attentive to the public good than they might be with profit. Now, it is for this reason that we want a reform in England, by which we may be really represented: that the people may be compelled, as the Americans are by the spirit and practice of their constitution, to look into the causes that are to affect their happiness; to raise obstacles to the incursions of tyranny; to make suitable stands against *aristocratical encroachment* (if we may give Mr. Canning's phrase such a twist); to arrest the state robber in time, before he gets his hands amidst the public treasure; to check a wrong-doing government in its career of breaking good laws and making bad ones. It is the fault of necessity, that a people is ever too slow to rebel against unjust government; a fault which several writers have observed, but which governments have taken care not to repeat. If there were more readiness to rebel, there would be fewer cases of rebellion; the means for

it being prevented by the readiness of nations to assert their rights, which they would be sure to understand if they found inquiry of use to them. The greater part of us belong to some branch of science, skill, or handicraft, and are necessarily more plodders in our particular callings. We are not generally interested demagogues, and, whether honest or dishonest in private life, trouble our heads with nothing beyond farming, carpentering, bricklaying, shoemaking, tailoring, tinkering, and so forth. But needs must, as the saying is, when the devil drives; and though the force of our own interest and habits disposes us to think most about what immediately belongs to us, so necessity now and then takes another turn, and sinks the mere personal in the popular, bringing the smith from his anvil, and the clodhopper from his plough-tail, and urges even the least knowing of us to that which caused humane Castlereagh to invent a new malediction for the tyrannies of tyrants to apply to the oppressed—"basest *populace*"—because they wanted to rebel.

So, the "lower orders" are accused of entertaining a want of reverence for their superiors? Oh, unhappy times, when this was first discovered in England; such times as those which put ROSEBARE and CASTLEREAGH into power. The charge is even more false than we could desire it to be, if there were ever one of the "lower orders" that did respect CASTLEREAGH, and if such men as CASTLEREAGH are to be looked on as superior even to the lowest of the "lower orders."

Of all that should be guarded against by a government as respects the feelings of a nation, what is there so much to be apprehended as the existence of *discontent* in company with *labour*? The lazy and luxurious, indeed, may be discontented without being able to say why. But labour is easily satisfied; it is contented with *enough*. Luxury, on the contrary, is never satisfied; having always had more than it wanted, it never knows what enough is. Happy *poverty* is a thing not to be hoped for; but labour happy in plenty is what

every good government should endeavour to see. What says Lord Bacon on sedition?

"Concerning the materials of sedition, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it), is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, much poverty and much discontent. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. LUCAN noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

"*Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore famus*

"*Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*"

"This same '*multis utile bellum*' is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great; for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust; for that were to imagine the people to be too reasonable, who do often *spurn at their own good*; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling; besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience do withhold the courage; but in fears it is not so: neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued; for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn

"into storm, so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and as the Spanish proverb noteth well, 'The cord breaketh at last by the weakest pull.'"

We will not imagine its being asked to what these words best apply; but let us not forget that it was this same philosopher's "immortal page" that Mr. (now Lord) Brougham wished to see ploughmen reading for their mental improvement when sitting down after a hard day's work in the fields.

The most insidious pretext that we have ever heard of for authorising arbitrary acts in a Government, is that which has lately been given by the Whigs (by the Lord Chancellor himself, if we are not mistaken); and it is this; that in *free states* it is necessary now and then to place extraordinary powers in the hands of the Government. Who was it that originally furnished this false and detestable piece of doctrine? We forget whether it is borrowed from MACCHIAVELLI. That writer, however, does certainly say, that military force is a thing absolutely necessary to a ruler who desires to do great things in despite of his people. In order to justify the taking away of our liberty in 1917, by suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, Lord ELDON gave a reason which, compared with this of the Whigs, was temperance itself. He said (quoting an established maxim of law), *Salus populi suprema lex*—The people's good is what the law first looks to; and though this maxim were applied to a wrong purpose, to do the people harm, there was nothing tyrannical or false in the maxim itself. But ah, the liberty-loving Whigs! It would be strange, verily, if the Whigs had not some stronger points d'appui, some fulcrum more originally false by which to turn all right topsyturvy, some source from which to collect reasons, though the most barefaced and detestable, for keeping their places, and keeping up the squanderings of public money too. Lord ELDON and his colleagues wanted to abrogate the best of our laws: they did it; but in so doing, their great reason was confined in its

"Hence greedy usury and lawless gain,
Hence broken faith, and honour ploughed in
in vain,
And war, its some the source of interest.

sophistry to the misapplication of a sound maxim. It was for that spirit which works in the hearts of our harbingers of liberty and reform to discover, that, in order to preserve the freedom of states, it is necessary to abandon them now and then to the ravages of despots. We have, we think, refuted this vile doctrine already, in our previous remarks, on which no sensible man can reflect without perceiving (all history must lead him to do so) that it is not out of wild, harum-scarum anxiousness in a people to keep itself free, that come revolutions in states; but in that which, having all in its own hands, goes on artfully working its way unperceived by the people or in defiance of them; in the innovations of state corruption, which, like other robbers, slyly or by force, approaches you while asleep, or knocks you down before it begins the work of pillage. Hume the historian tells us of a bishop who said that the people had a *right* to resist, but that it was not fit to *let them know it*! Such absurd rules of constitutional law must always be had recourse to by those who govern without a nation's consent.

RAYNAL, in his *Histoire Philosophique*, vol. x., p. 185, says something on the use of military force that is worth attending to at this time. "The increasing of an army," he says, "promotes despotism. A great number of troops, forts, magazines, and arsenals, may prevent invasions; but, in preserving the people from the irruptions of a conqueror, they do not save it from the outrages of a despot. So many soldiers only rivet closer the chains of those who are already slaves. The weakest of men becomes, then, the most powerful; and as he can do everything, he does whatever he pleases. With his military strength alone he braves the opinions, and coerces the inclinations, of others. By the means of soldiers he levies taxes; and by the means of taxes he levies soldiers. He is everlastingly improving his military power, without ever gaining any strength to the nation. It is in vain that he puts arms into hands that

are to be always lifted over the heads of the people: if his subjects tremble before his troops, his troops will run away from their enemies. But then the loss of a battle is the loss of a kingdom. All those whose hearts he has alienated will then naturally prefer a stranger's yoke; because something remains to be hoped for with a conqueror, while, with the despot, all hope has been sunk in despair. When once the progress of a military government has brought about a state of despotism, the nation may be said to be at an end." &c.

That it is necessary to give the people more power of consultation in their own affairs than they have had, we need not urge to the most "moderate" reformer. The question now is, however, whether there ought to be any further liberty allowed in suffrage. Several arguments have been found to oppose any further liberty in this respect. One is, that those have the best right to influence the councils of the nation who have the "*greatest stake*" in the country. And the argument, if we understand what it means, is one that the labourer of the smallest income may agree to, and still maintain his right to vote. Does it mean, *those who are most dependent on their own country for their happiness*? If it does, then we think that the man whose whole means arise out of his labour has the *greatest stake* in the country. The corrupt and unfeeling part of the press has for many years been accusing the poor of their having nothing to lose, and of a hope of gaining by their country's convulsions. How comes it that none of these insults are hurled on the labourers of America? There is squabbling enough in the American press about the disposal of what little taxes are collected. All sorts of hard words are exchanged between the different candidates for offices of emolument in that country. Strange however, that there should not, at the same time, be any "rabble" and "basest populace," or any such ugly names used in that country; no mixture in one common reproach of the meritorious with the profligate, the frugal with the extravagant;

no mighty confusion of complaining poverty along with abandoned crime. An American citizen would not dare to say, that, because he is *richer* than his neighbour in the vulgar sense of the word, he has a greater stake in the country. One man is as good as another, at all events; and if one have less money, goods, or land, belonging to him than another, the property of the least rich is at least as valuable to him as that of the most rich. Let some man who is thriving upon the taxes imagine himself suddenly brought to be obliged to work for his bread: imagine himself a labourer in the fields: let the placeman, pensioner, or sinecurist, imagine himself, with a pickaxe and a shovel for his companions, set to work to clearing a ditch in the month of February; getting up for the task at six o'clock in the morning, and not leaving it till half-past five at night, the only interval of rest being that when he should sit down on a bank of cold clay, sheltered from a north-east wind by a quick-set hedge without any leaves upon it, to dine on potatoes as cold as the clay that forms his seat; let him imagine his good dame left at home in the hovel, there, with "political economy" for a comforter, to impart contentment without food to a half-a-dozen ravenous young birds of prey lately weaned from all the sweetmeats of a tax-loaded table: let him, further, imagine himself making an appeal for "relief," which is answered (as it has been in Hampshire) by a "*Go and starve*," or by a setting to work for 6d. a day to crack stones on the high-road, or (perhaps the best and the worst in one) by being packed off with all his poor kit across the sea, to some outlandish swamp or wilderness, whithersoever the humanity of those having a "larger stake in the country" may please to send him. This, which exists in reality with the laborious, is what those who are not compelled to work should think of, when they set about considering the advantages of, or would define what is, a "stake in the country." And what is it that has brought the possessions of the rich into danger, but the depriving of so many of the working producers of

all riches of their invaluable though little *stakes*?

The other chief argument against a more extended suffrage is, that the constituency ought to consist of the most *intelligent* of the people. And this is a good argument in principle, leaving open the question of how far it has been adopted in practice. This is an argument that none of the "lower orders" will quarrel with, because they know that the greatest abuses have arisen in Parliaments that were hardly more than the nominees of the "higher." The inference from which must naturally be, that those are not the most intelligent who carry their heads the highest. And practice has already proved, by the present Parliament, that in the scale of intelligence, the increase is rather from the top to the bottom than contrariwise. The really great, the genuine *stake*, is possessed by those who feel most interest in an honest and moderately-taxing government. It is in the feeling of this interest that consists the sort of *intelligence* that is wanted; and if the purely "higher orders" had only had enough of this among themselves, there never would have been any cry for reform at all.

As to the *ballo*, one cannot help having a wish to try this, if it be only because all classes of the corrupt are so vehemently *opposed* to it. Thus it is with the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, and others, on the question of the *ballot*. We confess that we were ourselves never great admirers of this mode of voting. We had the same prejudices against it as those the expression of which threw poor Sir ROBERT WILSON out from the borough of Southwark. Our objection to it was, that it is not becoming in men pretending to independence of spirit to be afraid of declaring their opinions openly, and so forth. It was something to this effect, only with a little more empty boasting for the character of John Bull, that was said by poor Sir ROBERT. He said it was beneath Englishmen, un-English, &c.: Sir ROBERT WILSON, that general in an army of *Englishmen*, discipline to which is preserved by the visitation of a cat-o-nine tails.

The people may say, in answer to the objectors to the ballot: If we are not to vote in our own way, why give us any right of voting at all? you might as well have continued to keep it all to yourselves. Yes; this is the fair answer to all who contend for the necessity of the voter's being influenced by the opinion of his *superiors*. But we are flattered by appeals made to our sense of *honour*. This is a very agreeable compliment, indeed; it is a suspicious one, however, like most other very high compliments. A true test of the spirit of independence in opinion is freedom in the expression of our thoughts. We cannot pretend to have this without being prepared to prove it by our *practice*. A completely free people must prefer to assert their opinions openly; they would take pride in doing, and be ashamed of seeming not able to do so. But how would it be if the people had now the power to vote by ballot? If they had that power, and did so vote, it must show that we cannot afford to be so nicely high-minded as it is endeavoured to flatter us we are. If the nation really felt themselves independent, and preferred voting openly, as of course they would like to be able to do, how comes it that they ask for the ballot to be given them? No one has an ambition to be debased; no one takes pains to render himself low; no one entreats to become an object of disrespect even in the slightest degree. What, then, but the want of power to vote otherwise, as they would wish, can induce the majority of the nation to ask for that which, if they exercised it, must prove them not independent? There does seem to be something quite farcical in this appeal to the honour of tradesmen, artisans, and the like classes, while we know that amongst select societies of the "higher orders" the ballot is almost always used in elections; and while we know, too, that a part of the money raised by Parliaments of late has been spent in what is called "*secret services*," applied to purposes so honourable in their nature, that the expenders have been

ashamed to let the people see precisely for what it went.

We think that the events of the last elections gave many proofs that there would be nothing imprudent in trying the ballot. There is no doubt that many scenes of riot, and confusion, and mischief, would have been prevented by it, and not a few men sent to Parliament who would have done better than those who come in their stead. We did not, however, agree with the *Chronicle* in one ground in favour of the ballot taken by that paper. The *Chronicle* said that this mode of voting should be put in force to prevent the exclusive *dealings* of the people, which, according to that paper, were *degrading* to them. The remark was rather degrading to the writer's own sense, considering those other exclusive *dealings*, and those acts of shameless and all but brute-force intimidation and compulsion, which the writer of the *Chronicle* must have noticed throughout the whole of his previous experience.

There was an amusing squib in the *Standard* on this part of the subject of reform some time ago (9. January), in which the editor said, that though little satisfactory information was to be obtained from *America* respecting the workings of the ballot in that country, he would, however, "go a little higher up;" and with his "*little higher up*," he led his laughing readers back to ancient Rome, and Cicero's dialogues on laws! Being practical men in politics, we admired the *Standard's* squib, because it is so much like what it would be for a modern ship-builder to look back to Noah's ark as a pattern to build by. To be serious, we must tell the *Standard* that his going to Cicero for authority was unbecoming in a Tory: he must know that Cicero had a good deal of the Whig. Not, to be sure, like the Whigs of now-a-days. Heaven forbid that any one should hint such abuse on the memory of one who said so much in praise of all that is good. Whigs, since the days of Cicero, appear to have undergone as much towards the accomplishment of their character in our soil,

as potatoes have by being translated from that of Mexico to Ireland.

The *Standard* professes inability to do justice to CICERO by an English dress, and that is the only reason, we suppose, why he was able to pick out no more of the orator's meaning than just so much as suited his own purpose. But the *Standard* has so much need of assistance in one part of his attempts to vulgarize, that we cannot help offering our assistance, though it be only to finish out a sentence which the editor sticks fast in the middle of.

"Quis autem non sensit, auctoritatem omnem optimatum tabellariam legem abtulisse?" says CICERO: that is.

Who does not perceive that all the authority of the higher orders has been taken away by the law which introduced the ballot? And very shocking, we agree, this must have been for the Roman higher orders. But here our Tory comes to what the learned call a *nonplus*. Not so the Roman Whig; for CICERO, without even fetching fresh breath, goes on, and lets the murder out in a trice:

"Quam populus liber nunquam desideravit, idem oppressus dominatu ac potentia principum flagitavit:" that is, a law which the people never

desired so long as they were free, and never thought of calling out for till they had smarted under the domination of the higher orders!

Such are four editor's last advices from ancient Rome against the ballot. Why did not the Tory, being about it, go still a little higher up, and let us know what was done by SOLON in Athens? CICERO would have made a good attorney-general; but SOLON would certainly have been a much better member of Parliament. The wise lawgiver refused a crown, which is more, perhaps, than the barrister would have done; and when SOLON undertook to put the Athenian radicals to rights, the government he established for that purpose consisted of men who were elected by ballot; besides which, the Greek lower orders enjoyed one privilege more serious than anything yet demanded by the English,

namely, that of putting to death those persons who interfered with their elections.

COVENTRY ELECTION.

(From the *True Sun* of 11. April.)

We copy from the *Standard* of last night the following observations upon the respective claims of the two candidates for Coventry, Mr. JOHN COBBETT and Mr. ELLICE:

"The Secretary-at-War, we are informed, is likely to be opposed at Coventry by a brother Revolutionist, though not a Ministerialist, Mr. John Cobbett, son to the Member for Oldham. If we may judge from Mr. Cobbett's *Magazine*, he is a very able man; and of principles, particularly as regards religion and the church, far less removed from those which Conservatives cherish, than are the principles of the Grey faction. We say this in order not to deprive Mr. Cobbett of the advantages of his personal claims to a preference above the Secretary-at-War; this, however, is not the principal point—that is, the contest lying between one of the Grey faction, and a gentleman untainted by connexion or alliance with that faction; they have taught us our duty and our watchword. 'Any one rather than a Conservative,' say they; 'any one rather than a Grey,' say we; and we implore the Conservatives of Coventry to say the same. Let them still consider that the competition does not lie between a Conservative Whig and a Radical, but between a member of an organised faction of revolutionists for hire, and a man, who, if a revolutionist at all, which is by no means clear, acts upon principle."

What is here said by our Conservative contemporary of Mr. John Cobbett's ability, and of his adherence to principle, is but a bare tribute of justice. Such a tribute from such a source, cannot fail to have some weight with the Conservatives of Coventry. There must be thousands of the inha-

bitants of that city, and, among them, we should hope, a large majority of the voters, to whom no such recommendation can be necessary. We wish Mr. John Cobbett all success.

A correspondent has communicated to us the intelligence that the Whigs are commencing their election-work, very much in the fashion which they have been so virtuously and vehemently indignant with others for adopting. Our correspondent, whose signature is "Watchman," begs of Mr. Ellice to explain to the electors of Coventry the difference in the amount of crime between the members for Stafford (at whose conduct he was so much shocked), in spending a few hundreds in bribing the poor voters of that town; and the right hon. Gentleman, in incurring bribery committee bills for ale and gin, supposed to have been consumed by the freemen of Coventry. What the difference may be, it is asserted by our correspondent, that on Saturday night last some of the partisans of Mr. Ellice opened a number of public-houses, where ale was set flowing in abundance. In some, however, he says, he saw but few voters, and in others "a number of the most respectable freemen insisted upon paying for what they drank." We cannot persuade ourselves that Mr. Ellice will for a moment be induced to give his sanction to these proceedings of his partisans.

The undermentioned place is in Norfolk; and, I understand this document has been published by the *labourers themselves!*

At a Vestry-Meeting, holden in the parish church of Edgefield, on Monday, April 9, 1833,

RESOLVED,—That the rate of wages for able-bodied men be reduced to four shillings per week, that one shilling per week be given to each wife, and one shilling for each child per week. If there is not any children, allow the wife one shilling and sixpence per week.

Agreed for three months from this date, to commence on Monday, 15th.

Thomas Hardy
G. B. Ballachee
Jeremiah Coleman
Charles Starling
Robert Christmas
Robert Temple
William Woodyard
James Woodyard
Benjamin Walker
William Starling
William Harrett
Francis Woods
Thomas Dagless
Jeremiah Jacobs
Robert Browton.

FIELD SEEDS.

TO BE HAD AT BOLT-COURT,
FLEET-STREET.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 8d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURSEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1833.

INSOLVENT.**HENDERSON, A.**, Wallingford, Berkshire, lace-drafter.**BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.****SMITH, W.**, Billingsgate, fishmonger.**BANKRUPTS.****BALKWILL, F.**, Plymouth, corn-factor.**BLACKBURN, J.**, late of Soley-terrace, Lloyd-square, Pentonville, builder.**BOLLAN, C.**, Barossa-place, Chelsea, plumber.**BOWGIN, J. F.**, W. F., and T. F., Bristol, plumbers.**ELLIS, J.**, Princes-street, Hanover-square, tailor.**FERGUSON, R.**, Old Broad-street, commission-agent.**FISHWICK, R.**, Bury, Lancashire, woollen-manufacturer.**GARBUTT, W.**, Rirby, Moorside, Yorkshire, brick-manufacturer.**HILTON, G.**, and R., Chorley, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.**KEET, C.**, Ryde, Isle of Wight, grocer.**RATTENBURY, W.**, East-lane, Bermondsey, shipwright.**STEAD, J.**, Leeds, miller.**TYRRELL, T.**, Little Trinity-lane, victualler.**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.****MACDIARMID, J.**, Glasgow, agent.

TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1833.

INSOLVENT.**RICE, T.**, Sussex-terrace, Old Brompton, mason.**BANKRUPTS.****ARMITAGE, W.**, Sowerby-bridge, Yorkshire, victualler.**BACON, H. A.**, Sheffield, printer.**BOOT, J.**, Wednesbury, Staffordshire, victualler.**DAVIES, T.**, Liverpool, currier.**EVANS, J.**, of the Tything of Whistones, Worcestershire, horse-dealer.**GRIMBLE, J.**, sen., and J. Grimble, jun., Elm-street, Gray's-Inn-lane, coach-spring-makers.**ISEMONGER, T. F.**, Little Hampton, Sussex, merchant.**THACKERAY, D.**, J. Thackeray, and J. Baldwin, Walton, Lancashire, brewers.**WATSON, D.**, J. Maglunin, and S. Perrin, Beswick, Lancashire, glass-manufacturers.**WOODHOUSE, T.**, jun., Milk-street, Cheap-side, hostler.**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.****BLACK, J.**, Edinburgh, builder.**JOHNSTON, J.**, Edinburgh, grocer.**LONDON MARKETS.**

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 8.—The arrivals fresh up to this day's market were very limited, but added to the supplies remaining over from last week, owing to no market having been held on Friday, caused the stands to exhibit a tolerably fair show of samples, few of which however proved of fine quality; the better descriptions experienced a slow sale at a reduction of 1s. per quarter on the prices of this day se'nnight, and secondary and inferior were nearly unsalable at 2s. lower rates. Old Wheat was dull and rather cheaper. No transactions took place in bonded qualities, although a partial inquiry still existed.

Barley was in good supply. Malting parcels were 1s. lower than last Monday, and owing to the little attention that distilling and grinding descriptions met with, the prices were nearly nominal.

Malt dull without alteration in price.

The supply of Oats was rather large and the article moved heavily off hand, at last week's quotations.

Old Beans were in little demand and the turn-dearer. New maintained their quotations.

Peas were without alteration.

The large arrival of flour has rendered the trade dull and rather lower.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	30s. to 33s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	13s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	46s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 38s. to 40s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ...	40s. to 43s.
Pork, India, new ...	117s. 6d. to —s.
— Mess, new ...	67s. to —s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast ...	72s. to 74s. per cwt.
— Carlow ...	66s. to 76s.
— Cork ...	70s. to 72s.
— Limerick ...	68s. to 70s.
— Waterford ...	60s. to 66s.
— Dublin ...	52s. to 60s.
Cheese, Cheshire ...	50s. to 74s.
— Gloucester, Double ...	48s. to 52s.
— Gloucester, Single ...	48s. to 52s.
— Edam ...	40s. to 50s.
— Gouda ...	40s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ...	44s. to 54s.

SMYTHFIELD.—April 8.

In this day's market, which exhibited of each kind of fat stock but a limited supply, trade was throughout very dull. With Beef,

Mutton and Pork, at barely Friday's prices; with Lamb at a depression of 4d., Veal at 2d. per stone.

The beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns and Devons (mostly) Steers and Oxen; Scots, Norfolk home-breds, and Welsh runts, chiefly (say about 1,200 of them) from Norfolk, with a few from Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and our western and midland districts; with about 150 Herefords, as many Irish, and about 60 Sussex beasts from various quarters; about 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs, and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few horned Norfolks, old Leicesters and Lincolns, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 12.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

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AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S TOUR IN SCOTLAND, including the four Northern Counties of England, was published on Thursday, the 10. of January, in a neat volume, price 2s. 6d., bound in boards.

MR. COBBETT'S ANSWER to the WHIG-MANIFESTO (promulgated by Mr. STANLEY at LANCASTER), against such members of the new Parliament as shall propose a repeal of the *Septennial Bill*, or as shall propose the adoption of the *Ballot*, was published at Bolt-court, on *Thursday*, the 10. of January, price *threepence*; and, that it may be circulated widely, at 3s. 4d. for 20 copies, and at 12s. 6d. for 100 copies. It will contain as much print as is usually contained in a two-shilling pamphlet.

Just published, price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

Was Published on the 1. of April,
Price Two Shillings,

COBBETT'S MAGAZINE; a Monthly Review of Politics, History, Science, Literature, Arts, &c. &c. The Contents of the Number are as follows:—The Wedding Day and the Wedding Night.—Fine Arts: No. I. London and its Vicinity.—Britannia to the Editors.—Illustrations of Political Economy.—The Etruscans.—Tax on Newspapers.—Sunset.—The Established Church.—“Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot.”—Three Years in North America, and Domestic Manners of the Americans.—Serenade.—Lectures on Music.—Fragment.—The Poacher.—Itinerating Libraries.—Portraits of the Bar.—Running away from Home.—Cheap Law.—French Pronunciation.—Patriotism and the Poles.—True Political Economy.—Notices of Exhibition, &c.—Events of the Month &c.—Poor Returns.—Markets.—New Publications.

Published at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street; and by Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. To be had of all Newsmen and Booksellers throughout the country.

ZACHARIAH PARKES, late of 279, High Holborn, informs his friends and the public in general, that he has discontinued manufacturing in London, and connected himself with his Father, who has been established as a mill-maker in Birmingham upwards of half a century. In consequence of the great facilities that this neighbourhood offers to the manufacturer, he will be enabled to supply mills for *ready money, twenty-five per cent. lower than the London prices. Brewers, corn-dealers, grocers, and others*, may rely on being supplied with mills of superior quality. Wheat Mills and Flour Dressing Machines on a small scale for the use of private families; a very useful thing to emigrants. Mills to grind Cobbett's Corn to a fine flour.

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PORTRAIT OF W. COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

On Sunday, April 14, will appear, price 7d.
No. 2 of

THE SUNDAY HERALD, a new weekly Journal, printed uniform with the **MORNING HERALD**, which will present its Subscribers with a beautifully engraved Portrait of

W. COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

The Portrait of **T. ATTWOOD, ESQ., M.P.** was given with last week's paper, copies of which may still be had. A Series of Portraits of Distinguished Individuals are in preparation for the succeeding numbers.

Published by A. Robertson, 183, Fleet-street.
Orders received by all News-agents.

Cooper's Hall, Basinghall-street,
10th April, 1833.

THE Commissioners appointed and authorised to draw the **GLASGOW IMPROVEMENT LOTTERY**, do hereby give notice, That they will commence the Drawing at this Hall, and continue until all the Prizes are drawn out of the Wheel, at Eleven o'clock in the morning precisely, on **WEDNESDAY** next.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



COVENTRY ELECTION.

St. James's Park, 17. April, 1833.

I SHALL here insert all the papers upon this subject. They will speak for themselves; and they will show by what a mere accident it was, that the Whigs were not defeated at COVENTRY, as well as at other places. After I have inserted all the papers, I shall have some observations to make; and my *advice to offer* to the electors of England and Scotland generally, in which I shall show to them as clearly as daylight, that they, and they alone, by their watchfulness; by their present exertions; and by their future steadiness and resolution, can save their country from utter confusion. Mr. O'CONNELL has given his advice to the electors of Ireland, to begin, *even now*, to prepare for another election: and I shall have to offer similar advice to the electors of this island. I have not, for two or three years past, been very stout in my opinion of the *possibility* of making a *quiet* restoration of the liberties and happiness of the country. I see less reason to be positive upon that score now than I ever saw before; and I am sure that no quiet settlement can possibly take place, unless the *electors*, and the *people in general*, now do their duty with uncommon resolution. I shall now insert these papers relative to COVENTRY, in the order in which they were written and published.

TO

Mr. ALEXANDER YATES,

In reply to a Letter of his of 3. April, requesting me to name some person to represent the City of Coventry in Parliament.

Bolt-court, 6. April, 1833.

SIR,—I received your letter last night, and I recommend you to put in nomination my son, JOHN M. COBBETT; not because he is my son; but because I think him more fit to aid me in doing the good that I wish to do to the country, than any other man that I know. He will be at Coventry on Tuesday morning; and it will be no mortification to him, if he should be obliged to decline attempting anything: except that it will be a mortification to him to find the city of Coventry so degraded as to be ready to re-elect a man, who forms one of the swarm of the Prime Minister's family, and who has got a place of thousands a year by the means of that seat in Parliament which Coventry has given him. In every instance, since you last elected him, he has voted for diminishing our liberties, and augmenting our taxes. He has voted for navy estimates amounting to nearly three times the sum that they amounted to during the last peace. He has voted for army estimates, amounting to nearly four times the sum that they amounted to during the last peace; he has voted for giving nearly seventeen thousand pounds, out of taxes, partly levied upon you, to purchase curiosities and to uphold a lounging-place for the idlers of London; and he has voted for a law for trying the people of Ireland by soldier-officers, instead of by judges and jurors. I do hope, that there is virtue enough amongst the men of Coventry, to make them resolve not to blast their characters for ever by the re-election of this man. To re-elect him would be to do your utmost to prevent your country from being rescued from utter ruin. The Ministry have deprived

Ireland of the trial by jury and of the right of petition; they have rejected a motion for the diminishing of sinecures; they have told the nation that they mean to take off no taxes: they have declared their intention not to repeal the Septennial Act; and, as Mr. ELLICE now makes one of this Ministry, you, by re-electing him, will declare, that Ireland ought to be ruled by *martial-law*, and ought not to have the right of petition; and that there ought to be this precedent for inflicting the same upon England; you will declare to the nation, that no sinecures ought to be abolished; you will declare to the nation, that no taxes ought to be taken off; you will declare that seven years' Parliaments ought to continue! Are you ready to make these declarations in the face of your country? I trust that you are not. If you be, to be treated like slaves to the end of your lives would be punishment far too light for this crime against your country.

Hoping for other things, and always retaining in my mind a recollection of the generous sacrifices made for me by a majority of the resident freemen of Coventry, I have been induced, in answer to your application, to recommend my son to you upon this occasion. You will want nothing to convince you of the magnitude of my labours, and of the vast importance of a person on whose knowledge, talents, and fidelity, I could always rely. I do much without such aid; but, alas! not a tenth of what I should be able to do with that aid. Life is uncertain; the continuance of health is, if possible, more uncertain. The bare reflection that my son was ready at hand to supply my place, would be a consolation, an encouragement, a support, such as I could find in nothing else.

By this time, at any rate, even my bitterest enemies must be convinced of my sincerity, my zeal and devotedness to my country. In none of these do I surpass this son; but, such are my feelings about the matter, that, if I knew of another man more capable, or as capable, of serving you and his country, I would name to you that man in-

stead of my son. Far am I from believing, that his being chosen to be a member of Parliament, would tend to add to his happiness; while, alas! I too well know how much it would add to his toils; but, I know, at the same time, that, in a crisis like this, it is his duty to render his services to his country; and, having made that tender, his duty will have been discharged; and, if the tender be rejected, he will, amidst all the ruin and all the cries of his countrymen, have the consolation to reflect, that he has done everything in his power to prevent the calamities that shall call forth those cries.

I authorise you, sir, to make this letter public in any manner that you please, apprizing you, however, that talent, zeal, and devotion, are all that my son has to tender. Never did one belonging to him touch the public money, and to expect him to expend money for the public, would be unreasonable indeed. He will go to Coventry and tender you his services. If you accept of them, you will find in him a faithful representative; if you do not accept of them, he will return a happier man than he went; because he will have the reflection, that the sufferings which he has so long been desirous to relieve, are become fitted to the minds of at least one portion of his countrymen.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Brickhill, 11. April, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I expected to be able to set off this morning for Coventry; but my son, who was very ill before he left London, and who came hither the day before me, in order to break the fatigue of the journey, is now so ill, so much worse than he was when he left London, that I am convinced that a journey to Coventry, at this time, would put his life in imminent danger. You are too good a father yourself not to know how I ought to act in such a case.

For me to go to Coventry myself and to urge the good people there to give

themselves trouble, which would be of no avail, would be to show very little gratitude for all the kindness that I have received at their hands. I could, indeed, cause my son to be put in nomination in his absence; but I hope that it never will be said of one of my race, that a combat was carried on for him, without himself being in the face of the foe.

I beg that you will have the goodness to show this letter to Mr. YATES, and to the gentlemen of the Political Union; to assure them of the lasting respect and gratitude both of me and of my son; and, though they will feel disappointment on this occasion, I am quite sure they will feel greater sorrow for the cause of that disappointment.

I desire to be remembered in the kindest manner to Mrs. Robinson and all your family, and to all other of my personal friends at Coventry; and I remain

Your faithful and most
obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To Mr. John Robinson,
Coventry.

P.S.—If, after all, the Political Union and other friends at Coventry should feel great mortification at not being able regularly to make a stand upon this occasion; I will, if they (to prevent such mortification) choose to put my son in nomination, pay his share of all legal expenses of the hustings and of the poll-clerks; and I authorise you to draw upon me at three days' sight for the amount, whatever may be the result of the election.

I enclose you a copy of Mr. O'Connell's Address to the Council of the *Northern Political Union*. Read the last paragraph but one of that address, and then say, whether it be possible that he can have "recommended" this member of the "*family of Grey*" to the people of Coventry. With regard to Mr. Hume's "recommendation" I know nothing, and I shall say nothing.

Thus stands this affair up to noon, Thursday, 11. April. I have just sent a

messenger off to Coventry with the above letter. What will be done there I cannot tell. At any rate I have done all that I have been able to do to give the people of Coventry an opportunity of making a stand against a man who supported the IRISH BILL, and who is one of that "*Family of Grey*," whom Mr. O'CONNELL so truly characterizes in his answer to the address of the *Council of the Northern Political Union*. The story which Mr. Ellice's friends, at Coventry, are telling is this: "That four men, four freemen, I believe, friends of Ellice, went up to London, as 'a deputation' upon the subject of the election; and that they came down to Coventry again, being 'the bearers of a recommendation' to the electors of Coventry from Mr. HUME, and also from Mr. O'CONNELL, 'to re-elect Mr. ELICE.' This is the story that Mr. ELICE's friends tell at Coventry. It is said that 'Jove laughs at lovers' lies;' and, perhaps, electioneering lies may be looked upon in the same light. If one could suppose this story to be strictly true, what must be our thoughts! What! this man, who had voted for the Irish Red-coat Bill all the way through; this man, who is a brother-in-law of Lord GALT; this man, who comes under that description which is contained in the last paragraph but one of Mr. O'CONNELL's answer to the *Northern Political Union*; this man, who, besides his *voting*, is become one of those Ministers who rejected with scorn Mr. HUME's own motions for the lopping off of sinecures, and for the reducing of the army. What! recommend this man to be re-elected by the people of Coventry, he being appointed to an office, which is to have the carrying on of the affairs of that unreduced army and of those unabolished sinecures! What! be in everlasting "opposition" to these Ministers; and yet, when one of them takes a new place and has to be re-elected, recommend his re-election! Gracious God: or, rather, father of lies, malignant Satan: where are we? How are we? Hast thou sent thy damnable imps upon earth to personate patriots and to be-

wilder and torment us? Oh, no! we are not to believe these things, unless we have them in *black and white* and absolutely *sworn* to. If these four freemen be not Jews, I hope that the good men of Coventry will swear them upon the Evangelists; and I do trust that they will swear that they have been telling a lie about this matter.

It ought to be observed, that it is not pretended, that this "recommendation-work" took place *after* my son was talked of; but it appears that the four deputies were *ready in town*, when the writ for the re-election was *moved for*; so that the recommendation could not possibly have been given (if it were given at all), from any feeling of hostility towards me or any body belonging to me. I applied to *two gentlemen* in London, and I now find that my son applied to *others*, to come down and make a stand for the people of Coventry. On my part, my son's weak state of health was the motive to this; and there was only about *eight hours* for me to *decide in*. I had no time to get at my eldest son to obtain his consent. I was afraid of the want of strength in my son JOHN. What I did, arose from the conviction in my mind, that it was my duty, my bounden duty, to do something to oppose the re-election of this man. I beg it to be observed then, that this was a question of *political principle*, and not at all of *personal friendship*, or *personal enmity*. I beg this to be observed; because it is essential. In waiting for the verification of the fact, or for the falsification of it, I say no more about the matter at present, only, requesting my friends at Coventry to collect and preserve any hand-bills, or other publications, that may be made relative to this very strange affair of the *alleged recommendations*!

I cannot conclude, even for the present, without observing on the very extraordinary circumstance of *ELLICE* having thought it *necessary* to get a recommendation from *any body*! Why, the man had been member for Coventry ever since the year 1818, with only one short vacancy, I believe. He had been the *representative* of these same

people for *fifteen years*; and yet he wanted somebody to *give him a character to them*! What would you think of a coachman or a footman, who, at the expiration of his fifteenth year of service, should go and bring a parcel of people to give *him a character to his master*? But, where would you find a whip with the thong heavy enough, or where would you find a crabstick with knots big enough and sharp enough, to lay across his lazy shoulders, or on the top of his brazen skull, if he were to trump up a pretended written character from a *couple of gentlemen*, who had just been representing him to you as every thing that was bad, and who had been calling upon you, for the love of justice and for your own security, to drive him and all his greedy race out of your house and to the devil! Philosophers say, that there are *some bounds* to every thing, somewhere or other; but, if *ELLICE* really should have the face to put forward this recommendation from the two honourable persons above mentioned, devil take the philosophers, I say, if they do not at once agree that there are no bounds to *human impudence*!

WM. COBBETT.

On Friday, the 12. of April, I received the following letter from the chairman of the committee at COVENTRY; or rather, it being written on Friday, I got it on Saturday. This letter will speak for itself:

SIR,—In compliance with the request of your last letter, and the advice of your friends Messrs. Swain and Robinson, we put your son in nomination at our election this day; but the disappointment caused by your non-appearance at the hustings, has caused your election to be a most complete failure. During the whole of last Wednesday and Thursday the electors were most anxiously waiting for you, and every coach and post-chaise that entered the town excited their hopes only to be on every occasion disappointed, until a rumour became general that they had been hoaxed or sold to the other party.

Mr. Thomas being informed that you had declined coming, entered the town

last night, and the sky-blue party, despairing of your coming, determined in his favour, and the same causes had the same effect in causing your friends of the dark-blue party to attach themselves to Mr. Ellice; thus was your party completely annihilated and your election destroyed.

We, Sir, most sincerely lament the result, but we still feel convinced that on a future occasion, if you will come to Coventry a few days previous to the election, and make an impression on the electors by a few speeches and addresses, you would be certain of causing your son to be elected for Coventry.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
WM. MAYO, Chairman.

Coventry, April 12, 1833.

On Sunday I wrote and forwarded the following letter to COVENTRY, which will also speak for itself.

TO THE
ELECTORS OF COVENTRY.

Great Brickhill, 14. April, 1833.

GENTLEMEN,—I have just heard of the result of the election for your city, and, if I be rightly informed, Ellice has very narrowly escaped being sent back to London, without authority to go into the House of Commons. He would not have had, every one assures me, the most distant chance of being elected if either I, or my son, could have been there; and, I should have been there had I not myself been really seriously ill on *Thursday*. I was rather suddenly taken with the prevalent influenza, as it is called; and, by adopting immediate remedies, and being in a house singularly situated as to air and all sorts of accommodations, I am now in a state which has determined me to go off in a post-chaise to-morrow morning, so as to be in the House of Commons to-morrow night; so that here was another additional accident that came to favour the escape of this member of the GREY family. However, the escape is only for a short time: never will they have another at Coventry certainly; and, I believe, in no other place: in no other

place, I am sure, where honesty and a love of England prevail. In my own name, and in that of my son, I return my best thanks to the good and sincere electors of Coventry; to the members of the Political Union in particular, and to all those who have shown so much public spirit upon this occasion. But, what are our thanks, compared to the thanks which are due, and which will be given, by the country at large? It was not us, but your country, your suffering country, your oppressed and toiling friends and neighbours, and countrymen, that you were endeavouring to protect against the greedy, all-grasping, and merciless faction that has now got power into its hands. It is that country that will thank you for these exertions by which you have fixed a mark of reprobation upon this faction, and by which you have said to this faction, "Never show your faces at Coventry again." For *what* did you petition for parliamentary reform? For *what* did you rejoice at the passing of the bill? For *what* did you hold a triumphant festival under that tent which you were so generous as to lend for a similar purpose to the poor labourers of Hampshire? For *what*, I say, was all this? Because you expected the Reform Bill to produce a lightening of the enormous taxes which press you to the earth; because you expected that it would produce measures to make England once more a happy land, and worthy of its name. You have found it to produce no such thing, but just the contrary. You have found it to produce very nearly a total abolition of every fragment of the constitution in Ireland; you have found it to produce a report from what they call their *poor-law commission*, broadly hinting at the establishment of a police-force in all the towns and villages in England: you have found it to produce not the smallest alleviation of taxation, but, on the contrary, a more severe mode of proceeding in the collection of the taxes: you have found a deaf ear turned to all the representations of the intolerable sufferings of the working people: you have found this hard-hearted Ministry refusing to make

even the most distant promise that they will make any effort whatever to lessen these sufferings.

These are the fruits which you have seen produced by that famous Reform Bill, at which we all so cordially rejoiced! This has been no fault of yours. You thought that the members you chose would do the things which you wanted to have done. With regard to one of them you have found that you were deceived: untoward accidents have prevented you from sending him adrift; but you have done your best; you have done your duty truly and faithfully; you will have the thanks of the whole country, and those of no man with more sincerity and cordiality, than you have the thanks of

Your very much obliged.

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

St. James's Park, 17. April 1833.

I came home on Monday, and went to the House on Monday night, and I was there again last night; but I have by no means recovered; and, if it could be possibly avoided, I ought not to attempt to go out of the house for some days. Every body almost appears to be ill, more or less; and I have a complete proof, in my person, that sobriety and abstinence are no security against the effects of weather such as we have had of late. This malady appears to spare neither young nor old. It is not a farce, like the cholera; but a reality; and such as no man can resist. However, this is not going to last for ever; and there is plenty of time yet for us all to do our duty well. I now, therefore, proceed to offer my advice to the electors of this kingdom. Everything must depend upon them; and upon them only; and that they will see, when I describe to them the circumstances in which I myself am placed.

There has not been any matter whereon to make a firm stand with more reason, and more justice, than that of the affair of the British Museum. It was nearly seventeen thousand pounds to come out of the pockets, or, rather, to be deducted from the miserable wages of the work-

ing people, and out of the miserable profits of the industrious tradespeople, to be laid out in providing amusement and pleasure for the rich. It was so clear a case, that it appeared, that there was no room for balancing for a single moment. Yet, when I made a motion for stopping that vote, my colleague was absent, by mere accident (we not expecting the thing to come on so quickly), there was not, in a full House of more than four hundred members, one single man to do so much as to *pull off his hat and make a bow to second the motion!* Therefore, who is to expect that, in such a state of things, any thing considerable for the people can be done in that House, as the House now stands. We have a Ministry who plainly tell us, that they mean to carry on the system in the same manner that it has hitherto been carried on, except that they clearly mean to carry it on with additional rigour. It is not to be doubted that there are many of the members, and even a majority of them, who, in their hearts, disapprove of this; who are sorry for this; would gladly see it prevented; but, it is one thing to entertain a wish, and another thing to act according to that wish. There are, assembled in the House, the representatives of immense power, of immense wealth, of a great quantity of rank of one sort and another. All these are cordially united on the side of force and of taxation; and, though it is clearly the duty of a man chosen by the people to assert their rights and interests, to assert those rights and interests, in spite of all this power, wealth, and rank; though this be his bounden duty, the electors will do well to consider how very rare a man he must be, if he will do this duty, setting at nought the cheerings, the scoffs, the scornings, and all the other obstacles which stare him in the face, and which must subdue, into silence, at any rate, a very large part of even those who are right-minded. The reader is not to suppose, that the ministerial majorities present a true picture of the mind of the House. Men, generally speaking, do not like to be in a minority, and especially if it be a very

small one. This is a great weakness; but it is nevertheless true; and the effect is just the same, with regard to the measures that are adopted, as it would be if every man voted according to his wish.

What is wanted in the House is this: ten men, who care not one single straw for all the noises that can possibly be raised against them; who would be just as insensible to the roarings and the scoldings as they would be to the noise of a parcel of dogs howling at the moon; who would preserve their good humour in spite of all the cheerings drawn forth by attacks upon them; and, above all things, who would constantly, steadily, and boldly, persevere in looking scrupulously into every grant of the public money, however small; and, if the grant were improper, opposing it at every stage; until it could be opposed no longer, according to the forms of the House. The reader is not aware, nor can he have an idea, of the eternal difficulties which are occurring: he is not aware of what it is to get up in the face of three or four hundred men, nineteen twentieths of whom are anxiously watching for an opportunity of picking some little hole or another in the coat of him who so rises up; while every one of those same men begins cheering the moment a Minister begins speaking against him. The reader is not aware of the boldness that is requisite in a case like this. Scores of men have, at different times, gone into that House with a firm determination to set all these disadvantageous circumstances at defiance; but, finding themselves unable to do that, they first sunk into silence; then next, they have slunk away from divisions; and, at last, they have actually turned about in their politics; they have feigned a conversion to the other side, finding that to do that required less courage than the performance of their duty required. This is the short history of the "*patriots*" of the House of Commons. This has been the case in hundreds of instances within my recollection.

The people are very little aware of the manner in which business is dis-

patched, especially after midnight. I will here insert the printed report of what was done, in the House of Commons, between a quarter before twelve, and a quarter before one, on Tuesday night and Wednesday morning, the 16. and 17. of April. I came away at just a quarter before twelve, leaving Lord ALTHORP speaking upon a bill about the Savings Banks. I will now lay that hour's work before you; I beg you to look well at it; and then ask yourselves, whether there be any other body of men in the world that can work like that.

Savings Banks,—Act [9 Geo. 4. c. 92.] read; Bill to enable Depositors in Savings Banks, and others, to purchase Government Annuities through the medium of Savings Banks; and to amend an Act of the ninth year of his late Majesty, to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Savings Banks, *ordered* to be brought in by Lord Viscount Althorp and Mr. Rice.

Paymaster General's Office,—Account *ordered*, "showing the Receipts and Expenditure in the office of "the Paymaster General from "1. January, 1832, to 31. March, "1833; with an abstract, distinguishing the amount received and "paid within that period on account of the parliamentary grants "for army services for the above "period, and showing the balance "remaining on 31. March, 1833, "on such Grants; likewise the "amount paid and received within "the same period on account of "previous years."—(*Lord John Russell.*)

Burgh Magistrates (Scotland),—Bill to provide for the appointment and election of Magistrates and Councilors for the several Burghs and Towns of Scotland which now return, or contribute to return, Members to Parliament, and are not Royal Burghs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Kennedy and the Lord Advocate.

Magistrates of Burghs Election (Scotland),—Bill to provide for the appointment and election of Magis-

istrates and Councillors for divers Burghs, Towns, and places in Scotland which send no Representatives to Parliament, and are not Royal Burghs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Kennedy and the Lord Advocate.

Annuity Tax (Edinburgh),—Bill to regulate and diminish the Annuity Tax now levied on the City of Edinburgh, and to take away the exemption of Members of the College of Justice from payment of the said Annuity Tax, and the assessments for the Poor, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Kennedy and the Lord Advocate.

Royal Burghs (Scotland), Bill to empower His Majesty to issue a Commission for inquiring into the condition of the several Royal Burghs, and other Burghs and Towns in Scotland, and reporting what may be fit to be done for their improvement and the correction of any defects or abuses that may be found to exist, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Kennedy and the Lord Advocate.

Office of Ordnance,—Supplementary Estimate of the Office of Ordnance *presented* [by Command]; to lie on the Table, and to be *printed*.

Army,—Return *presented*,—of number of Commissions in the Army, of each rank, which have been purchased, and the Half or Retired Pay, cancelled, &c. [ordered 12. March]; to lie on the Table, and to be *printed*.

Savings Banks Annuities Bill,—"to enable Depositors in Savings Banks, and others, to purchase Government Annuities through the medium of Savings Banks; and to amend an Act of the ninth year of his late Majesty, to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Savings Banks," *presented*, and read first time; to be read second time *this day*, and to be *printed*.

Liffey River Bill,—*considered* in Committee; to be reported *this day*.

Trial of Offences (Ireland) Bill,—Committee *deferred* till *Thursday*.
Supply,—Resolutions *reported*;

1. "That a sum, not exceeding 104,070*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Salaries of the Officers and the Contingent Expenses of the Admiralty Office, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

2. "That a sum, not exceeding 21,725*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Salaries of the Officers and the Contingent Expenses of the Navy Pay Office, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

3. "That a sum, not exceeding 22,109*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Salaries of the Officers and the Contingent Expenses of the several Scientific Departments of the Navy, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

4. "That a sum, not exceeding 114,970*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Salaries of the Officers and the Contingent Expenses of His Majesty's Naval Establishments at Home, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

5. "That a sum, not exceeding 23,422*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Salaries of the Officers, and the Contingent Expenses, of His Majesty's Naval Establishments abroad, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

6. "That a sum, not exceeding 438,426*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, to pay the Wages of Artificers, Labourers, and others, employed in His Majesty's Naval Establishments at Home, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

7. "That a sum, not exceeding 26,905*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to pay the Wages of Artificers, Labourers, and others, employed in his Majesty's Naval Establishments Abroad, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

8. "That a sum, not exceeding 423,000*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, for the purchase of Naval Stores, for the building

"and repair of Docks, Wharfs, &c., to the 31. day of March, 1834."

9. "That a sum, not exceeding 63,700*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge of New Works and Improvements in the Yards; to the 31. day of March, 1834."

10. "That a sum, not exceeding 31,500*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge of Medicines and Medical Stores, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

11. "That a sum, not exceeding 50,380*l.* be granted to His Majesty, to defray the expense of divers Naval Miscellaneous Services, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

12. "That a sum, not exceeding 871,858*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge of Half Pay to Officers of the Navy and Royal Marines, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

13. "That a sum, not exceeding 533,403*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, to defray the charge of Military Pensions and Allowances, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

14. "That a sum, not exceeding 220,342*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, to defray the Charges of Civil Pensions and Allowances, to the 31. day of March, 1834."

15. "That a sum, not exceeding 200,800*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge of Freight of Ships for the conveyance of Troops and Stores, on account of the Army and Ordnance Departments, to the 31. day of March 1834."

16. "That a sum, not exceeding 118,300*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the expense of conveying Convicts to New South Wales, to the 31. day of March, 1834"

Resolutions agreed to.

Grand Juries (Ireland) Bill,—Sir John Hobhouse added to the Committee on the Bill.

Law Amendment Bill,—read first time; to be read second time on *Tuesday* next, and to be *printed*.

Coventry Election Committee,—Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee, and of Evidence taken before the Committee, *presented* [ordered 4th April]; to lie on the Table, and to be *printed*.

Act of Sederunt,—Copy *presented*,—of an interim Act of Sederunt of the Court of Session [by Act]; to lie on the Table.

Returning Officers' Charges,—Return *presented*,—of the number of Electors entitled to vote at the last General Election, and of expenses incurred under the 71st section of Act 2 Will. 4, c. 45 [Addresses 12. February]; to lie on the Table, and to be *printed*.

Tithes (North Leith),—Return *presented*,—relating to the Tithe of Fish levied by the Minister of the parish of North Leith [Address 8. March]; to lie on the Table, and to be *printed*.

Stipendiary Magistrates (Ireland),—Account *presented*,—of the number of Stipendiary Magistrates in Ireland, &c. [ordered 14. February]; to lie on the Table, and to be *printed*.

Carlow District Lunatic Asylum,—Return *presented*,—of expense of erecting the same, distinguishing the purchase of land from expense of building, &c. [ordered 25. March]; to lie on the Table, and to be *printed*.

Police Guard (Ireland),—Copy *presented*,—of Correspondence between the Reverend Patrick O'Gorman, "Parish Priest of Rath and Kilnaboy," and Sir William Gosset [ordered 2. April]; to lie on the Table, and to be *printed*.

Slavery,—Petition of Inhabitants of Aspatrea, for the abolition thereof; to lie on the Table.

Northern Lights,—Accounts *ordered*, "of the total sums levied by the commissioners of Northern Lights, in the years ending 30. June, 1831 and 1832, respective-

"by; specifying the different ports
 "at which the said sums were
 "collected, and the amount levied
 "at each; also, distinguishing
 "those sums which have been ac-
 "cepted in composition in terms of
 "the 26. Geo. 3, c. 101, sec. 17,
 "and the ports to which vessels so
 "compounding belonged:—"

"Of the expenditure of the Com-
 "missioners, from 30. June, 1831,
 "to 30. June, 1832."—(*Mr. Robert
 Stewart.*)

St. Peter's (Dublin) Assessment.—Re-
 turn ordered, "of the Assessment
 "passed at the two Vestries held in
 "Easter week in St. Peter's parish,
 "Dublin, stating the particulars,
 "and the total amount; distin-
 "guishing such charges as were
 "not included in the assessment of
 "last year; and also stating the
 "amount of last year's Assess-
 "ment."—(*Mr. O'Dwyer.*)

*Adjourned at a quarter before
 one o'clock.*

CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON,

Speaker.

There's a House for you! Bring in
 no less than *eight* new bills, pass *six-
 teen* heavy votes of money, receive and
 order *eleven* sets of returns and accounts,
 consider one bill in a committee, defer
 another bill; and all this in the space
 of *one short hour*. Forty-nine important
 subjects investigated and dispatched in
 sixty minutes: that is to say, one mi-
 nute and one sixth of a minute to every
 subject, the new bills included. Men
 have long been looking about after the
 eighth wonder of the world: this is it
 to a certainty; and after beholding this
 wonder, this nation must be stupid, in-
 deed, to wonder at any of the effects
 which it has had, and still has, to expe-
 rience. **TEN MEN**, resolved to do the
 thing, would change this whole system.
 Ten men would have prevented even
 one single bill to have been brought in
 after twelve o'clock at night. Two
 men might have done it; but, then
 those two men could not last for ever;
 they must have rest. About four, al-
 ways present, would do; but then this
 would require ten altogether; in order

to be provided against the effects of
 illness as well as of fatigue. If there
 were ten men, faithfully to adhere to
 their duty; men to be turned aside by
 no blandishments, no dinnerings, the
 whole thing would be put to rights by the
 end of the month of May. But, I know
 of no such ten men: I know of no ten
 men who care no more for the smiles
 of a lord than they care for the smiles
 of a beggar. The Scripture says, "that
 "it is easier for a camel to go through
 "the eye of a needle, than for a rich
 "man to enter the kingdom of heaven;"
 and I know, that it is easier for a camel
 to go through the eye of a needle, than
 it is for a man who associates at club-
 houses, who dines with Ministers and
 amongst lords, who has the smallest
 preference to the smiles of the great
 before their frowns, or who cares one
 curse about the cheers or the majorities
 of the House; I know that it is easier for
 a camel to go through the eye of a
 needle, in reality, then for such a man
 to do his duty by the people in the
 House of Commons. Many men are
 sound in their principles, zealous in their
 wishes, perfectly disinterested in their
 views; but, notwithstanding all these,
 if they be trammelled by fashion; if
 they would give one single straw for the
 smile of the King; if they would not
 rather, and ten thousand times rather,
 dine on a bit of bread and cheese at
 their lodging, than pinch the bread to
 pieces, and lap up turtle-soup at the
 table of a peer, though the peer sits
 smiling on them, and lying to
 them, all the time; if they would
 not rather nibble at a bit of bread
 and cheese, or scrape the frag-
 ments from a mutton-bone, than be a
 guest at a table like this, a fig for all
 their good principles, their zeal, and
 their disinterestedness! A man with
 turtle-soup in his belly, and with
 French wine exhilarating his brain,
 never yet did his duty towards the
 people.

This aristocracy are the cunningest of
 all God's creatures. They have been
 particularly on the watch, I dare say,
 on the present occasion. They saw
 how the people were *pledging* their

members : they saw how those pledges would operate with regard to them : they have, therefore, been at work in the craftiest and most indefatigable manner to undo the pledges ; or, at least, to render them null. All their *dinnerings* have been set to work : and, though it is not for me to point out particular individuals, whose bellies they have crammed, and whose skulls they have intoxicated, I should like to see the thing done by somebody else. In short, so great and so numerous are the temptations : so difficult is it not to be entrapped by some means or another, that the electors ought, on every future occasion, to be assured of their man ; to be able to say, when they have chosen him, that they are sure that he will perish, rather than not do his duty. The electors, everywhere, should, even now, begin to organize themselves in preparation for another election. Where there are Political Unions, they should digest plans ; make out lists ready ; have meetings and conferences with one another. Then, they should, as soon as possible, determine upon the steps that they should instantly take in the case of a vacancy. In the meanwhile, they should, if such be the ground on which they have elected their present members, write to them, and give them their instructions upon certain great points. If they find their names not in minorities, when they think they ought to have been there, they should instantly write to them and ask them to explain the matter ; but, above all things, they ought, in all the boroughs and cities, especially, to be prepared for another election, and especially for the ousting of the detestable Whigs.

The great fault at the last election was, that the people thought that they must have members calling themselves "*gentlemen*;" whether they were captains, or colonels, or majors, or admirals, or generals ; whether they were actually living upon the taxes already, or living on their own means, they must have a thing calling itself a "*gentleman*!" They have got them ! And if the "*gentlemen*" do not make them remember what it is to have a set of "*gentlemen*"

to represent them, I am amongst the most mistaken of all human beings. My advice to the people in the boroughs was, to look out for *sensible tradesmen*. A parliament of sensible tradesmen, even paid for the use of their time by the electors of the boroughs, would have made them feel the benefit of the election long and long before now. What would I give at this moment to have seven sensible tradesmen to add to my colleague and the honourable member for Brighton ? Why this makes all the difference in the world. If you have persons on whom you can rely, you do things that you *never would attempt to do without it*. You might succeed without the aid of such persons ; but the *uncertainty* makes it prudent in you not to attempt. I shall be able to do a *great deal*, during the present session. I have laid my ground well ; and I should proceed on, and do a great deal, without even a man to second my motions. To prevent me from doing the things which I have in contemplation, the Ministers must do one of two things : they must obtain an order to prevent me from speaking when they please ; or, they must shut up the gallery ; and then they may as well shut up the House and fling the key into the *Thames*, as JAMES the Second did the great seal. They will not do either of these ; and, therefore, I shall do a great deal ; but, oh God ! how different would it be, if there were but ten, or only four or five, men ! I know twelve men on whom I could place a firm reliance for talent and knowledge as well as for integrity. The only difficulty that I have with these men is, the inducing of them to come forward. I have had more plague with my own sons, than I ought to have had. However, I have enough of authority over them, I hope, to lay my commands on them, if it were to come to that. What a difference would it make, if I had two, or only one, of them at my side ! Full of knowledge on every public topic ; quite knowledge enough of the law ; bred up in a village and amongst the fields ; transferred to great towns ; have travelled both in America, and over a great part of the

Continent; and, which is of a great deal more importance, sober, industrious, and hating tyranny of every description from the bottom of their very souls; and, above all things, abhorring the base and cruel tyrants, who have been so long oppressing the working people of England. What a difference would it be to me, if I had assistance like this! However, I shall get on without assistance so great as that; and the public shall see, that all these famous votings for the navy and the army are all to be *overhauled* yet; and that pretty *Museum* is to be overhauled, too; and, in short, that, before this session is over, the whole concern shall be *laid bare* before the eyes of the people. Many a man will I put to the test (out of the House I mean, of course) who now thinks that there is no noose out of which he is not able to slip his head. I will prepare a variety of nooses, and spread them all about Fleet-street and Bolt-court; 'tis hard if I don't catch some game, crafty as they are!

I must now notice, leaving the electors everywhere to consider well what I have said; I must now notice a rather curious affair that took place in the House of Commons on Tuesday night relative to the *stamp-duties*. First, however, I should satisfy my readers on another point of very considerable importance; namely, that of RICHARD NEWSHAM, the soldier of the 53d Regiment. I intended, and do intend, to bring forward a motion on the subject of this man's petition, which I presented on the 1. of April; but, to proceed regularly, I must be possessed of the petition, and all the members of the House must be possessed of it also. On Monday night, therefore, I gave notice that I should on the next night, move for the printing of the petition, and for the laying of it on the table, that all the members might be in possession of it. Before the time came on for my making the motion for this printing, Sir RICHARD VIVIAN, who is one of the committee for examining petitions, assured me that the petition would be printed by order of that committee, without any motion on the sub-

ject. Having received this assurance, the motion became unnecessary; and of this I informed the House, stating, at the same time, that I should think it my duty to bring the matter forward as soon as possible after the petition had been printed, and also observing that I was very glad to hear, that NEWSHAM had been sent to CHATHAM-barracks, there to remain until the discussion in Parliament, relative to him, had taken place. At the same time I requested Lord JOHN RUSSELL to inform the Judge-Advocate-General of these circumstances. I shall not anticipate anything relative to this discussion; but I can assure my readers, that I deem it a matter of very great public importance.

The other matter relating to the stamp-duties, is this: that matter is to be brought forward by me, in due and regular form on the 26. of this month. I wished, at the same time that I was showing the partial imposition of these taxes, to show also, that a considerable part of them, or, at least, a large sum out of them, went into the pockets of the nobility and landowners, who paid so very small a share of them. In order to be correct in my statement on this subject, I moved for—

“A Return, stating the names of the “Commissioners of Stamps, of the “Solicitor of Stamps, of all under- “officers and Clerks, and other persons “in that department; stating the an- “nual sum which each of the said “persons receives as salary or pay; “also, stating the names of retired “Commissioners, Solicitors, Clerks, “and other person in the said depart- “ment, and the sum which each of the “said retired persons receives annually; “and also, stating the names of all the “Distributors of Stamps, County by “County, in England, Wales, and “Scotland, and stating the salary or “sum that each Distributor annually “receives for his services.”

Lord ALTHORP objected to the furnishing of me with this paper. His objection was twofold: first, the very great labour and expense, seeing that there were upwards of *five hundred names* to be put upon paper; and, se-

cond, "that I had laid no Parliamentary ground for requiring the paper." My answer to the first was, that I had myself but one clerk; and that if he did not make out the list in one day, and place the amount of salary against each, I would discharge him on Saturday night: that, as to the second objection, I did not pretend to know what "parliamentary ground" might mean; but that my ground was, a desire to be able to show to the House, that about a quarter of a million of these taxes paid by the industrious classes, went, in the quietest manner possible, into the pockets of the nobility and other landowners; and that I particularly wanted to be able to show, how large a portion of them went into the pockets of those famously independent persons, the *English country squires*. At any rate, the House might refuse me the paper if it chose; that if it did, I should proceed upon presuming that my allegations were true; and that above all things, if I had the paper, I would receive it as my right, and not as a favour bestowed by the Ministers. The House, without a division, supported the Ministers in refusing the production of the paper. I should observe, that Lord ALTHAM pulled out a bit of paper, and alleged thereupon, that these people got a hundred and fifty odd thousand a year, instead of the quarter of a million of which I had spoken; to which I answer now, and always shall answer, that I treat such assertions with scorn, as long as the authentic document, for which I call, shall shun the light.

Thus stands this affair. My motion upon the stamps is to come on on the 26. instant; and, in the meanwhile, I beg the people all over the kingdom to be prepared to observe well what will then take place. These stamps cost the people much more than eight millions of pounds sterling a year. The nett revenue they tell us is about seven millions; but besides the cost of collection, there is the *Somerset House*; there is the harassing in the case of probates and intestacies; there are the never-ending law expenses; there are the monstrous informations and fines;

there are the Exchequer processes; there are the scourges, innumerable; and the innumerable ruined families; there is the mass of evils, surpassing those of a conquest and the over-running of a country by an enemy. Let my correspondents all over the country rely firmly upon me for the discharge of my duty. They are naturally and justly impatient to obtain redress of this monstrous grievance; but let them be well assured, that, while I am as impatient as they are, I move as quickly as I can amidst all this mass of impediments. Let them be well assured, moreover, that I will not do the thing by halves; that I will leave not a fragment of doubt upon the mind of any man before I have done with this matter, in which every creature possessing property is deeply interested. The dying father, the dying mother; the widow, the fatherless; the orphan, cry to this House of Commons for justice. What will be the result, I will not venture to say. But this I will venture to say, that if redress do not follow these efforts of mine, something will follow in the end, which an all-wise Providence will make equally valuable with that redress.

STAMP-DUTIES.

THE whole country seems to be in a stir, and in a state of impatience, with regard to this matter; and, if possible, more so in Scotland than in England. I beg all these persons to be assured, that I will do this thing well; that I will either produce a redress of the grievance, or convince the people that redress is not to be obtained by my means. The King's servants have had plenty of time to prepare their defence. I am one man: they are scores, with all the documents in their possession; with all their troops of clerks, and lawyers; and with all the means of making up a justification or an apology, if either were possible. Yet, with all this disadvantage, I do believe that they tremble at the thought of meeting me. I have been, for these two days, too unwell, with this plaguing *influenza*, to

make it prudent to go out to the House, and run the risk of catching fresh cold; but I have no doubt of being well enough for the performance of my task on the 26. instant. I shall not care a straw how many vote with me, or how many vote against me; but, I will ascertain who are for, and who against, my proposition; when that proposition is decided, a great deal will have been decided: the nation will then know what it has to trust to: it will then see what it has to expect at the hands of this Parliament.

COVENTRY.

SINCE I wrote the former part of this *Register*, I have heard, from the mouth of a friend who was present, of the most excellent conduct of the people of COVENTRY; of the scorn with which they treated the attempts to seduce them; of their refusing to participate in the guttling and guzzling. Such men are worthy of every praise that can be bestowed upon them; the country cannot sink wholly and entirely, while there are such men in it. As soon as I can possibly find the time, I will go down and stay a day in COVENTRY, to thank these good people in person; not for myself, nor for my son, so much as for the country in general. This present state of things cannot last long: the present taxes cannot be collected without more force of some sort or another; what turn the thing is to take, at last, no man can say; but this any man can say; and that is, that there must be a great change of some sort or other; and, in the effecting of that change, if it be for the better, all must depend upon the resolution of the people.

I HAVE received, as a present from the women of BURY, in Lancashire, a circular plum-cake, nearly a yard in diameter. I am very much obliged to them for it, as a mark of their esteem; and particularly when they tell me, that they intend it to show their gratitude for what they are pleased to call my

exertions in behalf of the working-people; but there is another and a far greater pleasure that they may be able to give me, namely, to prevail upon their husbands, at the next election, to send Mr. EDMUND GAUNDY to sit by my side. They cannot be aware of the difference that even that single circumstance would make in my ability to serve them. Mr. GAUNDY is just the sort of man that is wanted; a man never to flinch, but to sit unmoved in the performance of his duty, though the roof of the house crumble on his head.

MR. FAITHFULL'S MOTION.

IN the hope that Mr. FAITHFULL will take the trouble to write out his speech, and to publish it in a pamphlet, I shall attempt to give no report of it here. The reports in the newspapers are necessarily mere sketches of this elaborate and very fine speech. I must do the House the justice to say, that it listened to this speech with uncommon attention; though with as much displeasure as can well be imagined. It was easy to see that there would be very few to vote for the motion. I wished to avoid seconding, lest I should be appointed a *teller*; and I really felt myself too unwell to like to encounter it. However, the seconding fell to my lot; and it was with some reluctance that I gave my consent not to divide the House; for I should have been quite content to have been in a minority of two, approving, as I did, and as I do, of every part of the motion, which was not at all levelled against the religion of the church, but solely against it as a temporal establishment. There was no answer to be given to such a speech; and, the attempt of Lord ARTHUR to treat it with contempt, failed as completely as any attempt that I ever witnessed in my life. Mr. FAITHFULL has since told me, that several of those gentlemen who most strenuously urged him to push forward his motion, declined to support it after it had been made; here we have another proof of the necessity of TEN MEN. However, with regard

to Mr. FAITHFULL's motion, it is "*bread thrown upon the waters*;" and a man is not worth a straw, in this state of things, who is not content, and who cannot keep his good humour, while his motions are treated in this manner. He must be content to meet with a great deal rougher treatment than Mr. FAITHFULL met with; and to let the system work on, until his efforts will be attended to.

THE JEWS.

THIS crew were in high feather last night (it is now Thursday); but their job is not yet done; and, I trust, will not be done, until the country has heard what I have to say upon the subject. I was very sorry not to be able to be present at the first bringing in of the measure: but I shall be able to lay hold of it before it gets into the shape of a law.

I TAKE the following letter from the "*True Sun*" of the 18. instant; and I beg my readers, all over the country, to consider how worthy it is of imitation. The city of London have followed the example of PAISLEY; and, we shall soon perceive the effects that such proceeding will have.)

A REBUKE FOR A RENEGADE.

To the Editor of the True Sun.

"SIR,—I am induced to request you to give insertion to this letter in order to remedy a defect which I see in the morning papers, in reporting the proceedings of the meeting held yesterday at the Guildhall on the subject of poor-laws for Ireland.

"The following resolution, proposed by Mr. Knapp, and seconded by me, was agreed to by the meeting:—

"Resolved,—That the citizens of London, in Common-hall assembled, feel themselves called upon to express their unqualified approbation of the parliamentary conduct of their representatives, Mr. Alderman Wood and Mr. Geste, and especially thank them

"for their manly and patriotic opposition to that uncalled-for and deprecated measure, denominated the '*Irish Coercion Bill*,' by which the constitutional rights and liberties of their brethren, the people of Ireland, have been destroyed.

"Now, Sir, I think that you, will agree with me in saying that the sentiments of the constituency of the city of London, with regard to the conduct of their representatives on the occasion of the passing of the '*bloody and brutal bill*,' ought to be made public, so that every constituency in the kingdom may witness the way in which that of London reward the representatives whom they '*delight to honour*;' and, also, how they sing contempt on the man, who, *before* he became an M.P. was the paragon of patriotism, the loud and indignant declaimer against the enemies of liberty; but who, the moment he became an M.P. did every thing that his very slender abilities allowed, to rivet the chains of the most degrading slavery on the people of Ireland that ever tyrant prepared for a people.

"I am, Sir,

"your most obedient servant,

"J. SWAIN."

"No. 93, Fleet-street."

PAISLEY ELECTORS.

THE following proceedings and resolutions will show, that this town, to the name of which I have, for pretty nearly twenty years, always prefixed the epithet "*SENSIBLE*," has not lost its character. To be sensible, however, is no security against being deceived for once; but, it will always be a security against being deceived a second time; by the same persons and the same means. With regard to the Irish *red-coat bill*, there was such a confusion: such a mixty-maxy of reasoning and of excuses: such a strange voting for and voting against, that, if it had gone off at the third reading, without any division, there would have been great difficulty in ascertaining to a certainty

who were for the bill, and who were against it. I, therefore, seeing the House with more than four hundred members in it, was resolved to have that point settled beyond all doubt; and to that end I made the motion that I did make for throwing out the bill; and thus enabled the people all over the kingdom, to ascertain who are the men that opposed it to the last. It was this division that enabled the just and sensible people of PAISLEY to judge correctly on the subject. But, I beg leave to suggest to those sensible men, that it is not merely voting, there is vigilance required: there is zeal; there is boldness; there is a disregard of the frowns of power and of wealth; there is readiness to stand by those, that that power and wealth may be anxious to brow-beat into silence. One single sentence, resolutely expressed, is worth a hundred votes. The people of PAISLEY should take all this into their consideration; and they should bear in mind of what immense consequence their example may be. They will recollect that I told them, that the few friends that the people would have in the House could do nothing without the people at their back. When I was haranguing the people in the church at JOHNSTONE; exhorting them to be very careful in their choice; telling them that a few men would be enough; but that those few must be really good, a man exclaimed from the gallery: "Ah! sir! you must do it a' your sel." "No, no!" I exclaimed, "you must send somebody to help me." How often have I thought of this since I have been in that House! I repeat, that ten men only are wanted to make a great change in this system; and if PAISLEY the next time, do not send one of those ten, where are the ten to come from.

(From the Glasgow Liberator of 13. April.)

PUBLIC MEETING OF THE ELECTORS OF PAISLEY.

Pursuant to a public notice a general meeting of the electors of Paisley took place in Mr. Baird's church, St. James' street, on Monday evening, for the pur-

pose of hearing the correspondence that had taken place with Sir John Maxwell on the petition of the electors against the Irish Coercion Bill, and for adopting such measures as might be considered necessary in consequence of his declining to support the prayer of that petition. This was one of the most crowded meetings we have ever seen in Paisley. In a few minutes after the doors were opened, the galleries were full to overflowing with non-electors. Before the committee entered the bench the area of the church was also filled with electors, with the exception of the passages, and a few of the backmost seats, and in a few minutes after the business commenced, every corner of the building was crowded, and numbers had to go away without obtaining admission.

On the motion of Mr. Ballantine, Robert Muir, Esq., was unanimously called to the chair.

Mr. Robert Muir, writer, after reading the notice convening the meeting, stated that the committee had transmitted the petition against the Irish Coercion Bill to Sir John Maxwell, signed by a considerable majority of the electors, and which Sir John had declined to support. He would accordingly read the correspondence which had taken place with Sir John and Mr. Gillon on the subject, and also the copy of a card sent that day to Sir John Maxwell as soon as it was learned he was at Pollock, intimating to him, that that meeting was to take place. Mr. Muir then read the whole of the minutes of the committee with the letters referred to. The following are copies of the letters from the committee to Sir John, accompanying the petition with his answer and that of Mr. Gillon.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Robert Muir, chairman of the committee, to Sir John Maxwell:

" Paisley, 19. March, 1833.

" To Sir John Maxwell, of Pollock, Bart.,
M. P., London.

" Sir,—I, as Chairman of a committee of the electors of Paisley, appointed at a public meeting of their body (held on the 5. inst.), to correspond with

you, beg to send you a petition to the House of Commons, which is subscribed by 666, being a majority of the electors; and I respectfully request that you may present the same to the House, and in terms of the ninth article of your pledges support its prayer. If you cannot conveniently present and support the petition, I have to request, that you may be good enough to hand it to Mr. Gillon for presentation.

"I am respectfully, Sir,
"your most obedient servant,
(Signed) "ROBERT MUIR."

"P. S. I think it right to mention that, while the petition bears the signature of a considerable majority of the whole electors enrolled in the town, it must be kept in view that a good many of the others are dead, and not a few non-resident; and, besides the whole of the electors could not, from the shortness of the time, and the number of other petitions in hand, be called upon, otherwise the petition would have been even more numerously signed.

"R. M."

"London, 23. March, 1833.

Sir,—According to your desire I have put into the hands of Mr. Gillon the petition you forwarded to me from Paisley. I need not say I did so with regret, as I certainly accepted the situation of representative of Paisley, not to express my own sentiments, but those of my constituents, nor certainly for any selfish motive. But as a British subject, I cannot sanction the dismemberment of Ireland from this country, as I consider repeal to mean nothing else, and that the murders and other outrages are to be continued till an Irish Parliament can be assembled in Dublin. If nothing but a Parliament in Dublin would be a cure for the miseries of that unhappy country, might not one composed of English, Irish, Scotch, and Welshmen, have the desired effect, but such a Parliament is not what the repealers want.

"I remain, Sir,
"your most obedient servant,
"JOHN MAXWELL."

"Robert Muir, Esq., Chairman."

"House of Commons, 22. March.

"Sir,—I this morning received yours of the 19. inst. and have since had an interview with Sir John Maxwell, whom I met at the Scottish burgh reform committee. He tells me, that as he cannot agree in all the prayers of the Paisley petition, he is to hand it to me. Having on Wednesday last presented a great many petitions on that and other subjects, my name is at present low down in the Speaker's list; but if there is any doubt of my coming on, while the question is before our House, I will intrust the petition for presentation to some member in whom I have reliance, and attend myself to support the prayer of it. I remain,

"your very obedient servant,
"W. D. GILLON."

When the reading of the letter from Mr. Gillon was concluded, it was received with cheers, while that from Sir John was marked with strong expressions of disapprobation by the meeting. Mr. Muir, after the letters were read, said that the committee had taken into serious consideration the letter from Sir John Maxwell, and after having done so, they had come to the unanimous resolution, that they could no longer look on him as the representative of the electors of Paisley. (Cheers). In order, however, that the meeting might the more fully understand the reasons of the committee for bringing forward the resolutions he was about to submit to their consideration, he would direct their attention to the third and ninth articles of the pledges accepted by Sir John. The speaker then read the pledges referred to, in the one of which Sir John became bound to abolish all useless places and unnecessary pensions, and in the other that he would at all times support the opinions of his constituents deliberately expressed, or resign his trust into their hands. Mr. Muir then added, that the committee appointed at their last meeting, now consider their duty at an end, as from the manner in which Sir John Maxwell had deliberately broken his pledges, they could no longer correspond with

him as their representative. They, therefore, conceived their functions ended with the bringing forward of the resolutions, and resigned their trust into the hands of the present meeting of electors accordingly. (Cheers).

Mr. MUIR then read the resolutions brought forward by the committee, and moved that they should be adopted by the meeting.

Mr. BALLANTINE, in seconding the resolutions, said that they bore so clearly and distinctly on the pledges, and the deliberate manner in which they had been broken, that he conceived it quite unnecessary in him to say a single word in support of them.

The Chairman hoped that any elector in the meeting, who might disapprove of the resolutions which had been moved and seconded, or who wished any amendment made on them, would come freely forward and express his sentiments; but, although a short pause was allowed for this purpose, no individual seemed inclined to take advantage of the offer.

And the resolutions were accordingly put to the vote, when a general show of hands took place in their favour. On the vote being reversed, three or four hands were held up against them only.

Mr. M'AUSLAND proposed that a requisition should be got up, calling on Sir John to resign, and that his election committee should be appointed to present it to him.

Mr. ERSKINE M'FARLANE thought it would be a great pity if Paisley was so far reduced as to be obliged to retain Sir John as a representative, after the glaring inconsistency of which he had been guilty; at the same time he hoped the committee would accept of their reappointment, for the purpose of calling on him to retire.

Mr. MUIR opposed the motion for a recall: there was no law to force Sir John to retire: such an act was entirely optional on his part; he might treat them with contempt in that request, as he had already done in the support of their petition, and even were they to take such a step, they might not obtain a majority, and then they would be placed in a most awkward predicament. He con-

sidered the purpose of the electors was sufficiently accomplished by the nearly unanimous vote of that evening; and by giving the resolutions every publicity in their power, they were in fact calling on him as a gentleman to resign, and if he did not resign under these circumstances, in his (Mr. M's) opinion, he could not be looked on as a gentleman, any more than he at present could be looked on as their representative. (Cheers).

After these observations, Mr. M'Farlane withdrew his motion, and proposed that both the resolutions and pledges should be published in the *True Sun*, as well as in the local papers, which having been agreed to, on the motion of Mr. Wood, the existing committee was unanimously reappointed to carry the resolutions into effect, and with powers to add to their number.

Mr. HENDERSON, after this part of the business had been concluded, said he was happy at having it in his power to direct the attention of the meeting to a more agreeable subject than that which they just had under consideration, namely, Burgh Reform. He then explained that the committee had agreed to bring that subject under the consideration of that meeting, in consequence of the magistrates and town-council having declined to take it up in a public manner, till the Reform Bill for that class of Burghs, to which Paisley belonged, was brought out, and more particularly, as the Lord Advocate had intimated that the leading principles of the bill for the Royal Burghs would be contained in that for the Burghs of Royalty, of which Paisley was one. The committee conceived it was necessary, on these grounds, to embrace the first opportunity of a public meeting of the electors, to point out those parts of the Royal Burgh Bill, which were necessary to be amended, and they took up their defects with the greater confidence of having them altered, when they considered the success that attended the exertions of the people in the amendments of the parliamentary reform bill, whereby the constituency of Paisley had been raised from between

400 and 500 electors to upwards of 1,200.

At this stage of the business, some discussion took place as to whether the consideration of the Burgh Reform Bill should be thrown open to all present in the meeting, or be confined to the electors and burgesses only. Mr. Henderson approved of the suggestion. They could not be the worse for good advice, let it come from what quarter it might; and as no objection was made to the proposal, the business was proceeded with on the understanding that all present were at liberty to express their opinions as to any alterations they might conceive necessary. The speaker then proceeded to lay before the meeting the different amendments which he, and the members of the Electors' Committee, had considered necessary. In the first place, he thought that burgesses should be added to the freemen of trades, and the parliamentary electors entitled to vote. This he considered a glaring omission in the Royal Burgh Bill, because there were many persons present entered as burgesses, add who contributed to the burgh funds, (which, on the other hand, freemen of trades often did not,) who would be deprived of the right of voting for members of Council, if this omission was persevered in. But the omission would be more particularly felt in Paisley, for there they had no freemen of trades, although all persons carrying on business were obliged to become burgesses, consequently, unless they were admitted to the privilege of voting, it would be confined to the parliamentary electors alone, who, in many cases, contributed no more to the town's funds than the poorest householder. He would propose, also, that the poll should be kept open only one day, for the election of Councillors in place of two days, as proposed in the act. They had evident proof during the parliamentary elections how speedily that business could be completed, if the electors chose to come forward; and if the elections were completed in one day, which they easily might, it would be the means of saving

a heavy burden on the Burgh funds, and of preventing much turmoil and anxiety among the inhabitants. By the bill at present before Parliament it was intended that the councillors for large towns, such as Paisley, should be elected in separate wards. This he highly approved of, but he thought it would be an important addition that they should be resident in the ward for which they were elected. This would prevent rich men from spreading themselves over the wards of a town, and monopolising its representation; it would likewise insure the councillors associating with those whom they represented, and the return of men of different stations in life, to take charge of the municipal affairs of the town. Another contemplated enactment in the bill was, that the provost and treasurer should remain in office for three years. This should be objected to in both cases. Their forefathers had held a frequent return to their constituents necessary on the part of all who represented them, both their members of Parliament and their magistrates were elected only for one year, and had this excellent rule not been departed from, they would have been saved the trouble of meeting for the melancholy business which had engaged their attention during the early part of the night. He therefore thought that the good old custom of their forefathers should be persevered in, and that their magistrates should be continued in office no longer a period than three years, except by the sufferance of those who elected them. The next thing to which he had to direct their attention was the absurd scheme attempted to be introduced of making the councillors returned pay the fees of the assessors who presided at the elections in the different wards. This plan, whatever might be the number of wards into which Paisley might be divided, would be felt as a heavy burden on those councillors who were elected, and they never could expect that men would pay for leave to serve the public gratis, if they intended to act honestly. The policy to be pursued by the people, if they wanted public servants

to act for the public good, was to make them as much as possible dependent on them; but the moment the public were dependent on their representatives, they could look for nothing else but that they would make use of the power reposed in them for their own advantage. The last thing which he considered necessary to bring before the meeting was, the propriety of supporting the magistrates and council in their endeavour to prevent those parliamentary electors, residing beyond the burgh boundary, from being made eligible to elect or be elected councillors for the management of the burgh funds, to which they did not contribute in any shape whatever; or else to have the jurisdiction of the burgh extended over the whole parliamentary boundary. This plan of making the parliamentary electors, electors for the council of the burgh, although residing beyond the burgh boundary, was intended to be introduced into the bill for Paisley, and the class of burghs similarly situated, though not contemplated in the Royal Burgh Bill; and he thought that every exertion should be made to prevent the introduction of such an unjust practice.

Mr. CALDERWOOD addressed the meeting at some length on the propriety of having the burgh boundary extended over the whole parliamentary bounds.

Mr. BLACK considered that every man who paid police taxes, should have a vote in the choosing of the town councillors.

Mr. MUIR, writer, believed it was a general wish with the inhabitants, that the right of voting should be extended to every rate-payer, but it was a question if they would obtain that extension. He disapproved of the proposal of continuing the provost in office for three years: it was the custom at present to continue the chief magistrate for two years, but it was only by sufferance; he had no objections to their being elected a second time, but it should not be imperative. He was much surprised at the proposal.

Mr. PARKHILL considered that whether they succeeded in having the voting extended to all rate-payers, or not, they

should at least make the attempt. For the sake of avoiding expense, he considered the ballot, as practised by the police electors in choosing the commissioners, might be introduced.

Some discussion then took place on Mr. Parkhill's proposal of adopting the police mode of voting, in the course of which he withdrew that proposal, which had been seconded by Mr. M'Ausland, and moved that vote by ballot should be claimed. The whole of the amendments proposed by Mr. Henderson were then put to the vote and agreed to *seriatim*, with the addition, that the right of voting should be claimed for householders, and that the votes should be given by ballot; and the committee were accordingly instructed to use every exertion in their power for the accomplishment of these objects.

Mr. GARDNER then said, that he would claim the sufferance of the meeting for the introduction of some matters of great importance, which he wished the committee instructed to follow up although not embraced in the notice calling them together. The first was, to second the efforts of the inhabitants of London in their endeavour to obtain the abolition of the house and window tax. The second was, that the committee should be instructed to petition for the abolition of the soap-tax, the malt and hop-tax, all taxes on knowledge, and the stamp and legacy duties. It was needless for him to take up the time of the meeting, by pointing out the unequal manner in which many of these taxes operated, whereby the industrious classes of society were made to pay sometimes fifty and a hundred-fold heavier dues than the nobles of the land; and in, other cases where the business classes of society were made to pay heavily, while the land-owners were wholly exempt; he alluded to the legacy duty, which was levied only on moveables, when great landed estates and other kinds of heritable property were allowed to pass free. The next thing, and what might seem the strangest, when coming from him, was that they should petition for law reform.

After some discussion, the proposals were unanimously agreed to.

Resolutions agreed to at a general public meeting of the electors of Paisley, held in the St. James-street Chapel, on the 8. of April, 1833.

First. That Sir John Maxwell having in the 3. article of his address to the electors, pledged himself "To do all in his power to procure the abolition of all unnecessary offices and unmerited pensions," it was a violation of that pledge, and a breach of good faith towards the electors, for him to vote against Mr. Hume's late motion for discontinuing naval and military sinecures, and in failing to support Mr. Hume's more recent motion for the abolition of certain naval sinecures.

Second. That the petition from the town against the Irish Coercion Bill, having been subscribed by a majority of the electors, and transmitted to Sir John Maxwell, to present and support in terms of the 9. article of his address, where he pledges himself "That he would at all times, and in all things, act in his capacity of representative conformably to the wishes of his constituents deliberately expressed," and that failing this, "he should resign to them the trust committed to him," it was the duty of Sir John either to support that petition, or to tender his resignation, and that as he has done neither, but on the contrary declined to support the petition, and voted against its prayer, the electors can no longer have any confidence in him, or regard him as their representative. And,

Third. That these resolutions be published.

ROB. MUIR, Chairman.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

(From Cobbett's Magazine)

"Every meeting of the Commons produced some vehement harangue against the usurpation of the bishops, against the late convocation, against the new cautions. So disgusted were all lovers of civil liberty at the doctrines promoted by the clergy, that these invectives were received without control: and no distinction, at first, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbi-

"tances of the hierarchy, and such as pretended totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction."—HUME, *Hist. Eng.* vol. vi. p. 384.

"The mighty empire of France, with whom we are now so closely and so intimately connected, has abolished the church as an engine or power of state. Another great empire, of increasing growth and wonderful power, the United States of America, with whom our intercourse is almost daily augmented, acknowledges religion only as a civil right; the state has no religion. In their splendid temples at Washington, the Catholic, the Church-of-England man, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, whichever is the religion of the president of the year, offer up their praises together, in harmony, to the Most High, according to their respective forms of worship. Can we, in such a condition of the civil polity of these two great and improving nations, maintain our extraordinary church establishment—the cruel and oppressive system of tithes—the useless cathedrals, with their enormous wealthy appendages and endowments—the merciless Protestant church of Ireland, whose sole use is the creating riches, and earthly dominion, for the near connexion of the minister of the day? Can we do all this, in the face of the universal feeling of man? Already the case is decided. An army of 30,000 men is requisite to collect the tithes in Ireland; and what army will be able to collect them in England five years hence?"—LORD TEYNNHAM, *How it must work*, p. 17.

"All we ask of every Christian man who shall have a voice in deciding this momentous question is, that he will remember how great a charge is laid upon him, and that he will do nothing rashly, nothing but mere political considerations, nothing but as under the eye of his great Task-master. By all that can bind the conscience and soul of a responsible being, we would implore every member of both our Houses of Legislature—every one who can listen to such an appeal—not to lay a finger on the church, not to touch a stone of the sacred edifice, not to pluck out a single golden thread from the fringes of her sanctuary, till he has first well examined and understood what is the end which a right'y-constituted church is designed to answer; and has then carefully ascertained how far our established church answers to this end, and how, in those instances in which it may seem defective, it may, with the least chance, be made to do so better."—QUARTERLY REVIEW, December, 1832.

In the last of the above-quoted passages consists almost all the sober sense belonging to an article which appeared in the last *Quarterly Review*; an article, the writer of which would seem to have been so far out of his senses when he wrote it, that we know not to what to

compare this tissue of frenzy, unless it be that series of acts which ARROSO attributes to his hero *Orlando* after the poor fellow went raving mad. Now, in all this violence of contention (for it does not deserve to be called argument), the writer may be prompted by motives of conscience; but, from his manner of handling the subject, one cannot naturally suppose him to be so. This article is a great church attack upon all church-reformers. It seems to have for its object the preventing of any reform whatever, and is composed in such a temper that we might imagine the author to be interested in some piece of church property the least necessary for the good of the church, and which the hand of church-reform would be likely to lay its first hold on. The writer feels obliged to admit that the church stands in need of a champion, and that the sacredness of her character alone is not enough to protect her. This, to be sure, does not condemn the church; since the fairest characters are sometimes exposed to aspersion. But the champion's mode of carrying on the contest does little honour to the party he contends for; it would rather create suspicion of the cause in the eyes of an indifferent looker-on. What does the *Quarterly Review* really mean? does he mean, that there should not be great changes in the established church; and does he, too, mean this as the *friend* of the church? If this be his real meaning, he is but another *Orlando Furioso*.

In this one passage, however, let the writer's general motive be what it may, we find something which, we confess, is in accordance with our own views on the same subject. The substance of his eloquence is, that the church ought not to be deprived of any more than what necessity requires to have taken away: and to this we agree. But our divine of the *Quarterly* says, also, in giving this, which is nearly the finishing touch to his undertaking, that nothing should be done "for mere political considerations;" appearing to have quite forgotten all the politics with which his own article is burdened. Heavenly or

mundane, practical or theoretical, it does not signify upon which of these considerations, the present state of things has raised a question amongst the people as to whether there ought any longer to be an established church. The wild rage of the *Quarterly* only gives further countenance to the wish for absolute destruction to that kind of church; he pitches indiscriminately upon both her friends and foes, and upon some of the former only because they will not go through thick and thin in justifying all the deeds of error that the lady for whom he takes up the cudgels has unfortunately been guilty of.

Church reform is a subject which has now been so long discussed by all people, of whatever classes of faith, having any pretensions to political knowledge, that we shall no doubt surprise some of our readers by saying that we are at a loss how to begin in making anything like a public declaration of our own wishes or opinions relative to this matter. Not because we choose, like some others, to save ourselves up with mental reservations, nor that we fear to offend the prejudices of those who may have set their hearts on the church's overthrow. That we do not mean to take such a part as this, will quickly appear; for, humble as our pretensions are, our opinions shall be unreserved; and, with however much deference we submit to the judgment of wiser people, our opinions happen to be of a kind that the statement of them must necessarily set the particular prejudices we mention at defiance. There is, we know, a very considerable part of the community who do not regard the church establishment, the *state church*, as at all necessary to the preservation of religion among the people. This notion is one that has been on the increase for some years. It is not our object here, to expose the abuses of the church. Unfortunately, it is not necessary to invoke condemnation upon her head. The tide of public opinion is at least sufficiently against her, and if we desired her complete destruction, we need not, if the stream is

to have its way, take the trouble to add our mite to the strength of it.

Tithes, deans and chapters, bishops' salaries, pluralities, non-residences, livings, large and small, curacies, &c., church loaves and fishes of all sorts, in short, we shall put aside; these promise to be, before long, fully discussed, if they have not been so already. One writer, especially, merits particular attention; Dr. HAWES, whose book (published so long ago as 1802) relates to these matters, and contains more information than is to be derived from any other one source. It is a pity that the wise advice of Dr. HAWES was not taken. What is to be the end of the now-coming church reform, who can say? Mr. STANLEY and Lord ALTHORP undertook with great haste to inform us that their reform of Parliament was *final*: will they venture to predict just where their reforms in the church may be expected to end, and whether they do not think that the revolutionists in church matters have, under an administration like theirs, some ground to place hopes on? We put this in the form of a mere query, in order that the reproach may be as mild and mellifluous as possible, like the language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, even while he is contending for his coercive bill. It appears to us that by far the most curious object just now is, the government measure of church reform taken in one view along with all that calls itself "*liberal*" in the press. Any one who watches well how things are carried on must have seen that church reform has been the greatest, most efficient, most useful, and expedient *stalking-horse* with the Whigs; and that the "*liberals*" (the name is all their own, and let them keep it to themselves) seem to have anticipations in the workings of the Whigs upon sacred matters which, being realized, would, no doubt, lead to excellent results. The Whigs know well, that though they should, by pulling down half the bricks and mortar of the established pile about the ears of its congregation, do harm to society, this ruin would not endanger their present power half so much as an in-

discreet lessening of the taxes. Church reform is a famous *stalking-horse* for them; and over the back of this measure, led along by *liberalism*, they are now letting fly at those poor tithe-rebels, the Irish, and must needs have credit for good motives with the "*Destructives*," since, at nearly the same shot, they propose to knock over no less than ten bishops! The "*liberal*" press is too much elated with such sport to consider the matter as worthy of any serious consideration; that same press, which brings all the logic of a Jesuit to bear when wanting to show that taking the burden of a monopolizing tax off its own shoulders, would do the readers of newspapers no good!

But we digress too far, though it was our intention, imitating the *Edinburgh Review*, to write something to be called "*our homily*," a calm, political sermon; in doing which, the subject matter was simply to be what we regard as quintessential in church reform; that is the question, *Ought we to have any "establishment" at all?* In answering which, for ourselves, it is our own opinion that this nation has been much more religious and happy under the influence of the Protestant established church than it is ever likely to be in case that church were abolished. To make the question still more close, let it be this; *Whether it be reasonable that any one should be called upon to contribute towards the maintenance of a church the tenets of which he dissents from?* This is making the question as home as it can well be. And we do not hesitate to say, that there is, to us, nothing so outrageously unreasonable in the idea. One thing is certain, that, if *all* are not to remain liable to pay for the church, it is no established, or, at least, no *national* church. Reasons are not wanting to show the benefits of a national religion, or a mode of worship, or some religious establishment, the peculiarities of which are under the especial patronage and exclusive favour of the Government. In judging of such a matter we can only be guided by experience, and experience is not less wisdom here than in all other things. What was it that

first converted Roman Catholics into Protestants, if not those abuses belonging to the former which became a ground of protesting? What is it that has given rise to so much dissent from our Protestant church, if not other grounds for protesting against similar abuses? In the book of Dr. Hawes a vast number of historical details on these matters are brought together. That part of his work which relates to pluralities and non-residence is particularly interesting, by showing how almost exactly alike has been the conduct of both the Popes and their Protestant successors in church power. But it does not follow, because an institution has been abused, that it should be done away with, if the institution itself be necessary or beneficial. Even kings may require now-and-then to be driven from their thrones; but that does not prove the necessity of doing away with the throne. As the question of the established church is raised by the Dissenters, we must address ourselves to them. This part of the community is subdivided into classes almost innumerable. Some of them belong to the most sober, sensible, and sincere part of the nation; others, sincere or false, are pure fanatics; and others, again, whether openly or hiddenly, have, in their hearts, no religious respect whatever. The one ought not to be insulted by being mixed indiscriminately with the others: yet, it may be supposed that the far greater part of the whole, taking the mass of dissent altogether, have had one common cause for their origin. Great cries have been raised of late about *intolerance*. Alas! the want of toleration has but little to do in giving rise to dissent. For every man that objects to the *Athanasian Creed*, or anything else in our mere matters of faith, how many twenties are there whose aversion to the church is with reference to temporal matters alone! Her fault, in the eyes of the vast majority, has not been her want of bearing with others, but that she herself has been hard to bear; that she is the very opposite in maternal character to the bird which is said to feed its young with the blood of its own

breast; that the church brood have run away from under their mother's wings only because they found her feathering her own nest at the expense of their plumage. We have no intolerance, no religious persecution, in our church; nothing to prevent others from "worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences." We have not even so much as GALILEO (with his big spectacles) had to endure from the Catholics, who, according to his own account of the affair, was not persecuted at all. "No," say some, "but there are *civil disabilities* remaining." This shows, that if we would reason with the Dissenters, we must talk politics with them. It is no longer of any use to endeavour to make them believe in the pristine infallibility of our church, and that the titles to church lands, tithes, benefices, &c., are all registered in heaven. Within the short space of half an age what a change has there been in opinions touching the church! Amongst the farmers, more particularly, the clergy have had to view the most lamentable part of the change. When corn was dear, what deference was paid to the church; but now, how little love, and with how little ceremony the reverse is expressed!

We will, nevertheless, in addressing the sensible and patriotic class of the Dissenters, submit that there is nothing so very shocking in the thought of a church established in connexion with civil government, and that, though "civil and religious liberty" be an excellent toast, religious peace and good order among the people are as necessary as civil security. Religion is a thing that must always be. LORD BACON'S essay on *Superstition* contains so much in a few words, and is so much to the point, that we will extract a part of it.

"The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order. The causes of superstition are pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the

"church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the "favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gates to conceits and novelties; the taking aim at "divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, "especially joined with calamities and "disasters. Superstition without a veil "is a deformed thing; for as it addeth "deformity to an ape to be so like a "man, so the similitude of superstition "to religion makes it the more deformed: and, as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms "and orders corrupt into a number of "petty observances. *There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when "men think to do best if they go farthest "from the superstition formerly received: therefore care should be had "that (as it fareth in all purgings) the "good be not taken away with the bad, "which commonly is done when the "people is the reformer."*

"*There is a superstition in avoiding superstition;*" meaning, that fanaticism and infidelity produce similar results. Now, as a superintendent over matters in which such results may possibly arise, we are always pleased in imagining GOLDSMITH's *beau rêlé* of a parson. The opportunities which such a minister must have of doing good are innumerable. Not an ignorant person; nor a dandy, frizzled to the last hair, and as highly-scented as any lady in his congregation. But a sober, intelligent, and pious man. In former times the most clever and industrious men were to be found among the ministers of the gospel. Of late, somehow or other, this has ceased to be the case. Dissent, taking advantage of our want of church zeal, sent forth its emissaries, who have become the most fashionable preachers. Along with this improvement of the pulpit, however, sprung up fresh causes of superstition and saintly roguery, which have been advancing, hand-in-hand, along with the falling off in faith in our episcopal flock.

A considerable portion of the duty of a vigilant and virtuous priesthood con-

sists in preventing all religious broils amongst the religious, in keeping religion free from the reproach of religious discord. There are some absolute nuisances to religion that require to be repressed when they are seen, or to be averted by good example. The new police are not one whit more useful in keeping pickpockets in awe, than would be some such class of persons fully authorised to sweep the streets, nooks, and squares, of those schemers in religion who infest such places, bawling out their offensive cant, and squeaking or groaning out their unknown and undiscoverable tongues, to the great annoyance of all sober persons, and to the detriment of those who are naturally weak, or timid, or nervous. In short, imposture, and particularly imposture in religion, ought to be hunted out and exposed with all possible activity; because nothing is so likely to create a general suspicion of religion as rank impostures suffered to assume a religious garb under any name. Let no modern "*philosophe*"* start up and taunt us with bigotry for saying this, and thrust the *enlightenment of the age* in our faces to put us out of countenance. It is quite enough to know the fact, that the "unknown tongue" people do find believers; from which, in spite of all that *liberalism* may have done to destroy bigotry, we are forced to think now, as PARSONS did hundreds of years ago, that the ears of mankind are about as long as ever. If it be allowed (and we think it ought to be) that an "establishment" is desirable for such a purpose, the sensible classes of the Dissenters cannot well object to paying a clergy of a different persuasion: the establishment cannot consist of *all creeds*, or the swaddlers themselves would have a right to form a part of it. As we have before said, the church is not *national*, unless *all* be taxed towards its support; and, for the sake alone of preserving decency for religion, it appears to us to be no more

* In the French Dictionary of CHAMBAUD and DESSCARRIÈRES (1826), there is a new sense found for this name: "*by abuse*," it says, "unbeliever, deist, wrangler."

unjust, than it is impolitic, towards the community in general, to require the aid of all in maintaining that in which all are equally interested.

The advocates of the church of England say that America is, in this respect, no example for us. A great many of the Dissenters say, "Yes, yes, look at America." Well, we must look at America, since what she exhibits in religious matters is what some found their arguments against an established church upon; and more especially as those arguments have been adopted by Lord TEYNHAM in the passage we have quoted from his pamphlet. In America there is a church called Episcopalian. It is just like our church in its creed and forms, only maintained without tithes, &c., by the voluntary offerings of the congregation. But the sectarians are the most numerous by far, and especially the Methodists and Presbyterians. The Methodists frequently hold what they call *camp-meetings*. We ourselves, a few years ago, published some account of their religious operations. But for the edification of our readers, we may quote a late writer, M. ACHILLE MURAT, who, in his "*Moral and Political Sketch of the United States of North America*," has the following:

"The Methodists are certainly the most extraordinary, as well as the most characteristic, and the most spread, of all the sects in the United States. They have bishops, congregations, churches, like other sects; but besides these, they have meetings of those who are converted, or to use their own expressions, 'of the saints,' at which everybody preaches, speaks, and sings. Where they have not regular churches, they have elders who exhort, and all the country is divided into circuits, each of which has a circuit-rider, whose business it is to visit all the churches, congregations, meetings, and families, in his district or circuit, and to cherish fanaticism everywhere.

"Once or twice a year, in each district, is held what is called a camp meeting; for this purpose, a suitable place is selected in the woods, gene-

rally near a brook or a spring; a large circular space is then cleared out, under the old shade of the giant trees of the forest; split logs serve for seats; a sort of rostrum or pulpit is erected, capable of containing a dozen preachers together. The most remarkable place, however, is the 'pen,' the *sanctum sanctorum*. It is a place of about twelve yards square, enclosed like a sheep-pen, and filled, to the height of about a foot, with clean straw. All the religious families of the neighbourhood come or send, beforehand, to build themselves a tent outside the cleared place; so that towards the appointed time of meeting, the forest assumes the appearance of a little village of rural huts and greatly resembles the cantonment of a regiment of cavalry, except that it is not so regular. On the day appointed, generally a Sunday, families arrive in crowds on horseback, in coaches, and in carts, bringing with them beds, furniture, and kitchen utensils; each family installs itself in its hut, as if for a stay of some months. All the Methodist preachers, exhorters, elders, circuit-riders, &c., take care to be present, from a hundred miles round. The bishop or the local preacher, or the circuit-rider, according to circumstances, commences the ceremony, by giving out a psalm, which is sung by the people; afterwards comes a prayer, then a sermon, or two, or three, according to the inspiration of the preachers who fill the pulpit. The service continues in this manner almost without any interruption, for five or six days. I do not mean to say that everybody remains to listen or to preach all that time; on the contrary, everybody does as he pleases. The rich provide very good dinners in their cabins, and invite the preachers and the poor. This is a place chosen by the young people of both sexes, to court and arrange marriages. Indeed, nothing can be more poetical than to wander in the shade of the forest, by moonlight, hearing from afar the singing of hymns, or the

"servid eloquence of the inspired, with
 "a young girl, all whose senses are agi-
 "tated, and the reason staggered, by
 "this clutter, whilst her mother be-
 "lieves her to be engaged in prayer.
 "Piety in the heart of women has a soft
 "influence which disposes them to
 "love, and it cannot be a matter of sur-
 "prise if, in these nocturnal walks,
 "prayers are directed to others than the
 "Lord, and other rewards obtained
 "than those of the Spirit.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1833.

INSOLVENT,

SAUNDERS, J., Abergavenny, Monmouth-
 shire, nursery and seedsman.

BANKRUPTS.

BLAKE, J., Blandford Forum, Dorsetshire,
 victualler.

EDLESTON, J., Manchester, commission-
 agent, and Stockport, Cheshire, spinner
 and manufacturer.

HAWKINS, J., Old Quebec-street, Oxford-
 street, victualler.

MELLOR, A., Blackmoor, Aldmondbury,
 Yorkshire, clothier.

MORLIDGE, T., Manchester, timber-dealer
 and builder.

SENIOR, G. F., now or late of Goswell-street,
 Clerkenwell, engineer.

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, R., Mattishall, Norfolk, general-
 shopkeeper.

CHAPMAN, J. E., Little Harrowden, North-
 amptonshire, farmer.

HARRIS, R., Cannon-street, St. George's-in-
 the-East, and Leman-street, Goodman's-
 fields, bread and biscuit-baker.

JOHNSON, W., Leamington Priors, War-
 wickshire, builder.

LOWE, J., Leamington Priors, Warwick-
 shire, victualler.

YILLS, W., jun., Stutton, Suffolk, miller.

TURNER, T., Liverpool, ironmonger.

WHITESIDE, R., Pilling, Lancashire, miller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

KINNEAR, R., Edinburgh, bookseller.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 15.—
 The arrival of Wheat from the home counties
 fresh up to this morning's market, was ex-

tremely limited, and perhaps may be reckoned
 one of the shortest supplies since harvest.
 There were very few fine samples, but the
 condition was tolerably good. At the com-
 mencement of the market, holders demanded
 rather more money than this day week, and
 although we had two or three Yorkshire
 buyers, and millers seemed inclined to pur-
 chase, yet the qualities at the rates demanded,
 prevented much business from being tran-
 sacted. Last week's quotations, however,
 were fully maintained, but the market closed
 heavy. Old Wheat supported its former cur-
 rency. In banded qualities we heard of no
 inquiry.

The supplies of barley were limited. Best
 Maltng qualities were very dull sale, and full
 ls. cheaper than last Monday; and secondary
 parcels ls. to 2s. Distilling and grinding
 sorts met little attention, and though nominal-
 ly unaltered, yet had offers been made, lower
 rates would have been submitted to.

Malt very heavy. Best samples ls. lower.
 Other descriptions almost unsalable.

Although Oats were in moderate supply,
 yet they experienced a limited demand and
 moved slowly off hand at last Monday's quota-
 tions.

Beans both old and new were steady in
 value and in fair request.

Peas were salable at the quotations.

Flour, dull sale at former rates.

Wheat.....	54s. to 61s.
Rye.....	32s. to 34s.
Barley.....	21s. to 23s.
— fine.....	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White.....	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers.....	36s. to —s.
— Grey.....	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small.....	—s. to —s.
— Tick.....	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato.....	22s. to 24s.
— Feed.....	13s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack.....	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 38s. to 40s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... 40s. to 43s.	
Pork, India, new... 117s. 6d. to —s.	
— Mess, new... 67s. to —s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast... 72s. to 74s. per cwt.	
— Carlow... 66s. to 76s.	
— Cork... 70s. to 72s.	
— Limerick... 68s. to 70s.	
— Waterford... 60s. to 66s.	
— Dublin... 52s. to 60s.	
Cheese, Cheshire... 50s. to 74s.	
— Gloucester, Double... 48s. to 52s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 48s. to 52s.	
— Edam... 40s. to 58s.	
— Gouda... 40s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish... 44s. to 54s.	

SMITHFIELD.—April 15.

This day's supply of Beasts, Lambs, and
 Calves, was, for the time of year, moderately
 good: the supply of Sheep and Porkers but

limited. Mutton sold somewhat briskly at an advance of 4d; Beef, slowly, at an advance of 2d per stone; with Lamb, Veal, and Pork, trade was dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

The beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, Norfolk home-breds, and Welsh runts chiefly (say about 1,600 of them) from Norfolk, with a few mixed with, perhaps, about 150 Herefords, and about 100 Irish Beasts from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and our western districts; about 100 Town's-end Cows, 60 Sussex Beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about one-fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, and Kentish, half-breds and polled Norfolks, with a few old Leicesters and Lincos, horned Norfolks, and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 19.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The ket dull at Monday's prices.

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TO THE

RIGHT HON. CHARLES EARL GREY.

MY LORD,—Having for many years been of opinion that it is the bounden duty of every man who conceives he can benefit his country by his advice (however humble his station), he is called upon so to do so long as Providence is pleased to spare him his health and faculties in this transitory life. Your Lordship will, therefore, permit a well-wisher to his country to address you, and I trust your Lordship will receive it in the same spirit as it is written, viz., for the welfare of your Lordship's administration, and for the honour and prosperity of my country. 1st. I congratulate your Lordship and your noble and right hon. colleagues, on being called upon by his most gracious Majesty to preside over the councils of the nation. 2nd. I congratulate my fellow-citizens and the country at large, upon the liberal feelings and sympathy for the people which you and your noble and right hon. colleagues have expressed towards the sufferings of the greatest part of the population of the country, viz., the middling and lower classes of the community; but, I should say, more particularly that industrious and respectable class, the middling, consisting of the agriculturists, the ship-owners, merchants, bankers, and traders, not only of London, but of all other cities and towns in Great Britain. For it is clear, if they can be relieved from the dreadfully heavy pressure of tithes and taxation as well as the heavy weight of the law,—for it is well known, that in endeavouring to recover a just demand, more is frequently expended than the amount sued for, and the rogue has the triumph of seeing the honest man sink through his villany: I say, if these things can be effected,—and why should they not be,—the poorer class, that is the labourers and mechanics, must naturally share in the benefit, as the agriculturists and traders would have less burdens, and consequently would be able to employ a greater number of hands, and give better remuneration for their labour. And now, my Lord, as to the plan, and I am sure your Lordship will agree with me, there never was a period in the annals of this or any other country that called for a speedy and effectual relief, more than the present: *imprimis*, I propose to your Lordship the abolition of that most grievous and inquisitorial tax, the house and window-duty, which press most heavily and more particularly on the middling class. (“God said, let there be light, and there was light.”) And it never could have been supposed that man would have laid a burden on his fellow-creatures to deprive them of that light and air which Providence decreed as his blessing and sup-

port; and taking it in a political point of view, I do not think that in a short time the defalcation of revenue would be much felt by Government, as there would be better houses built for tradesmen and others, and not such miserable hovels as we now see in the environs of this great city; so that the quantity of materials used, such as bricks, timber, slates, tiles, glass, &c. which all pay a duty, would in a short time compensate in a great measure for the amount taken off, besides saving the immense expense of surveyors, tax-gatherers, and others, in collecting the same, and which is most obnoxious to the people. Secondly, I propose a reduction of a moiety, if not the whole, of the malt duties, in order to give relief to the agriculturists; for I believe it is admitted by all who farm land as well as possess it, that it would be a very desirable boon. Thirdly, I suggest that the duty on fire assurances should be reduced or wholly taken off, as it comes very hard on the honest man who wishes to protect his little property, to pay 3s. in the hundred duty, when his real protection is only 1s. 6d. per hundred; and now that I am upon the subject of fire, I cannot help calling your Lordship's attention to a paragraph in the *Observer* newspaper of the 28. November, 1830, it runs thus: (We fear much that the outrages committed by rioters and incendiaries in various parts of the country, have in this, as in many other cases of panic and disorder, afforded the needy and the dishonest an opportunity of profiting by acts of knavery and treachery), as fellow-creatures we have no right to condemn till proved to be guilty; at the same time, it is the duty of every one to keep a watchful eye that he be not imposed upon. One would almost think that the great rewards offered by Government and others, would ere this, have brought some of the wicked and diabolical incendiaries to punishment.* Fourthly, I recommend a reduction of duties on the necessities of life, which bear heavily on not only the middling class, but the labouring poor, such as coals, candles, soap, &c., or whatever else you and your noble and right honourable colleagues may consider to be most beneficial. Retrenchment and reform as far as are consistent with the constitution and the welfare of the people, your Lordship and your colleagues are pledged to, not only in the face of England but of all Europe; therefore little need be said on so important a subject; that, no doubt, must be a work of time, but the reductions before mentioned might take place almost immediately after the recess. Your Lordship will naturally say that this person proposes a great deal to be taken off, and no doubt it would be a great relief, but how is faith to be kept with the public creditor upon that? I will endeavour to satisfy your Lordship's fears; by reducing the heavy burdens

from the productive classes and equalising them with the unproductive. 1st. I propose that a property tax (not an income tax) be levied on persons possessing real property producing from 100l. to 1,000l. per annum, 5 per cent. be the amount levied, from 1,000l. and upwards 10 per cent. per annum, unless your Lordship and your colleagues should think a more graduated scale preferable. From the nearest calculation I can make, this would produce from 6 to 7 millions per annum, taking the dividends on the funds and the rental of the country together at 180 millions per annum, which I should conceive was below the actual amount. This, in my opinion, is the only real and legitimate mode of taxation when the necessities of the nation require it, as the burden would thus be laid upon those who are best able to bear it, and who by this means would secure their incomes, that is, their rents and dividends, whereas under the present system of taxation the energies of the people seem paralysed, none embarking their capital without despair at the result; and, melancholy to relate, their fears are too often verified. Might not a clause be introduced in the bill for persons wishing to compound for a given time, say 3, 5, or 7 years, in the manner of the assessed taxes; as, for example, a person possessing 500l. per annum, an abatement of one-fifth, whether improved or diminished, in the agreed time? I mean as respects houses and lands. Your Lordship will readily perceive that it would not only be a property tax but an absentee tax. The duties I have before proposed to be taken off, upon a rough calculation, would be a reduction of about four or five millions, thus leaving a surplus of a million and upwards to constitute a real sinking fund, or to diminish by so much annually the unfunded debt, which capital would give a new life to commerce, a stability to Government, and gradually restore the nation to that menacing attitude which it held before the late devastating and protracted war. I could add much more in favour of the measure, such as many who have thousands per annum, and live in apartments and do not contribute so much to the state as many mechanics, who, when they can get work to do, actually contribute more in a ratio of five to one. The increase in the value of property I have no doubt would soon be felt by all classes, from the highest to the lowest, and the burden would hardly be felt by any, for, as I have before observed, those only who possess the property would have to contribute. 2nd. I suggest to your Lordship the renewal of the Small-Note Bill, under proper restrictions, and for a limited time, that is to say, every banker who may be allowed to issue his notes should be called upon to give security to Government for a moiety of the amount he intends to issue; and in order to render the holders of notes more secure, might not a clause be introduced in the act of parliament that Government should have power to issue

* Wrote prior to the special commissions being issued.

an extent in aid in case of default, so that the property might not be wasted. It is natural to suppose that any person having the power to give such security as I have before mentioned, and being aware of their liabilities, will be guarded as to their issues; supposing the feeling of the country generally to be adverse to the proposition from what they have already suffered, and against the issue of any more notes, I have suggested this hint to show them that there is a possibility of their being protected in a moiety of the risk they have in taking them if not the whole.* 3rd. I propose that no foreign goods be brought into the country except in British ships, otherwise they should be subject to much higher imposts than at present exist; for I do conceive there can be no doubt that under the present law foreigners are draining the country of its wealth, and ruining its resources. 4th. And now my Lord, that while I have pen in hand, I cannot help touching on what I consider a momentous subject, and that is the tithes; I have been thinking, my Lord that a modus or commutation tax might be put on every acre, according to the value of the land, instead of the present system of tithing. My Lord, I must confess it is a subject which I am not very competent to dilate upon, but the complaints appear to be so loud and so general, that I conceive any other method than the present one would give satisfaction to the agriculturists and the people generally; the farmer would then be aware under what circumstances he takes his land, he would know the amount of the dues he would have to pay; and, in my opinion, his industry would not be so crippled. If your Lordship should have a similar idea upon the subject, I shall feel proud in having mentioned it. To conclude, should your Lordship favourably receive these ideas, so that they may be embodied and reduced into a tangible shape and pass into a law, I do conceive that this country would in a short time rise to that eminence that it would be a blessing to every honest and industrious well-meaning man to have been placed in it, and, I have no doubt, become the admiration of the world;

I have the honour to remain,
my Lord,

your Lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,
Wm. SADGROVE.

Dec. 15th, 1830.

1, Brunswick Cottages,
Stoke Newington-road.

One material question I forgot to mention to your Lordship, viz., if your Lordship can assign any reason in equity why freehold property should not pay legacy duty as well as personal. Should your Lordship feel in-

clined to act on the foregoing suggestion of abolishing the assessed and other taxes, and substituting a property tax in lieu thereof, your Lordship will readily perceive, in order to equalize it just and fair, leasehold property or annuities for terms of years, should only pay their relative proportion according to what may be levied on freehold or other permanent property.

Downing-street, 17. Dec. 1830.

Sir,—I am desired by Lord Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to express his thanks to you for the communication.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
your most obedient servant,
CHARLES WOOD.

WANTED, by a steady, industrious young man, a situation as Clerk in a Commercial House, or Amanuensis to a literary gentleman. He writes well, perfectly understands book-keeping, and is competent to conduct a correspondence either in French or English. The most unexceptionable references can be given, and security if required. Address by letter, post paid, to J. K., to be left at Mrs. Wortley's, Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham.

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LADIES' HADITS and PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.
WM. COBBETT.

* A license for the amount intended to be issued of course would be necessary, and a penalty if exceeded.



DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.

Bolt-court, 25. April, 1833.

THE greater part of this *Register* is occupied with the most material speeches that were made upon Mr. ARTHUR's motion; which was, "for a Committee to inquire into the state of general distress, difficulty, and embarrassment, which now presses on the various orders of the community; how far the same has been occasioned by the operations of our present monetary system; and to consider of the effects produced by that system upon the agriculture, manufacture, and commerce of the United Kingdom, and upon the condition of the industrious and productive classes." I am very desirous that my readers should have these speeches in their possession, for they will frequently have to refer to them. The House came to a division on Thursday morning, at about three o'clock, when there appeared: for the motion, 139; against it, 331. So that here is the reformed Parliament's majority against inquiring into the distresses of the nation. After this decision, Mr. ARTHUR proposed an amendment to Lord ALTHORP's motion, which motion was this: "That it is the opinion of this House, that any alteration of the monetary system of the country, which would have the effect of lowering the standard of value, would be highly inexpedient." The reader will see, that this was no answer at all to Mr. ARTHUR; that it was furnishing with a mere pretence those who voted against inquiry altogether. This must be clear to every one. But Mr. AR-

THUR put them to the test: he really put them to the test, in a very clever and efficient manner, by moving as an addition to Lord ALTHORP's motion, a proposition, "that the House would appoint a select committee to inquire into the distresses of the country." Now, then, came the trial of the sincerity of the Ministers. They had got rid of the paper-money part of the proposition: they had got rid of that part of the motion which seemed to have frightened them so much; they had before them a proposition against paper-money, coupled with a proposition to inquire into the distresses of the country; and now the "*reformed Parliament*" divided upon this, and the "*reformed Parliament*" decided against this also, by a majority of 271 against 154; that is to say, by a majority of 117! Well done, "*reformed Parliament*!" My readers will all remember, that I always said, that this REFORM was not to my fancy; but that I would give it a trial, and a fair trial: it is on its trial; and my readers will be able to judge for themselves, with regard to the probable result of that trial.

There were several speeches that I should have liked to insert besides those which I have inserted. The speech of Mr. ROBINSON, the member for WORCESTER; that of Mr. LAMBERT, member for WEXFORD; that of Sir CHARLES BURRELL; and that of Sir JOHN WROTESLEY. However, in the speeches that I have selected, will be quite sufficient to a clear understanding of the doctrines and the motives prevalent in this great debate. With regard to the causes and effects, Mr. ARTHUR was completely unanswerable. The only point on which he could be answered was the expediency of returning to one-pound notes. His exposition of the state in which the Bank and the currency were at present left, clearly showed that a change of some sort must be made in the money of the country. For

though I, for instance, object to a return to a depreciated money, or rather to a money more depreciated than the money now is, I want something done to take from us *the constant danger of a blowing-up*, which exists every hour that we live, and which must take place sooner or later, unless the present money system be changed. Therefore an inquiry into that was necessary, as well as an inquiry into the causes of general distress. Mr. ATTWOOD showed, that, according to their own statements in evidence, the Bank had *one million three hundred thousand pounds in gold, to answer its twenty millions of paper!* while *fourteen millions* were due to the poor savings-banks fools alone; and, in short, that the whole thing, country bank-notes, and all put together; dividends to fundholders, annuities from insurance offices; that the whole rested entirely upon this little dribble of gold, which, as things now stand, might be drawn out of the Bank in one day, leaving the country without any measure of value at all; which is only another word for leaving it without law and without property; and yet, notwithstanding this, the "*reformed*" House of Commons rejected his motion, upon the pretence that he was aiming at *some change in the money-system of the country!* And it agreed, by an immense majority, to the proposition of the Minister; and it resolved most *boldly*, that it would make no change that would "*lower the standard of value!*" Why, does not the "*reformed Parliament*" know that a formidable commotion in Kent, or in any other county, particularly anywhere near London, would change the "*standard of value*" in about *four-and-twenty hours?* The "*standard of value*" was very much changed in the month of May last, by only sticking up a placard telling people to "*go for gold;*" so that this "*determination*" of the "*reformed House*" is a mere swagger, just like the resolution that it came to in 1811, that a one-pound note and a shilling were equal in value to a guinea in gold; when guineas were actually selling at that same time for

eight-and-twenty shillings! I would on no account give my consent to a return to a base paper-money, or to one-pound notes, on any condition whatever; but, surely, I would inquire how far a change in the value of money has been the cause of the present distress: and this for two reasons, first, to expose the foolishness of those who made the change, unaccompanied with measures to prevent its fatal consequences; and, second, in order to do justice, as far as justice can still be done, to those who have been injured by those arbitrary and unjust changes. However, the most interesting part of this debate was that which related to the *extent of the distress* which prevails in the kingdom. The main object of the Ministers, and of their majority of the "*reformed Parliament,*" was, to *deny the existence of any very great and extraordinary degree of distress.* And, choosing Mr. GROVE, one of the city Members, as the Choryphæus of this band of "*comfort*" chanters, they resorted to the old expedient of showing that the comforts of the people had increased, because the taxes on tobacco, tea, coffee, and sugar, had increased, because this showed that the people consumed *more of these comforts* than they had done before; and because this proved that they were better off than they had been before. To this "*comfort*" argument, the reader will, I trust, find a complete answer in my speech, which followed that of Mr. GROVE; I beg the reader's attention to that speech, and particularly to this part of it, which is complete; but it is by no means new to the greater part of my readers. Mr. POULETT THOMSON came with a famous "*comfort*" speech, ready prepared, tables and all: but, as he came after me, his "*comforting*" tables could have had but very little effect upon any man of plain understanding. Mr. ROBINSON, the member for WORCESTER, combated his "*comforting*" tables by very sensibly observing, that the increased consumption of tea, sugar, coffee, and such stuff, might have arisen even from the increased misery of the people, who, deprived of the means of

providing solid food and substantial drink, had been driven to these flimsy slops, which they could purchase in penny and halfpenny quantities. This was a good and solid argument, to which nothing was offered in answer. The great argument, however, is, that taxation does not sweep away *out of the country*, the means of purchasing articles of necessity, or of pleasure. It only takes those means from the industrious classes, and gives them to the idlers; and this transfer by no means tends to diminish, upon the whole, the sources whence taxes are derived. My readers will recollect the many instances in which I have said that I could see no grounds for believing, that the poverty and misery of the people would *cause taxes to fall off*. I remember putting a case to illustrate my meaning; and I will find another now, which will leave no doubt in the mind of any rational man. Suppose the *gendarmie* of London, commonly called the police, to cost the people of London six hundred thousand pounds a year. They say there are twelve thousand of them, in and about London, and, if they have a guinea a week a piece, which about the sum which they cost, that is about three times the sum that the pay of an equal number of soldiers amounts to. However, here are six hundred thousand pounds to be paid by London and its environs. In consequence of this payment, those tradesmen will have less money to lay out upon "*comforts*:" they will have less means of smoking their pipes; and their wives less means of having good strong cups of tea; and their coffee well sugared; but PEARL's and GARY's police, or *gendarmie*, will *have* the six hundred thousand pounds! And will not they smoke the tobacco and have the good cups of coffee and of tea? Why, therefore, should the taxes *fall off*? Why might they not increase amidst this depression and ruin of the tradesmen and diminished consumption of their families? And, then, what becomes of the comforting tables of Mr. FOULETT THOMSON.

This was the most interesting part of

the debate. The opinions put forth and persevered in by the Ministers showed that there was no change in the minds of those who govern; and the decision of the House showed that there is no change in the minds of those who are to give effect to their measures. However, a great deal of good has been done by Mr. ATTWOOD in giving rise to this discussion: the people will not be deceived by the "*comforting*" tables. Mr. FOULETT THOMSON, if he have a mind to put the thing to the test, will carry his tea and sugar tables, his horse and gig tables, and his canal-toll tables, and lay them before his constituents of MANCHESTER, and tell them, that they are to believe these tables, and not their own bellies and backs: tell them, to their faces, that, so that tea and sugar be consumed, it does not signify a straw, *whether they be consumed by the women on the pension list, or by the weavers and spinners of MANCHESTER*; tell them, that it is even better for them, that they should be consumed by the women on the pension and sinecure list; for that, besides the *honour* of having their tea and coffee consumed by proxy, and by a parcel of such fine ladies, the ladies relieve them from the trouble of making the tea and the coffee, and leave them the whole of their time to weave and spin, to earn more tea and coffee for them to consume! Let him go to MANCHESTER; and, surrounded by BAXTER, and SHUTTLEWORTH and DYER, tell his constituents *that*; and let him then receive their cheers and marks of their joy at having him for a member. The speech of Sir ROBERT PEARL, my readers will find, to have been a defence of himself and his bill of 1819. I had spoken before, and, therefore, could not answer him; and I shall here not observe upon his defence, which is the less necessary, as I shall so soon (Tuesday next) have an opportunity of doing it in a more full and satisfactory manner. I recommend to my readers to read his speech with great attention; but the only part of it on which I shall make a remark, is, that part which contains an expression of surprise at my having introduced the expenses of the country, in a compe-

relative view between 1792 and 1833, and which he represents to have been so *wholly foreign* to the subject before the House, that he believed that I had furnished up my notes on the navy estimates, not having anything pertinent to offer upon the subject of Mr. ARTHUR's motion. Now, that motion proposed to institute an inquiry into the state of the country's distresses and embarrassments, and to ascertain *how far* such distress and embarrassment had been occasioned by the changes made in the value of money. I was for that inquiry; I thought that great evil had been inflicted by the changes in the value of money; I was of an opinion that one of two things must be done to prevent a total convulsion in the country; namely, *to swell up the quantity of the money, so as to take off half the taxes in that way; or to cut down the expenditure, as nearly as possible, to the expenditure of 1792*; I read an extract from a petition from myself to the House in 1826, in order to show, that I had then warned the House of the distress and misery that it would produce, if it attempted to enforce gold payments without returning to something like the expenditure of 1792; and hence I came regularly to show, how little was expended in 1792; compared with the present expenditure. And this, Sir ROBERT PEELE thought proper to represent as "*wholly foreign*" to the matter before the House: at least so says the reporter of his speech; for, I myself was certainly snoring in bed at the time when the speech was making.

The reporter of this speech has made one mistake; for, he makes Sir ROBERT PEELE say, "that Canning was an honest Minister, till the great Whig lords joined him and corrupted him." Sir ROBERT PEELE *could not* have said this. It was *Pitt* of whom I spoke; for, as to the frothy fool, CANNING, I never ascribed to him any principle at all, in the whole course of my life.

I conclude with requesting my readers to go through all these speeches with attention, not forgetting the curious projects of Mr. ALEXANDER BARING. They will see, that all is in a state of *mental commotion*: they will

see, that the Ministers have nothing but the old reliance; namely, *the chapter of accidents*; and they will see that that chapter is *so ample* that no man can tell what may happen even before the end of this present session of Parliament. For my own part I am quite satisfied, that there is no remedy for the evils and dangers of the country, but that of cutting down its expenditure as nearly as possible to the standard of 1792. As to the *way* of doing this; to make distinct propositions upon the subject, would, in the present state of things, be totally unavailing; and, therefore, all that one can do is, to bring forward such matters as must naturally, when the people understand them, tend to produce such an effect upon the minds of the people, as will ultimately induce them to act wisely, and for the good of themselves and their country.

I read in the papers of to-day, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, while he admitted the existence of distress in the country, said, "*that he believed the working people to be much better fed and clothed than they had been for some time before!*" At this Lord STORMONT expressed his surprise; and Mr. METHUEN, one of the members for Wiltshire, in answer to Sir ROBERT PEELE and Mr. POULETT THOMSON, said, "*that he knew many instances of young men working in the country for two and sixpence a week; and that this was only a sample of the distress which existed.*" One such statement as this, coming from such authority, and arising out of personal observations made in the very finest and most productive county of all England, is worth a million of volumes of tables about the consumption of tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco. It was more than an answer to all the volumes of verbiage that was uttered on the other side; and it had this rare merit in it, that it showed that there was *one* landowner in England, who had a head to understand what was the true criterion of the misery or happiness of the working people, who had a heart under his ribs to feel for their sufferings, and who had

the good sense and the courage not to suffer this terrific fact to be disguised from the House.

WM. COBBETT.

DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.—THE CURRENCY.

Lord ALTHORP said, that he thought the motion of the hon. Member for Whitehaven had better be brought forward in a substantive state than as an amendment on the order of the day. He was disposed to treat the hon. Gentleman's proposition with every respect, and was quite ready to give way to him.

Mr. M. ATTWOOD then rose to bring forward his motion, but, owing to the tone in which he spoke, the hon. Member was very imperfectly heard in the gallery. He commenced by stating, that ever since he had enjoyed the honour of a seat in Parliament, he had thought it his duty, on every practicable occasion, to call the attention of the House to the condition of the productive, middle, and lower classes, and to ask for inquiry as to how far they had been or were likely to be affected by the monetary system established at the termination of the war. The inquiries which he and others had originated had not availed to induce the legislature to adopt what, he felt persuaded, was the only proper course; nor, he regretted to add, had the calamities of eighteen years, and our sudden alternations of prosperity and distress (the former brief, the latter more lasting in their duration), been sufficient to direct attention to the subject of our monetary system upon fixed or proper principles. He maintained the necessity of a general inquiry into the state of the country, with a view to ascertain the effects of the currency in producing the distress, difficulty, and embarrassment which now pressed upon the various orders of the community. He knew not if he could recommend that inquiry by arguments other than had been before urged by himself and others, but the arguments and statements formerly adduced now carried with them the testimony of time and experience, and came upon us confirmed by continued suffering and calamity, and by a growing conviction of a mistaken policy having been adopted. The vain declamations and erroneous theories on the strength of which inquiry had been objected to, would now at least be marked by the reputation derived from practical experience. It was therefore with a degree of confidence such as he had not previously felt, and with a better hope for the country, that he should propose the motion with which he should have the honour to conclude. He recognised in the present House of Commons a body of men more disposed to act on their own individual judgments than the members of any former House. (Hear.) In previous Houses, there existed among the members a principle of surrendering their

votes to the party to which they belonged, and of giving up their judgments to a considerable extent to the great political leaders of the day. This principle did not prevail at present. (Hear.) He discussed not the advantage or disadvantage of the change, be it for good or for evil; the present Administration had effected it, and he repeated, that he now saw a disposition in individual members to act on their individual judgments, and not to surrender to party a power given them on behalf of their country. (Hear.) Members now looked less to the ties of party than to their responsibility to their constituents. The principle applied to this more than to any other question,—the leaders of either party had always heard with reluctance of the calamities of the country, and in reference to the monetary system they had in an evil hour committed their political characters to a system which had paralysed industry, increased all the burdens of the country, and added immeasurably to our distresses and difficulties. Both parties had joined in opposition to an inquiry of the nature of that now suggested, and he did not wonder at the fact; they had only acted as men similarly circumstanced would ever continue to act, their judgments having been biased, and their political characters pledged to a particular course. He would proceed to state what that condition of the country was which he proposed to establish by an examination before a committee, and which, he contended, demanded such an investigation; but before doing so, he would advert to the grounds on which, on previous occasions, inquiries of this kind had been required and resisted. To complain of the calamities of the people was at all times disagreeable, and Ministers, of whatever party, heard such complaints with reluctance. There was no stage of distress, however great, within the last 20 years, which had not been at first denied. The hon. Member for Essex was never wanting on such occasions to say that, although not a merchant, he had made inquiries among merchants, and could say that there existed a great deal of prosperity in the country, and if we waited a little longer we should see more. "Wait," the hon. Member would say, "till the Bank and East India questions shall have been settled, and you will see the result in increased prosperity." But that was not all; Ministers produced columns of figures from the Excise, Customs, and Exchequer, showing the flourishing state of our imports and exports, and proving arithmetically that not only was it impossible that there could be any distress, but that the fact was we must be in a state of considerable prosperity. (Hear, and a laugh.) He recollected that a statement of the number of dealers in wine who had taken out licenses within a certain period had once been brought forward, with a view to show the prosperity of the trade and the country, it appearing that the number of licenses had been doubled. But another table proved that

the quantity of wine consumed had diminished, while the number of dealers had increased; so that here was a proof of calamity instead of prosperity. Statements of a like nature had prevailed in Parliament, but they were heard in the country with amazement and indignation; and it was such statements that had forfeited the Parliament, and the Ministers that resorted to them, the confidence of the country, and precipitated their fall. The noble Lord opposite, however, had admitted that great distress existed amongst the people; and Earl Grey declared that if, in the midst of peace, distress generally prevailed in the country, instead of that prosperity which might reasonably be expected, there remained but one duty for Parliament to perform—namely, to institute an examination, the most searching and extensive, into the condition of society, with a view to the discovery of every cause of distress and embarrassment of every kind; the whole state of the country must be investigated, in order to establish whence proceeded the distress which prevailed after and in a period of profound peace. (Hear.) The noble Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his budget on the ground that it might possibly prevent this motion. He asked the House whether they saw any grounds in the financial statement of the noble Lord for withdrawing the present motion, at a time when it appeared that taxes were no longer paid out of profits but capital? The noble Lord also desired that the motion of the hon. Member for London (Sir J. Key) on the assessed taxes should be postponed till after the budget, doubtless in the hope that the shopkeepers of the metropolis should be satisfied with his proposition of Friday night. The shopkeepers represented that, without bankruptcy, they were unable to pay the taxes in question. The noble Lord met this by the statement, that if those taxes were repealed the condition of the country would be but little different from their own. That answer might satisfy the country or not: but he asked if that were the condition of things after 18 years of peace, which ought to have recruited our resources, whether it was not necessary for the representatives of the people to inquire into the cause of the calamity. The noble Lord showed them a revenue of 50,000,000*l.*, but declared that the safety of the state, and the preservation of national credit, prevented further reductions than he had offered; after which he retained only an insignificant surplus of 500,000*l.* He asked the hon. Member for Essex whether that was a reasonable surplus for the security of the state and the preservation of credit. He would assume a diminution in the revenue—what might be the consequence? What would be the consequences of being compelled to pay the interest of the debt with borrowed money? Would they borrow from the Bank? He would take the noble Lord from the present to a preceding period. The people were now paying 50,000,000*l.* of taxes with difficulty, with decreasing capital,

with increasing want and crime; but the time was not remote when, without difficulty or complaint, without decreasing, but with increasing capital, with decreasing pauperism; (the noble Lord seemed to doubt this, he could refer him to the statement of a right rev. prelate in corroboration of the assertion); he repeated, with decreasing pauperism the people paid 78,000,000*l.* of taxes. He referred to the period at the close of the late war; a war which ended in the completion of every object for the accomplishment of which it had been undertaken, and not in consequence of the poverty of the country. If he showed to the House that the country after 18 years of repose broke down under the payment of 50,000,000*l.* of taxes, having previously paid 78,000,000*l.* without inconvenience, did he not make out grounds for inquiring into the causes of a state of things so anomalous? (Hear.) How stood the numbers of the people at the two periods? He would put the year's population returns with the corresponding year's financial returns. We paid in 1815 78,240,000*l.* in taxes, exclusive of the expense of collection; in 1814 the amount was 77,000,000*l.*; and in 1813, 73,000,000*l.* (So we understood the hon. Gentleman, but his statement of figures, as well as his speech generally, was exceedingly indistinct.) Put by the side of this amount of taxation the population in 1815, it was 18,700,000. What was the amount of the population of 1811? 24,000,000. Thus it appeared that the lesser number paid with ease 78,000,000*l.* of taxes, and that the greater number could not pay, without distress, 50,000,000*l.* He should be content, perhaps, to rest his motion on this statement alone. He knew that, according to the school of certain political philosophers, increase of population was in itself a proof of increasing means of subsistence,—that it constituted prosperity. He should not enter into any question of abstract philosophy. It had been the misfortune of our day that we had been induced to apply abstract doctrines too much to practical affairs (hear), the well-being of which was made to depend on the question whether the philosophers were right or wrong. The hon. Member here entered into a statement of the amount of financial reductions at various periods, since the peace, but the cause before referred to prevented us from giving it with any hope of accuracy. He proceeded to state, that whenever a finance minister had proposed a reduction of taxation, it was always stated that the Exchequer would not be a loser to the full amount of the remission, in consequence of the increased stimulus given to consumption. That calculation, he admitted, was founded on a good principle. The hon. Gentleman then went into a statement of the reduction of taxes made in the last 18 years, and of the increase of the powers of consumption on the part of the population during that period, as compared with the increase of the population itself, but owing to the low and indistinct manner in which he

delivered himself, it was quite impossible to catch his details. His conclusion from them was, that though the population had during that time increased nearly one-fourth, its power of consuming the necessaries and comforts of life had only increased about one-tenth. During that period of 18 years there had been a period—a period before we had restricted our monetary system—when the country, and all classes in it, were rapidly advancing in the career of prosperity. There was, during that time, a period of growing prosperity and wealth throughout the country,—there had been, during those 18 years, some years of a prosperity as general, and as much marked by an increase in our commerce and trade, as any that had been known in the brightest era of this country's history. The amount of the revenue in 1825 exceeded by 7,700,000*l.* the amount of the revenue in 1823. In 1824 the revenue had increased above that of 1823 by 3,600,000*l.*, and in 1825 it had increased to the amount of 7,700,000*l.* It might be said, no doubt, that the close of the year 1825 was a period of calamity. (Hear). That calamity was attributable to the speculations of the merchants and fundholders, but it would be absurd to attribute it to a circumstance which occurred during the same period,—namely, an increased consumption of the necessaries and comforts of life, and an increased activity of trade and commerce on the part of the great body of the people. During that year there had been an undoubted increase of trade, and of the profits of trade, amongst the mass of the population; but it would be idle to attribute to the speculations of the great community of producers and consumers a calamity which was solely attributable to the speculations of a number of merchants and fundholders. He would now go to another period during those eighteen years, which was divested of all question of speculation—he referred to the year 1818. Allowing for the taxes taken off and the taxes imposed during the three years ending in 1818, there had been an increase in the revenue of 11,900,000*l.* in the course of that time, showing a proportionate increase in the power of the people over the consumption of the necessaries and conveniences of life. It was worse than mockery to pretend, therefore, that the distress of the country was not connected with the change that had taken place in our monetary system, and it would be an insult to the people, who were suffering under that distress, to say, that it was not one of the bounden and most important duties of that House to inquire into such a cause as the distress and suffering of the country. The present House of Commons stood in a different situation with regard to the people to the last House of Commons, or any former House of Commons. During the seventeen years that had elapsed up to the dissolution of the last House of Commons, successive administrations had endeavoured to rival each other in their boasted reductions of the burdens of the people; but

while, on the one hand, for what they had openly done in relieving the burdens of the people, they claimed the public applause and gratitude, the House of Commons was, on the other hand, all the time employed in silently imposing still greater burdens on the people by increasing the value of the currency. He would therefore put it to the Members of the present House of Commons; whether the time was not come when they should effectually apply themselves to that which had been so long neglected by their predecessors, to the institution of a thorough inquiry into the real causes of the distresses of the people; he would put it to them whether the time had not come when they should endeavour to retrace the steps of former Parliaments, and thereby to relieve the labouring and productive classes from their present state of suffering and distress. The question was, whether it would not be a measure consistent with good faith and honesty (cries of hear, hear),—the only basis he admitted of legislation, to increase the power of the people to endure their burdens. He would appeal to the consistency of those Gentlemen who had uttered that cheer to vote with him for this inquiry. He would engage to demonstrate, if that inquiry should be granted, that that was the only means left to them for effectually relieving the burdens of the people. If they had increased those burdens, as he would contend that they had done, by the alteration which they had made in the value of money, they had, on the other hand, by the same measure, increased the amount of payments made to those who received salaries out of the taxes. (Hear). The salaries of all those who were paid out of the public Exchequer had been thus increased without any additional claim in the way of services on their parts, and the manifest duty of the House, if it found that it could not increase the people's power of bearing their burdens in the manner he had stated, was to proceed at once to reduce those burdens, by reducing the payments made out of the Exchequer for the public establishments, and for the salaries of the public servants, to an extent proportionate to the increase that had taken place in the value of money. It would be vain to endeavour to evade such a course—justice demanded it, and necessity would enforce it. If the conclusion which he had drawn was a correct one (and he challenged inquiry on the subject), the position he maintained was this—that the change which had been made in our monetary system had spread distress universally amongst all classes of the community. He would appeal to those best acquainted with the different interests of the country, whether since that change had been made, those interests had not been progressively sinking deeper and deeper into difficulties, distress, and embarrassments. To begin with the first and most important of all interests—the landed interest. It would not be denied, he was sure, that the

proprietor of the land, and the labourer who tilled it, formed a most important branch of the national wealth and prosperity; that with their prosperity the prosperity of the country was materially connected; and that it might be safely and justly concluded, when the landed interest prospered the country at large was in a state of prosperity. (Hear). He had heard in that House upon different occasions two different assertions with regard to the landed interest, coming, too, rather inconsistently from the same parties, and often uttered by them upon the same occasion. He had often heard it said in that House that the landlords should reduce their rents, and he had heard it as often asserted by the same parties, that the rent of land had been reduced to a level with the prices of agricultural produce. Undoubtedly, the advocates of public faith, they who so strenuously stickled for the inviolable maintenance of the contracts made with the public creditor, had no right to call upon the landlords to abandon their interests—to give up their contracts. He for one entertained no respect for the consistency of those who would on the one side bolster up the public faith, and who thus, on the other, utterly disregarded the faith of our previous contracts. A general reduction of the rents of the country to a level of the rents in 1792 would, if it took place, produce a complete confiscation of the property of the proprietors of a great portion of the land of England. The taxes in 1792 amounted to 14,000,000*l.*, and they were at present more than 50,000,000*l.* The same rents that would not at present, under the existing pressure of taxation, keep open the door of the landed proprietor, would be sufficient in 1792 to maintain him in dignity and splendour. Again, it should be borne in mind that land was generally encumbered in divers ways with various engagements, such as mortgages, family settlements, &c., most of which had been probably laid upon it previous to the passing of the law for altering the currency, and yet the advocates for the maintenance of the public faith demanded that the landlords should under such circumstances, reduce their rents to the level of 1792,—they required forsooth, that the landed proprietors should be the only class in the country to give up their legal claims, to relinquish that which the law and their contracts gave them, and that they should set an example which would not be followed by any other class of the community, and the effect of which would be the entire and complete confiscation of every shilling of their property. But the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp) had told them that rents had been already reduced: that they had been reduced to the level of the reduction in the price of agricultural produce, and that a relaxation in the monetary system, which would increase the price of that produce would be productive of injustice, and was uncalled for and unnecessary. Now he (Mr. Attwood) would be content to rest his case upon that single fact.

If the noble Lord would honour him with his candid attention, he would engage to establish this fact to his satisfaction, that rents had not fallen in proportion to the fall that had taken place in the value of agricultural produce. He was aware that at former periods, and upon former occasions, when the manufacturers were suffering under peculiar distress, they and others called out for that which he regarded as another species of confiscation of the property of the landed interest, namely, a repeal of the corn-laws. (Hear). He alluded, however, now, to another species of confiscation of that property which was in actual operation. If this inquiry should be granted, he would engage to prove that a confiscation of the property of the landed interest was necessarily consequent upon the fall of prices produced by the change in our monetary system; that that change was not yet complete; that it was every hour in operation; that it was progressively confiscating the property throughout the country; that we might, if we wished, rescue the people from ruin, by giving a relaxation of the monetary system, to what extent he would not say, so as to afford an increase of means to the farmer to meet his engagements; and that nothing but a total disregard of national faith and of sound national policy would induce them to refuse it. What was the present state of the agricultural interest? He would just refer them to the report recently laid before the House from the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the poor-laws for some pregnant evidence upon that point. Those commissioners had in the first instance distributed a circular of questions to the different overseers and churchwardens throughout the country. One of those questions was, "Has agricultural capital increased or diminished in your neighbourhood?" Upwards of 2,000 answers had been obtained from 18 counties. From the county of Cornwall there were 17 returns, stating that agricultural capital had increased, four that it had diminished, and five that it had continued stationary; and in the instances where it was mentioned as having increased, it was noticed that there had been either one or two good harvests. With the exception, however, of the county of Cornwall, and of a county in Wales from which there had been only two returns, with those two exceptions, the uniform answer from the whole of the other 16 counties was, that agricultural capital had diminished. The fact was, that the alteration which had been made in the value of money had not as yet produced its adjustment, though they were told that that it had, as to the price of agricultural produce. It was at that moment in progress, and the only way of arresting the further progress of the confiscation of the property of the landed interest consisted in relaxing our present monetary system. If we did not do so, the infliction of our present monetary system would be productive of a confiscation and plunder unequalled in its extent by any recorded in the

history of the civilized world. It would not be denied that the agricultural interest was at present involved in the deepest distress. Was it so before the passing of the bill to which the name of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robt. Peel) was attached? Did they before that bill passed hear of the strides of pauperism throughout the agricultural districts of this country? Was there any talk at that period of the distress of the landlords, of the destruction of agricultural capital, of the ruin of the farmers, and of the dangers that threatened the security of all landed property? Was there any one then to say that such evils were in existence, that they were attributable to the poor-laws, and to propose, therefore, that a commission should be appointed to inquire into the abuses that were said to have grown up in the administration of those laws? He invited the House to inquire into the real causes that had produced such distress. The poor-laws had existed in this country for upwards of two centuries before any one had attributed to them a tendency to destroy the agricultural labourers, or to lessen the security of landed property. They had been established for 150 years before the revenue collected under them amounted to 600,000*l.*, and he now called upon the House to institute an inquiry which would set at rest the question whether now for the first time we found that those laws, for giving the poor man a right to subsistence, tended to destroy the independence of the labourer, and the security of the landed interest. There were no poor-laws in Ireland, and yet he would ask was the agricultural interest better off in that country than it was in this? (Hear). They certainly applied a different remedy to the distress in Ireland, for they had been six weeks engaged in discussing a bill for putting down disturbances that arose from mere distress. It would be wiser for the House to inquire into the power of removing the causes of that distress than to resort to the vulgar policy of putting down by force disturbances that they knew were the consequences of a measure that had produced general distress in both countries. The committee of last year appointed to inquire into the disturbances in the Queen's county had made a report which had fallen as a dead letter to the ground, but that report contained valuable evidence as to the distress, and the causes of distress, in Ireland. Any one who had listened to their debates on the Irish Coercion Bill would have imagined that the combinations of Whitefeet had been the cause of the disturbances in Ireland, yet neither the combinations of Whitefeet or Terry Ales, nor the conduct of the hon. and learned Member for Dublin, nor the agitation of the repeal question, nor the agitation about tithes, had been the cause of those disturbances. (Hear). It was a curious fact, that the hon. and learned Member's name was not mentioned in a single instance in this evidence. The truth was, that if they were to banish the hon. and learned Gentleman to-morrow from

the country, together with every man connected with him, they would not establish tranquillity in Ireland. The power which that hon. and learned Member exercised in Ireland, the kind of "divided empire" which he held with the King's representative there, was not the cause, it was only one of the effects of the disturbances that prevailed in Ireland—disturbances that arose from general and overwhelming distress. Let them but remedy that distress, let them but afford the means of contentment and happiness to the Irish people, and the hon. and learned Gentleman's power over a starving and desperate population, would altogether vanish. The evidence in this report, full as it was of details as to the causes of disturbances in Ireland, such as high rents, low wages, want of employment, &c., might, *mutato nomine*, be regarded as a faithful picture of the state of the agricultural population of this country. The hon. Gentleman here quoted largely from the evidence given by Mr. Singleton, the Rev. Mr. O'Connor, and other witnesses before the committee on the state of the Queen's county, as to the causes of the disturbances in Ireland, and proceeded to argue that the cause of those disturbances was distress,—a distress produced generally throughout Ireland and England by the passing of Peel's bill in 1819. They had evidence taken before a committee of that House in 1818 on the poor-laws, as to the distress which prevailed in the agricultural districts, but nothing was then done; and it happened that in 1830, even in England, they had agricultural disturbances. Special commissions were sent to put them down, 5,000 Englishmen were taken up as prisoners, 1,800 of whom were tried, and of those 700 were punished in various ways. The hon. Gentleman here referred to the evidence given before that committee in 1828, to show the state of distress into which the agricultural population of England had been thrown in consequence, as he contended, of the restriction of the currency in 1819. To the want of employment, he repeated, the disturbances in Ireland were to be attributed. They were intimately connected with the operation of the monetary system. He could not leave the question of the distress which overwhelmed the agricultural labouring population of England without pressing on the attention of the House the deep importance of that subject, and conjuring them to be careful, lest, in sacrificing that population, they sacrificed the bulwark of the country. To what excesses had distress driven them! How greatly had their characters been altered! They had been seen to destroy the property of their employers—those labourers whose interests used formerly to be identified with that of their masters. Who could estimate the degradation to which they must be reduced when they were driven to such acts of useless violence? He would now advert to the state of another interest, the second in importance—he meant the

shipping interest. In 1833 the ship-owners at the different sea-ports drew up a memorial, in which they described the dreadful condition to which they were reduced. In that memorial they pointed out the detrimental effects of the diminution of capital. They fondly hoped that the attention of the reformed Parliament would be fixed upon their complaints, and that when that House met some steps would be taken to improve their suffering condition. The representatives of the people were intrusted with the office of relieving the distresses of the people; they would be judged of by the decision to which they came on the present question, and by it would they secure or forfeit the confidence of the country. The commercial property of England was not now what it was in former days; its interests were not equally well provided for, and it was undergoing a constant and steady depreciation. He spoke in the presence of individuals who would correct him if he were wrong, and he contended that this depreciation was owing to the monetary system—that system the foundations of which were now giving way under their feet. (Hear, hear). He spoke also in the presence of many gentlemen connected with the mercantile interest, and he asked them whether that great mart of trade and commerce, the Royal Exchange of London, contained one-third of the opulent ship-owners who used to frequent it before the unfortunate changes were introduced into the monetary system. He now came to consider another great manufacturing interest—the iron trade. In the memorial which was drawn up by the iron manufacturers in 1831, it was stated that ever since the panic of 1825 there had been a continual depression of prices; that every expedient had been tried to sustain the declining state of trade without success, and that all connected with it were reduced to the greatest possible distress. Behold the consummation of the monetary system complete! Were they prepared to continue that system, or in attempting to alter it would they allow themselves to be deterred by dreams of private spoliation and public robbery? Another great manufacturing interest—the cotton trade—was also equally implicated in the general suffering occasioned (he contended) by the operation of the monetary system. It had been said, and truly said, by his noble relative, that at the present moment the property in cotton was almost altogether unsalable, and that the manufacture of that commodity could no longer be carried on with success. He thought, when he considered the great, the prevailing distress, that any man was excusable who brought under the notice of the House the common sufferings of the people; but he could find no excuse for those who pretended to deny the existence of that suffering, or disavow the general distress. Allusion had been made to the distress at present existing in France, but it was a melancholy fact which

would lead them to determine which country possessed the greatest portion of distress. The French Government, however, had thought proper to send over a commissioner to this country to ascertain to which country the preponderance adhered, and that commissioner was represented to have said, that though in many parts of England he had witnessed appalling scenes of human misery, yet until he visited Sunderland he did not conceive it possible that human nature could have existed under such an accumulation of distress and privation as he found pressing on the population of that county. (Hear, hear). But further inquiry would have convinced him that such a height of human suffering was not confined to one county. In 1824 four-fifths of the population of Manchester were in the practice of receiving parochial relief. It was idle to ascribe these effects to the invention of power-looms. The introduction of that species of machinery had not, he was satisfied, interfered in any general way with the demand for labour. He would now allude to what he considered another proof of the baneful effects of the present monetary system, and that was the increase in the number of criminal committals. That increase would be found to have kept pace with the progress of that system, and the returns which in 1814 were confined to hundreds, amounted, after a progressive increase, to twenties of thousands in 1832. Were these facts which ought to be contemplated with apathy? It was upon these grounds, then, he submitted to the House his proposition for inquiry. He believed, firmly believed, that our monetary system was inseparably connected with the extreme and general distress he had instanced, connected with it in all its branches. He believed this, because he found that every interest in the country had experienced an improvement upon a relaxation of the system, and a corresponding depression whenever it was called into full vigour, and that distress had been steadily attaining its present extremity ever since the principles which were adopted in 1819 had been called into full operation by subsequent measures. What was the immediate cause of that distress? That the circulating medium was too contracted for the market, and that consequently that labour could not get a fair remunerating price. Its increase was not consistent with the increased productiveness of the country. Convinced of these things, he therefore conjured the House not to allow Ministers to meet his motion by what he would call a mockery. Did they not feel, did they not know that the distress of the country was intimately connected with the monetary system? (Hear, hear). All he wished for was inquiry, and when that inquiry had been instituted and brought to a conclusion, the House would have to determine how far that system could be altered consistently with the preservation of public faith and justice. He would submit to no pretended

investigation — no mockery of an inquiry. He was at a loss to discover what obstacle was in the way of such an inquiry; what obstacle could there, in truth, be with the representatives of the people on such a subject? It affected every branch of the manufacturing, landed, and commercial interests: and would the reformed Parliament allow inquiry to be stopped for the sake of any particular interest while distress was so crying and general? Inquiry was not only a rational and consistent measure, but demanded by the present difficulties of the country, and apparently conducive to its safety. Let the House look at the system itself; let them consider the foundation on which it stands. The Bank of England had the task assigned it of providing the supply of gold, and of converting into gold the entire of paper which it issued. To the Bank, then, belonged the power of determining the quantity of the circulating medium. While its profits were increasing through the means of the increasing circulation, the Bank directors looked on with apathy; but when the panic occurred, they became alarmed for their own safety, though the sufferings of the people could not move them. The bane of these fluctuations in the system was the detrimental effect they produced on commercial confidence. Before the failure of the bankers only 1,300,000*l.* of gold were deposited in the Bank. This small sum was to meet all the liabilities, amounting to 800,000,000*l.*, to which that establishment, as the Government organ, was subjected. Those 800,000,000*l.*, it should be borne in mind, might be demanded in gold on the occasion of a panic, and it was not every day they could expect to light upon so lucky and unexpected an incident as the finding of a box of 1*l.* notes. On that occasion they were saved by the very instrument which they wished to destroy. The hon. Member who was very indistinctly heard during the whole of his speech up to this period, continued to speak for some time longer in a tone which was almost inaudible. We heard him express a hope that the right hon. Member for Tamworth would lend his powerful aid to effect the object which he had in view, and concluded with moving "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of general distress and embarrassment which presses upon the various orders of the people, and how far the same has been occasioned by the operation of the present monetary system; and to consider the effect produced by that system on the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the United Kingdom, and on the condition of the industrious and productive classes." (Cheers).

LORD ALTHORP said, that he did not differ from the hon. Member as to the importance of the question which he had brought under the consideration of the House, nor as to its being desirable that it should be brought under their consideration; — that the hon. Member should call upon the House to decide whether they

were prepared to stand by the present system (loud cheers), — whether they were prepared to stand by the system on which all the contracts of the country depended, or whether, on the other hand, they were prepared (to use the words of the hon. Member), to adopt a course of confiscation and robbery. (Cheers). He thought the hon. Member, entertaining the opinion which he did, was perfectly right in bringing the question forward; and he (Lord Althorp) was not sorry, at least, that he had given a reformed House of Commons an opportunity of coming to a decision upon it; but if he might be allowed to offer any criticism upon the occasion, he would say, that the hon. Member had not gone quite straightforward enough to the result. He did not mean to complain of the mode in which the hon. Member had brought the question forward, because, undoubtedly, he had most candidly, throughout the whole of his speech, avowed that his object was to obtain an alteration of the currency. He had, however, abstained from stating in what mode that object was to be effected. He had abstained from stating to what degree he would carry the alteration, and he had entirely abstained from stating the consequences which would result from it. (Hear, hear). The hon. Member evidently contemplated a depreciation of the currency, — indeed, no part of his argument would have any common sense in it if that were not the object which he had in view; but he had not stated how it was to be effected. At various periods different propositions had been brought forward, all ultimately having this object in view; but the hon. Member's proposition differed from every one of them in this respect — that it might be adopted, he said, quite consistently with the maintenance of public faith. Did the hon. Member seem to say that there should be a great issue of paper-money unaccompanied by any other measure? Was that the mode in which he proposed to raise prices without a breach of public faith? (Hear, hear). They had had experience of such a proceeding. What must necessarily be the consequence of it? If the amount of currency in circulation were augmented, there was no question that the value of money would be less than it was before the augmentation took place; and if the sovereign bore a less value in this country than it did in other countries, the consequence would be that gold would be sent abroad; then would come a run upon the Bank, which must either suddenly contract its issues or stop payment, or obtain a Bank Restriction Act. (Hear, hear). It was impossible that any gentleman who had turned his attention to the subject, should not see that the state of things which he had described must be the necessary consequence of increasing the amount of circulation by an issue of paper unaccompanied by any other measure. To a Bank Restriction Act they must come under such circumstances. The hon. Member had truly stated, that great distress had prevailed in the country of late years; but he

might have gone farther back. The hon. Member seemed to think that no distress existed previously to 1819. The greatest possible distress existed before that period. The remedy, however, which the hon. Member proposed for the present distress was to destroy the foundation on which contracts depended, and to set them at once afloat; to place in the hands of an irresponsible body the power of saying how much every man in the country should be worth; of impoverishing one set of men and enriching another; in short, of introducing indescribable confusion into all the transactions of society. He could hardly suppose it possible that the hon. Member, with the knowledge and experience which he possessed upon this subject, would advocate a Bank Restriction Act. The hon. Member proposed to find employment for the labouring population by altering the standard of value; but he (Lord Althorp) really could not see how transferring a certain portion of the property of one class of the inhabitants of this country to another could increase the means of employing labourers. (Hear). All he knew was, that the labouring class in such a process was always the first to suffer. (Cheers). Wages did not adapt themselves to an alteration in the value of money quite so quickly as other things. The workman would continue to work for the same wages, whilst the price of every article he consumed would go on augmenting. This was known to be the case under the Bank Restriction Act. (Hear, hear). The hon. Member appeared to think that the poor-laws were innocuous up to 1814; but he (Lord Althorp) had always dated the commencement of the present unfortunate state of the poor-law question from the period of the war. During the famine of 1800 many persons were thrown on the poor-rates, who thereby lost their feelings of independence, which they never afterwards regained, and this state of things continued during the whole course of the Bank restriction. To say that the ill effect of the poor-laws was not experienced till the commencement of the peace, was to contradict the experience of every person who was old enough to remember an antecedent period. The hon. Member said that it would be a mere mockery to grant a committee to inquire into the distress of the country if the question of the currency were excluded from their consideration. However that might be, he certainly would not consent to have such a question referred to a committee, although the adoption of the amendment with which he should conclude would not preclude the House from agreeing to the appointment of a committee to inquire into the condition of the country. The hon. Member, in alluding to his (Lord Althorp's) financial statement, spoke of the low ebb at which public credit must be with a surplus of only 500,000*l.*, but how did the hon. Member propose to support public credit? Why, by deducting at once from 20 to 25 per cent. from the value of the funds. The hon. Member

asked whether we would borrow money to pay the interest of the debt? That certainly would be a great calamity, but he could conceive a greater — namely, not paying the interest of the debt at all, or only a portion of it. (Hear). The hon. Member stated that pauperism decreased at the end of the war, but upon referring to documents he found that that was not the case, for in 1803 the amount of poor-rates was 4,132,000*l.*, and in 1815 it was 4,856,000*l.*: thus it was evident that pauperism had increased instead of being diminished. The hon. Member then observed, that if the affairs of an individual were in such a state as those of the country at the present moment, the individual would inquire into them. That might be, but a private individual who happened to find himself in difficulties would have no right to resolve not to pay his debts. (Cheers). The hon. Member ridiculed all investigation into the poor-laws, and said it was impossible their mal-administration could have a bad effect. What others attributed to that cause he referred to the monetary system. How, then, could he account for the fact, that although the same monetary system extended throughout the country, in the north of England the poor-laws were considered a blessing, while in the south they were looked upon as a curse? He (Lord Althorp) did not mean to deny that great distress existed in the country, but he certainly thought it was exaggerated. The hon. Member said that he would excuse exaggeration upon such a subject, and any man of feeling would do so; but the hon. Member would permit him to observe that he himself stood in need of indulgence in that respect. The hon. Member had dwelt long upon the unfortunate condition of the landed interest, and he (Lord Althorp) was disposed to admit, that at the present moment the landed interest was in a worse condition than any other interest in the country; but from all the information which he had been able to obtain, he was not inclined to think that the situation of the manufacturing interest was so deplorable as it was by some persons represented to be; indeed, the hon. Member had admitted that some improvement was visible in this branch of national industry. It was, however, impossible in the discussion which took place in that House to come to any distinct understanding respecting the state of the country, because if it were in ever so prosperous a condition there would always be considerable distress in some large masses of the population, and *vice versa*. He must acknowledge that the agricultural population, and certain classes of the manufacturing population, were in a distressed state; but, looking at the price of commodities and the amount of wages received, he really believed the labouring classes had it in their power to obtain more of the necessaries of life at the present time than at the favourite period to which the hon. Member had referred. The hon. Member had himself stated that the iron

trade was improving, and the accounts which he (Lord Althorp) had received confirmed that statement. That branch of industry had certainly been suffering great distress, which arose from the quantity of iron produced exceeding the consumption, and thus occasioning a glut of the market. He had stated what would be the consequence of agreeing to the hon. Member's proposition for altering the monetary system. The only object which the hon. Member had in view was an alteration of the standard of value, by which money would be taken from the pockets of one class of persons and placed in those of another class. This could not in his opinion, be of any benefit to the country; on the contrary, it would produce a stagnation of credit and employment, as the necessary consequence of a want of confidence. There would be this difference between the depreciation of the standard of value which might take place now and that which occurred in 1797—that whereas the depreciation in the latter case came on gradually, or without disturbing public confidence, and persons at the time were not at all aware (though he saw that the hon. Member for Oldham thought differently) of the great alteration in the standard of value which their exertions would effect; the honourable Member's proposition was, that they should now, with their eyes open, commit a fraud upon the public creditor, enable all debtors to escape payment of the greater portion of their debts, and utterly destroy all confidence. (Cheers). If the hon. Member should succeed in effecting his object, the sudden transfer of large masses of capital from the hands of one set of persons to those of another would not tend much to the promotion of industry. The hon. Member had referred to the evidence given before the Bank committee, and said it proved that the course which the Bank pursued was to augment or contract their issues as they thought proper, with the view of consulting their own interests. The perusal of the evidence did not lead him (Lord Althorp) to that conclusion; on the contrary, it appeared to him that the circulation was contracted or expanded by the operation of the public upon the Bank. The hon. Member then complained that whilst population was augmenting, and productive industry increasing, the currency admitted of no corresponding expansion. He did not altogether understand what the hon. Member meant by that observation. The currency certainly did not admit of an unnatural and unnecessary expansion—it could not be increased to suit the fancy of individuals, but the necessary consequence of the present state of the currency was, that it must expand as required, because bullion was as certain to flow into this country, in consequence of an increased demand for gold, as water was to find its level. The hon. Member would give a forced expansion to the currency, by which the standard of value would be altered, and the property of the whole country placed at

the disposal of one body of men. He would deal frankly with the hon. Member and tell him that he must, as an honest man, oppose the motion. (Cheers). He had not, as the hon. Member was well aware, adopted these opinions since he had sat on the side of the House from which he then spoke; because, when he had sat on the other side of the House, he opposed Mr. Davenport's motion on the same ground, namely, that it would be a serious calamity to the country to disturb the standard of value. Unless the standard of value were permanently fixed, it would be vain to hope for prosperity. (Hear, hear). If the hon. Member's motion should be carried, there would instantly be a run for gold upon all the banks infinitely greater than that which occurred in 1825, because no bank would be secure against it—no confidence in the solvency or respectability of the partners in such establishments would protect them, for all persons would be desirous of obtaining a portion of the present currency before its value should be depreciated. (Hear, hear). He could not, in the present situation of the country, conceive any calamity greater than agreeing to the motion of the hon. Member. It was most desirable that the House should come to a decision upon this occasion as to the expediency of altering the standard of value, and therefore he intended to move as an amendment, the following resolution:—“That it is the opinion of this House that any alteration in the monetary system of this country which would have the effect of lowering the standard of value, is highly inexpedient.” (Cheers). The fate of that amendment would decide the question whether the House were determined to maintain the present standard of value. He wished members to have an opportunity of giving their votes upon that question clearly and distinctly. He had framed his amendment in that shape in order to meet the disinclination which many members felt to vote against a committee to inquire into the distresses of the people. It was absolutely necessary for him, before he proceeded to consider the propriety of appointing such a committee, as he valued his own character, as he valued the preservation of public faith and the prosperity of the country, to call upon the House to decide “aye” or “no,” upon the question. The hon. Member had throughout the whole of his speech announced that his object was to effect an alteration in the value of money, and believing, as he (Lord Althorp) did, that such a proceeding would be ruinous to the country, he would offer it every possible opposition. He concluded with moving his amendment. (Cheers.)

Mr. GROVE rose to second the amendment, and said that, independently of the proposed alteration with respect to the currency, no practical advantage could result from the inquiry which the hon. Member proposed should take place into the state of the country. If he might venture to speak lightly on so grave a question, he would say that a committee

which could presume to pronounce an opinion on a question of such magnitude, upon such evidence as would be brought before them, would resemble the rash travellers, who, after running hastily through the United States of America, gossiping with persons in stage-coaches, and dining at a table d'hôte, and cross-examining the waiters and chamber-maids, came home, wrote a book, and dogmatized with all the authority of eyewitness upon the American national character. (Hear). An inquiry into the state of the country was only the stalking-horse upon this occasion; the real object was to effect a change in the standard of value. The hon. Member had advanced three propositions; first, that great and unprecedented distress existed; secondly, that this distress arose from the contraction of the currency consequent upon Peel's Bill; and, thirdly, that it was expedient to rectify this state of things by debasing the currency, for so he must call it. On each of these propositions he would offer a few remarks. In the first place, he denied the general and unprecedented character of the distress at present existing. He was ready to admit that particular classes were suffering under deep distress; but the same thing occurred even in the halcyon days to which the hon. Member delighted to refer. A reference to the journals of the House in 1810, 1811, and 1812, would prove that representations of distress were then made which were calculated to excite as much sympathy as the statement which the hon. Member had that evening made. (Hear). The hon. Member had referred to the list of bankrupts of late years, as affording evidence of the distress prevailing in the country. He held in his hand a return of the number of bankrupts from 1819, up to 1832 inclusive, and found that it was 24,713, or an average of 765 a year. From the same document it appeared that the number of bankrupts from 1808 to 1818 inclusive was 21,609, making an annual average of 1,964. He appealed to the House whether the diminished number of bankruptcies since the passing of Peel's Bill did not evince a more improved state of trade, the more particularly as, at the former period, when the bankruptcies were most numerous, the commercial community was much more contracted than it had subsequently become? The hon. Member had quoted some particular imports and exports as a "taste of the quality" of the whole of our imports and exports, in order to show that distress was universal. He protested against the piecemeal and partial mode of treating an aggregate question involving the comforts of the people. He would submit that the hon. Member was bound to cite the aggregate consumption when his purpose was to depict the aggregate comforts of the people; and that he should not have confined himself to the imports and exports and consumption of one or two articles, but should have inquired into the consumption of all the necessaries and comforts of life. Had he done so, for example, in refer-

ence to the consumption of tea, coffee, sugar, &c., he would have seen that since the passing of the measure which the hon. Member declared to have been fatal to our prosperity, there had been a steady increase every year in the consumption of those important articles. (Hear). A paper which he held in his hand would put this fact beyond all doubt, it being the circular of this year, issued by the colonial brokers, of the consumption of tea, coffee, sugar, and cocoa, since 1825; each year showed a steady increase on the preceding. Now, if facts indisputably showed that there was a steady increase every year in the consumption of the comforts and necessaries of life, was it not a contradiction in terms, in the face of these facts, to assert that each year distress and suffering were increasing? Take the hon. Member for Birmingham's evidence, as given before the committee on the Bank charter, and they would find an equal contradiction in terms with that put forward that evening by his hon. relative. Both maintained distress and misery to be universal, and yearly increasing; both stated facts which proved the very reverse. The hon. Member for Birmingham was asked

"Do you apprehend that since 1819 the wealth of Birmingham has been diminished?—Most seriously. I do not believe the wealth of Birmingham is one-half what it was prior to 1816.

"Do you think that the consumption of articles of luxury in Birmingham has decreased very much during that period?—Terribly in the last one or two years, but perhaps not in the last twelve years.

"Supposing the case to be that the number of two-wheeled carriages has doubled in amount since that time!—Fashion and extravagance are eccentric things. The roads have been wonderfully improved by macadamization, and luxury increases beyond anything, and education increases beyond anything, which lead to an increase of expense; and I am sorry to say that at Birmingham, for the last 15 years, every man seems to me to have increased his expenses at a time when I positively know his fortune has been diminishing."

Now, the extravagance which the honourable Member had denounced as universal in Birmingham was not predicable of any rational and industrious community like that of Birmingham, and the facts he stated refuted his own doctrine, unless, indeed, they were prepared to believe that the hon. Member had such an intimate knowledge of the private habits of the people of that town as would blind one to the evidence of his own senses. The hon. Gentleman, then, had not proved his case—that distress was universal and increasing—so far as increasing consumption of comforts and necessaries was an index,—the fact being the very reverse, (hear) and he had also failed to prove, that admitting the distress, it was the consequence of the Currency Bill of 1819. And this led him to the hon.

Member's second proposition—namely, that all the distress of the country was wholly owing to our vicious monetary legislation of 1819; that it, in fact, was owing to the contraction of the currency, of which the bill of 1819 was the instrument. Now before he inquired whether the bill of 1819 did or did not contract the currency, it might not be amiss to inquire whether any contraction of the currency had actually taken place. The fact was, the currency was fuller and more extensive since 1822, the period in which Peel's bill came into operation, than for the ten years preceding 1819. The hon. Member here read the following table (founded on appendix B2 to report of the committee on the Bank charter):

Notes of 5*l.* and upwards.
1808 to 1818 inclusive.

Average.....	£
1808.....	13,608
1809.....	14,022
1810.....	15,917
1811.....	15,875
1812.....	15,868
1813.....	16,068
1814.....	17,909
1815.....	17,659
1816.....	17,582
1817.....	20,302
1818.....	19,737
	<hr/>
	11) 183,947

Average..... 16,722

Years of highest circulation prior to 1819.

	£
1816.....	17,582
1817.....	20,302
1818.....	19,737
	<hr/>
	3) 57,621

Average..... 19,207

Year of highest circulation before 1819.

	£
1817.....	20,302

Year of lowest circulation between 1808 and 1818.

	£
1808.....	13,008

1822 to 1832 inclusive.

	£
1822.....	16,824
1823.....	18,033
1824.....	19,676
1825.....	19,679
1826.....	21,067
1827.....	20,966
1828.....	20,645
1829.....	19,298
1830.....	20,174
1831.....	18,008
1832.....	17,739
	<hr/>
	11) 212,109

Average..... 19,282

Years of highest circulation from 1822 to 1832.

	£
1826.....	21,067
1827.....	20,966
1828.....	20,645
	<hr/>
	3) 62,678

Average..... 20,892

Year of higher circulation between 1822 and 1832.

	£
1826.....	21,067

Year of lowest circulation between 1822 and 1832.

	£
1832.....	16,824

Now, the hon. Member had on various occasions argued, and it was of the doctrine of his school of currency, that prices were in the direct ratio of the amount of the currency; that they were high as the currency was extensive, low as it was contracted. The facts he had just cited proved the fallacy of this doctrine; for if it was true, prices ought to be higher from 1822 to 1832 than they were during the war, inasmuch as the amount of the currency was greater. Then the hon. Member, while wrongly ascribing the lowness of modern prices to the state of the currency, overlooked the important fact, that at no time were the facilities to borrow money greater and the interest of money lower than at the very period of which he was complaining. During the war and his beloved paper currency, the difficulties to obtain money on good security were much greater, as every gentleman old enough to remember could bear testimony; showing that at least the facilities to borrow money, and the interest of money, were not directly connected with a contracted currency. The distress to which the hon. Gentleman had referred, as having occurred soon after the passing of the bill of 1819, was not owing to that bill, but to other causes, with which it had no direct connexion. It was chiefly occasioned by bad harvests, aggravated by the very defective mode of making good the deficiency of scanty crops by foreign imports. Then, as to the change in the prices of articles, it was easy to show that it was the consequence of over supply relative to the demand for the articles, and not of the Currency Bill of 1819. The fall in prices was, in fact, a mere question of supply and demand, and had little or no connexion whatever with the passing of Peel's Bill. He might prove this by citing the imports and consumption of very many, indeed, most articles of commerce; but in order to save the time of the House, he would limit himself to the article of cotton. The hon. Member then read the following table.

General import of Cotton into Great Britain from 1817 to 1826 inclusive, the quantity taken for export and home consumption, and the stock remaining at the close of each year.

	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.
Packets exported.....	32,600	60,100	66,770	27,540	52,600
Taken for home consumption	412,500	417,500	432,600	490,900	491,650
Stock at the close of each year	113,000	307,700	335,760	406,700	354,320
	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.	1826.
Exported.....	60,010	35,380	53,100	75,520	95,000
Taken for home consumption	541,350	534,390	639,100	565,430	555,660
Stock at the close of each year	285,500	385,800	235,360	415,660	342,500

This showed that the fall of prices of which the hon. Member complained was owing to the market being over-stocked—not to the bill of 1819. A word or two in conclusion, in reference to the hon. Member's proposition to place our monetary system on a different basis from the present. He trusted that the House would not for a moment sanction so monstrous, so immoral a proposition (hear, hear), which would be neither more nor less than a violation of all existing contracts; a tax; a robbery of all creditors. (Cheers). Were the House to sanction the hon. Member's proposition, it would be acting the part of the unjust steward in the Gospel—

"5. So he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord?"

"6. And he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty."

"7. Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, An hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore."

This is the sum and substance of the hon. Member's proposition (hear, hear), and he trusted integrity no less than policy would repudiate it. (Cheers). But the hon. Member told them that the change of the currency was the only remedy for the distress which prevails among the working classes, as the

bill of 1819 was the only cause of that distress. He was sure that the abettors of that doctrine had not examined it carefully, or cautiously weighed its consequences. The capital which would stimulate the industry of the country must be the savings of individuals, and he would ask what industrious man would save if he was thus to be robbed of his earnings at the mere caprice of the legislature? (Hear, hear.) If any particular plan were broached for enabling the currency to more effectively perform all the legitimate functions of a currency, he would give it his best consideration; but he earnestly hoped that no legislature would be found wicked enough to abuse its control over the currency of the state, and to attempt to force prices either higher or lower than they would otherwise be, by an abuse of its legislative power. (Hear).

Mr. COBBETT: The hon. Member said before he proceeded to make one or two observations on the motion substantively before them, he thought it as well to bestow a passing notice on the doctrine of the great sage who had just addressed the House, and of whom he (Mr. Cobbett) had the lucky honour of being a constituent. According to that doctrine, it mattered little whether they legislated or not in reference to the currency; for, said the hon. Representative of the wisdom of the city of London, prices are not at all affected by the state of the currency, being "wholly a question of supply and demand." How did the hon. Gentleman persuade himself that men had been asleep all this time since the peace? Every person recollected that prices were high on the passing of the celebrated bill of the celebrated Baronet beside him; and every person also knew—and, if he did not, ought to know—that they fell so rapidly and tremendously on the passing of that measure, that the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) himself got frightened, and out came the Small-note Bill of 1822. Immediately prices rose, and all things went on gallantly till the mad doings of 1825 and 1826 led to another suppression of the 11. notes, with another consequent and inevitable fall of prices. On the passing of the Small-note suppression Bill of 1826, he had petitioned that House, telling it that while he rejoiced that the functions of coining were resumed by the monarch, yet that as sure as fire burned, if they passed that bill without reducing taxes to the standard of 1792, ruin and universal misery would be the consequences. They passed the bill without the concomitant measures, and ruin and misery were now stalking in the land. And when the hon. Member for Whitehaven called upon them to stop this ruin and misery, by retracing the steps which engendered it, they were told by the Member for London, that to do so would be a robbery, and acting like the unjust steward in the gospel. Curious, indeed! His hon. Representative could see no effect produced on prices by *lessening* the quantity of paper by Peel's Bill—no robbery there; all

was then the work of accumulated stocks; but, when the hon. Member for Whitehaven asks to *augment* the quantity, then my hon. Representative cries out *robbery*, taking away from every debt half its amount! Strange political philosophy, that comes out of the day! They were told by my hon. Representative, as a reason for refusing the present inquiry, that the comforts and happiness of the people had increased, because the consumption of the comforts and necessities of life had increased. But how was the conclusion arrived at? My hon. Representative founded it on the fact, that the taxes on those articles of consumption had increased—that is, the revenue derived from those taxes. This was a dangerous fallacy, and therefore ought to be exposed. If the hon. Representative had inferred that because the taxes on sugar, coffee, &c., were more productive now than formerly, that therefore the people who paid those taxes were happier and better off than hitherto, it followed that the more taxed a people was the better and the happier they must be. (No, no, and Hear.) He said yes: that was the hon. Gentleman's doctrine. He argued that because there were more taxes there was more consumption—and because more consumption, more comfort and happiness; and what was this but declaring that the more taxed a people was, the happier and the better off they were? (No, no, and a laugh.) But a tax might be increasing in amount of productiveness while the people who paid it might be increasing in misery, and that because they paid that very productive tax. This might be illustrated thus: Suppose sugar were the article of consumption thus taxed, and suppose the consumers of it were partly soldiers. Suppose there were 100,000 of these sweet-toothed consumers now, the nation who was taxed to support this large army might be oppressed and sinking under the weight of the tax, and yet, as the tax went to pay for sugar, the consumption and the fiscal revenue derived from it might be great and flourishing, while the people who paid the soldiers were hurrying to destruction. The idle consumer—the drone in the hive—might be thriving under the system which was leading the industrious bees to misery and starvation. This is a matter of great importance, this tea and sugar answer to all the complaints of distress. These philosophers say, "If there be a tax upon certain commodities; if the population of the country remain the same for years; if the rate of the tax remain the same; if the gross amount of the tax continue to be the same; then the quantity of the commodities consumed must be the same; and, that, therefore, all these circumstances being in existence, the comforts and enjoyments of the people must continue to be as great as they were when the tax was first laid on." This has been the answer to every allegation of existing distress; this has been the standing answer by all those who have succeeded each

other upon that bench, ever since I can recollect; and, amongst all the fallacies by which mankind have deceived themselves, never was there a greater fallacy than this. For, suppose the population to continue to be the same; suppose the tax on sugar, for instance, continue to be the same in rate; suppose the general taxes of the country to be all at once, prodigiously augmented; then great numbers of the sugar consumers must be compelled to do without sugar; but the quantity of sugar consumed, upon the whole, will be the same or greater perhaps; for, in the same proportion that you take away the means of consuming sugar from the industrious classes, you augment the means of idlers to consume sugar! And, what is more, tea, sugar, tobacco, and coffee, are not absolutely necessities of life; and the industrious classes want the necessities of life first; so that the more you impoverish and render the working classes miserable by taxation, the more you add to the means of the idlers to consume these comforts, as they are called; and, therefore, you have increasing misery and increasing taxation at the same time. And, thus, the political philosophy of my honourable representative is disposed of, rather unceremoniously, perhaps, when it is considered that he brings it from that mass of wisdom which exists in the city of London. Mr. Cobbett then, coming to the main subject before the House, said he would vote for the motion of the hon. Member for Whitehaven. He differed from the hon. Member in many of his views; but that was not the question. All that the hon. Member proposed was inquiry, and unless that inquiry were assented to by the House, the people would be dissatisfied. The noble Lord, to be sure, said that inquiry would throw the people into alarm and fright, but it was strange if that should be the result of an inquiry into the cause of their distresses, with a view to discovering an efficient remedy for them, and to ascertaining whether they were connected with what was expressly called the "tampering with the currency." The advocates of that inquiry were not bound to adopt the particular view of the hon. proposer. He agreed with him as to the distress, but differed with him as to the proper remedy. Things were come to this pass, that they must either puff up their currency to the level of their expenditure or cut down their expenditure to the level of their means. The hon. Member was for puffing up the currency; his (Mr. Cobbett's) remedy was to cut down the expenditure. He had some right to speak on the effect of the Small-coin Suppression Bill of 1826, for he had predicted its calamitous effects. Hon. Members greatly deceived themselves if they thought these effects were at an end, and if the worst remained not behind. He had also predicted the effects of the bill of 1819, and pointed out the absurdity of Mr. Baring's opinion, so ostentatiously put forward at the time—namely, that the inconvenient consequences of the

bill' would be temporary, and wholly while the things were in a state of "transition." But something he repeated, must be done, else the bills of 1819 and 1826 would bring things to a convulsion, and the middle classes would be driven out of their place in society down to the kennel. Ere long there would be fifty houses to be let, and no tenants to be had, in Fleet-street (there were already thirty-six), and the rents must be reduced to one-quarter of the present amount; they were at present not one-half of the sum he recollected it, and that, too, when a man would have to wait for five years for the chance of a vacancy. (Hear). Was the noble Chancellor of the Exchequer aware of these melancholy facts, and that he (Mr. Cobbett) had predicted them? (A laugh). Oh, yes, they laughed: a laugh was the usual sequel of any statement of the grievances of the poorer classes; but they would soon change their note. Laughter first and weeping after: so let them laugh away while they might; by-and-by they might learn to weep. He had stated he did not approve of Mr. Attwood's remedy for the terrible condition of the country, and that his remedy was to cut down the establishments of the country to their amount in 1792—a time when the country was flourishing, and asserted its honour in every quarter of the globe—witness the memorable cat-skin war, in which Mr. Pitt compelled Spain to make the *amende* to the British flag. Instead of a miserable budget, with paltry "tile" reductions and savings, he would at once bring down our expenditure to that of 1792. Mr. Cobbett here read documents, in order to show the relative expenditure of the years 1792 and 1833. It appeared that in the year 1792 the whole cost of the navy, including ordinaries, extraordinaries, and every expense, was—

Navy.....	£1,985,842	0	0
The whole expense of the army	1,819,460	0	0
The whole expense of the ordnance.....	422,001	0	0
	£4,226,943	0	0

The interest of the debt was	£9,000,000	0	0
The whole annual expenditure	15,000,000	0	0

That in the year 1833 the whole cost of the navy, army, and ordnance, was as follows:

Navy.....	£4,658,134	0	0
Army.....	8,766,254	0	0
Ordnance	1,455,223	0	0
	£14,879,611	0	0

The interest of the debt. . .	£28,000,000	0	0
The annual expenditure . . .	46,000,000	0	0
In 1792, admirals	44		
— 1833	170		
— 1792, captains.....	622		
— 1833	1,684		
Made since the peace, 110 admirals.			
413 captains.			

There is now one commissioned officer to every five sailors and marines.

One captain to every 14.

One admiral to every 125.

In 1792, Admiralty and Navy Boards	£58,000
In 1833	147,000

The half-pay, allowances, and pensions, in 1833.....1,625,603

As much as the whole navy in 1792, all but 359,879l.

The wages of 22,500 sailors and marines (including officers) for a year, 687,375l.

113 of the privy councillors (leaving out royal family and bishops) receive 650,000l. a year.

That was the way that he had been made poor, that was the way in which our substance was wasted. If, since the peace of 1814, our affairs had been managed as they were in the year 1792, we should have paid, in taxes, 216,000,000l. of principal money, less than we have paid since the peace; and, including interest, here is a sum of 400,000,000l. of money. Half the debt might thus have been paid off by money that has gone into the pockets of the aristocracy, after being screwed out of the flesh and bones of the people. He would ask Ministers to defend, if they could, the estimates of the present year. How was it that we had 110 admirals promoted since the peace, while Mr. Pitt had only 44 altogether, to meet the combined fleets of France and Spain, and the armed neutrality of the North? How came it that not less than 413 officers had been raised to the rank of post-captain since the peace, unless—it was right that it should not be longer blinked—that Lord Grey's two sons might be put over the heads of men who had served their country before either of them was born. (Murmurs). Oh, he supposed that was not fashionable, not good manners. (Oh, oh, and hear). He begged their pardon for letting the truth out thus unfashionably—(great laughter); but he was sorry it was too true. (Continued laughter). Was not the whole system a system by which the aristocracy helped themselves out of the pockets of the poor? Look at the half pay and pension estimate of the navy—1,625,000l.; within 300,000l. of the cost of Mr. Pitt's whole naval force. What he (Mr. Cobbett) wanted was that the expenditure should be cut down to that of 1792. The hon. Member for Whitehaven said, "Do justice to the people of England; cut down the expenditure, or raise up the money;" and he was perfectly right. (Hear). The hon. Baronet had laid before the House an estimate of the wages of 22,000 sailors and marines, with their officers, for one year, amounting to 687,000l. Now, there were 113 privy councillors, who sacked 650,000l. a year of our money—as much as the wages of all the seamen and marines belonging to the navy, officers and all. And there was a list of *women* pensioners, which swallowed up more than all their pay, victuals, and other necessary expenses. (Hear). Those were the things the people wanted remedied. They did not un-

derstand nice questions of political economy; they were too refined for them; but they said, why not bring down the expenditure to that of 1792? He did not wish the debt to be wiped off, though the right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) had proposed to deduct 30 per cent. from it (bear); but he repented of that. (A laugh). Now, as to the ordnance estimates; of all accounts he had ever seen, never had he met with such a mass of confusion; they were not worthy of the name of estimates. Members, if they wanted to find anything, must look for days; what they meant he defied any rational man to say. That was not the way they made out accounts in 1792.—Look at the estimates of 1792: there was no lumping of names, but each individual person was set out at full length; that was the form of the accounts before the vile and false Whigs came to drive poor Pitt into a war. He should only say of the War-office accounts, that if the late right hon. Secretary did not keep his at Chiswell-street better than in Downing-street, they must be in a sad way. There were in the account of the Secretary at War 214 persons who had retired from office—retired in the department of the Secretary at War—who received 51,000*l.* a-year for life; he hoped they had good constitutions. (A laugh). Those 214 persons had all been clerks and employees at the War-office, in which there were only 36 persons (in actual employ); and yet 214 persons had retired from it with pay for lives. That was no trifle to be sweated out of the bones of the people of this country. No reasonable man could say it was right for a person just to walk into the office, pick his teeth for half a year, and then retire. The noble Lord would not let him (Mr. Cobbett) have names—he wanted the names of the distributors of stamps. (Question). He wanted to show the robbery that had been committed on the people of England in these retired allowances; but if he could not have the names, he must state them as he believed them to be. If our affairs had been managed since the peace of 1814 as Pitt did in 1792, they would have paid every farthing of the interest of the debt; they would have kept the national faith—they would not budge from that—they would have paid all the taxes, and, besides paying them, they would have paid off 216,000,000*l.* of debt; calculating the interest, they would have paid off 400,000,000*l.*; and if the aristocracy had been taxed in stamps as the people were, they would have paid off 600,000,000*l.* of the debt.—(Oh, oh!) Could any one gainsay that? He approved of going into the committee moved for by the hon. Member for Whitehaven, not because he agreed with him about the remedy, but thinking that inquiry was quite proper. It was admitted by all that there had been a robbery; somebody must have committed it. It was admitted that many persons had been misused; who was answerable for it? All said that the mischief had been done, that a wrong had been inflicted; the noble Lord said it had

been by error; so said he (Mr. Cobbett) that it was by error; but who committed the error? Or was it to be said that the responsibility of public officers went no further than getting their salaries.

Mr. RICHARDS said, he did not mean to follow the hon. Member for Oldham in his *excursive* and amusing speech. His plan would lead to national plunder. The question before the House, as his hon. Friend (Mr. Attwood) had placed it, was that robbery, fraud, and confiscation had been practised upon the people of England by the bill of 1819; and into the extent of this mischief he called upon the Government and that House to institute an inquiry. The noble Lord opposite opposed this just request; but he took a very narrow view of the working of that measure which, with great *impropriety and injustice*, as he contended, had been called *Peel's Bill*. It was not the bill of his right hon. Friend, but the bill of Lord Liverpool. He well recollected that his right hon. Friend at that time was just come over fresh from Ireland; he knew very little of monetary matters, but he was an excellent rhetorician and a smart debater, whereas the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day was a *poor, miserable stick*. (Laughter). That was the reason of his right hon. Friend being singled out as he was to bring that bill forward. *Its errors, he maintained, were not chargeable upon him*. He (Mr. Richards) had heard him make his speech upon the subject from the gallery. A friend was along with him, and he asked what he thought of the right hon. Bart.; and his (Mr. Richards's) answer was, that his matter was bad, but the *harp of Orpheus* was not more musical than his manner. (Renewed laughter). No man thought more highly of the talents of his right hon. Friend than he did; but at the time in question he did not know much about money. He had no doubt he had paid more attention to it since; and he hoped he would assist the country in getting it out of the scrape it was in. In the year 1797, when the Bank restriction took place, a great change was effected in the value of money. After the Bank acquired courage to act upon the power given to it, prices rapidly rose. Therefore the question in 1819 ought to have been whether in justice to the people of England we could return to the standard of 1797. In 1819 *no reference was made to the state of private contracts or the public debt and taxes*. He (Mr. Richards) at that time met Mr. Ricardo in the lobby, and he told him that the question was not properly argued, that the depreciation was 33*½*, and not 3*½*. Mr. Ricardo told him that if he thought so, he would not vote for the bill; but he knew that he *lied to regret his vote, to see his error, and to avow it*. Under these circumstances he was surprised the noble Lord should refuse the inquiry demanded. The hon. Member for the city told them that money was plentiful. There could not be a stronger proof of the stagnation of trade and the difficulty of finding profitable

employment for capital. (Hear). He agreed with Mr. Musket in thinking that the depreciation of the currency had at one time been fifty per cent. That being so, the country was robbed to the extent of 100,000,000*l.* from the depreciations of the latter years of the war alone. How then could the noble Lord accuse his hon. Friend (Mr. Attwood) of fraud and robbery? He only wished to restore to those who had been robbed that which had been taken from them. What was the state of the country? Were the nobility and the landed gentry as secure as they used to be? Did they not feel that the discontent and distress of the people might turn to disaffection? He hoped it would not. What had led to the revolution of 1830 in France? Distress; and distress now made the people of France ready for another change of dynasty. That morning several tradesmen had called upon him at his residence in Chelsea. One was a grocer.—(Laughter). It was no laughing matter. The grocer told him that now he did not take so much money in the course of the whole week as he took during the war on a Saturday night. And what did the ironmonger say?—(Continued laughter). He wanted nothing but attention from that House, and he thought his subject ought to command it. As a new member of the House, he had no character for wisdom to lose in that House.—(Hear, hear, and laughter). He was no rhetorician, like his right hon. Friend, the hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel); but he knew the integrity of his hon. Friend, the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. M. Attwood), whom he had known ever since he went to school with him. The ironmonger told him that one-half of the persons in his business were out of employment; and the baker saw with dismay the increasing difficulties of his customers to purchase bread. He maintained that the standard was no longer what it had been. From 1797 to 1819, as the House know, the mines of South America were less productive than they had been before, and yet during that period, more gold and silver had been used in watches and trinkets than was ever the case before. He had seen placards over the whole of this town with the words "Run for gold;" and what he wished to know was, whether the monetary system of this country was to be dependent upon the tender mercies of *any agitator or malignant disturber*? His plan was that Irish bank notes and English country notes should be payable, not in gold, but in Bank of England notes. He would then have one-pound notes issued by the Bank of England, and gold payable only in ingots of 25*l.* value. Thus he would only have gold in London, and in no other part of the country. This was Mr. Ricardo's plan, not his; and Mr. Ricardo had said that the Government had adopted his errors, but had not followed his plan. He should vote for the motion of his hon. Friend.

Mr. P. Thomson congratulated the House that the hon. Member who had just sat down had brought to bear on the subject that prac-

tical experience which must always give weight to what he said. He was not surprised that the hon. Member for Knaresborough had complained of the manner in which the motion had been met, for he seemed to imagine that the hon. Member might engraft on a motion for one purpose another purpose entirely opposite to it. It was impossible that the House could consider that it was now called upon to decide any question, but whether or not it would confirm or negative a proposal to depart from the standard or estimate of value as by law established. This was the question which was now openly and nakedly before the House, the question on which the country looked for the decision of the House; and he did anticipate from what had passed in that debate, that an end would now be given to the agitation of the subject, an agitation which he entirely concurred with the hon. Member who spoke last in considering as paralyzing the trade of the country, and which, if allowed to continue, would be attended with the most disastrous consequences. The whole question was depreciation or no depreciation. The hon. Member who had introduced the motion had dwelt most largely on the distress of the country, and he had endeavoured to gain the support of those who differed from him as to the remedies, but still agreed with him as to the existence of distress. He feared that distress must exist in some degree in this and in every other country on all occasions and at every period; and that it did exist even at the most prosperous time few men he thought would deny. But this was not the position of the hon. Member. The hon. Gentleman had stated that the distresses of the country at the present moment were unprecedented in the annals of its trade; that every branch of trade was rapidly verging on ruin; that the landlord was ruined; that the farmer was in a state of bankruptcy, and that the tradesman was about to close his concerns; and that manufacturing capital which had been invested any time back was now reduced to little more than nothing. This was the position of the hon. Member for Whitehaven, but from this position he must beg leave most decidedly to dissent. Although there might be, and unfortunately there did prevail distress among certain classes, he still believed, or was rather convinced, that the condition of the country was very far indeed from what the hon. Member had described. In spite of the documents which the hon. Member had brought forward he should beg leave to advert to a document which was in his possession, and which his position in the country had enabled him to obtain. With respect to the poor-rates, which had been taken as the test of the real condition of the poor, he would show that the payments for the last ten years were much smaller than they had been during the ten years immediately preceding. The total amount of poor-rates paid in England and Wales during ten years, to the year 1821,

was 68,000,000*l.*; averaging 6,800,000*l.* a year. For the last ten years, ending 1832, the amount had been 62,900,000*l.*, or, upon an average, 6,290,000*l.* per annum; so that, compared to the preceding period of ten years, there had been an actual reduction of nearly 6,000,000*l.* although the population of the country had increased in that period in the ratio of sixteen per cent. According to the population in 1815 the poor-rates were at the rate of 13*s.* 1*d.* per head, and in 1831 it was only 9*s.* 9*d.* per head. This was a fact that the House ought to attend to. From the general state of the country he would now go to particular places, and he would select four of the most important commercial and manufacturing towns, Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham. He would take these four great towns as a fair sample of the town population of the country. In Glasgow, in 1810, the poor-rates levied amounted to 5,700*l.*; in 1820, to 15,000*l.*; in 1831, to 7,800*l.* The population in 1831 was nearly double what it had been in 1810, and consequently the diminution of poor-rates was only short of one-half. The secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow had written to him a letter, in which he had said, "I have reason to believe that during the year just expired the weaving branch is a profitable trade, and has a prospect of becoming more favourable. Calico is exceedingly prosperous; silk is doing well; and the hands belonging to the different classes are in full employment at present, and, with the exception of the hand-loom weavers, are receiving good wages." He would now refer to the town of Sheffield. In Sheffield, in 1818, the amount paid for poor-rates was 31,000*l.*; in 1820, 37,000*l.*; in 1830, only 18,000*l.*; and in 1832, only 17,000*l.* (Hear, hear, hear). Thus there was a diminution of one-half since 1820, and yet this was the ten years' period of misery that had been so much talked of. In this period, moreover, the ratio of population had materially increased. The chief officer of Sheffield, the master cutler, had said, "the wages paid now are not lower than in 1798, and provisions are nearly as cheap. Many improvements in the meantime have taken place in the economy and application of labour, so that wages, though nominally the same, are, in reality, higher. The workmen are certainly more comfortably situated than in the last thirty years." He was sorry to say that in Manchester the distress did exist, but that distress had been greatly exaggerated in the speech of the hon. Member for Whitehaven. He (Mr. Thomson) had always held it to be better that the truth, and the truth alone, should be known on such a subject. He had not got with him any returns of the poor-rates of Manchester, but when the hon. Member stated that four-fifths of the population of Manchester were dependent on the poor-rates, it was totally inconsistent with the fact that the rates in Manchester were only four shillings in the pound. The

statement of the hon. Member was in fact impossible. The state of the whole county of Lancaster was a contradiction to the hon. Member. The sums paid for poor-rates in Lancaster for 1817 were 336,000*l.*; in 1818, 372,000*l.*; for 1831, 290,000*l.*, which showed a reduction of about thirty per cent., although within that period the population of the country had evidently increased by upwards of three hundred thousand persons. He had a letter from one gentleman in the county, who said, "I rather think I have stepped over some of the dearest periods in taking every fifth year, but my statement shows that since the year 1815 there has been a progressive improvement in the condition of the people, and what by new inventions and the increased speed of machinery, and the introduction of children into the manufactories, the people are better fed and clothed, and their employment was never more regular." All the statements which he (Mr. P. Thomson) had received corresponded in this view of prosperity to all classes except the hand-loom weavers. He would now come to Birmingham, from whence the hon. Member had drawn his many statements of such extraordinary distress. In Birmingham the number of poor had decreased from 18 per cent. in 1811, to 16 per cent. in 1832. The canal property of Birmingham was a tolerable evidence of the prosperity of the place. The old Birmingham canal had increased its receipts of tolls from 88,000*l.* to 105,000*l.* a year. The Worcester and Birmingham canal had received for tolls in 1826 the sum of 20,000*l.*, and in 1832 the sum of 33,700*l.* This he thought was substantial evidence that the trade of Birmingham had not declined, and was not declining. The market tolls in 1827 were 1,025*l.*, and in 1832 they were 3,098*l.* This surely was no evidence of the entire annihilation of that capital which the hon. Member had stated to be so fast dwindling that it would soon cease to exist. A letter written from a gentleman who had lived at Birmingham for fifty years stated, "I can safely say that I never saw the artisans in this place better fed, better clothed, or more comfortably lodged. As to the town itself, it exhibited many symptoms of improvement. The property of the place, and within four miles of it, has increased in value on an average by 25*l.* per cent. within the last thirty years; and the increase of parochial expenditure is trifling compared with the increase of population. The transactions in business are all on money terms. The Birmingham canal has a larger profit than I ever knew, and all our public institutions are well supported." He would now compare the increased consumption of the necessities of life among the labouring classes, and he would take the articles of tobacco, sugar, tea, and coffee. The year 1814 had been referred to by the hon. Member for Whitehaven as a year of great prosperity. The consumption of tobacco in 1814 was 15 million lbs, in

1833 the consumption was 20 million lbs., which showed an increase of 31 per cent., whilst the increase of population was only 24 per cent. In 1814 the consumption of sugar was 1,900,000 cwt., and in 1832 it was 3,655,000 cwt., showing an increase of 83 per cent. on an increase of population of only 24 per cent. The tea consumed in 1814 was 19,000,000 lbs., and in 1831 it was 31,000,000 lbs. This was an increased consumption by 65 per cent. on an increase of population of nearly 24 per cent. In 1814 the coffee consumed was 6,000,000 lbs., and in 1832 it was 22,000,000 lbs., which showed an increase of 263 per cent. on an increase of population of 25 per cent. Let the hon. Member for Oldham say what he liked, these were proofs of an increased prosperity. In 1820, 152,000,000 lbs. were consumed in England, and in 1832, 259,000,000 lbs., showing an increase of seventy per cent. In 1820, 9,000,000 lbs. of sheep's wool were imported, and in 1832 the quantity imported was 27,000,000 lbs., showing an increase of 180 per cent. If he turned to the health and longevity of the people, his argument was borne out. The diminution in the last thirty years in the mortality of the people was great. Up to 1780 the annual deaths were as one to forty, and up to 1831 only one in fifty-eight, showing an amelioration of thirty-six per cent. He believed that the views of the hon. Member would inflict upon the poor such a mass of distress as had never been heard of. However beneficial the proposed measure might be to the debtor who wished to get rid of his honest obligations, or to the tradesman who held stocks of goods, it would prove, as such steps ever had proved, the most severe infliction on the operative and working classes. He wished the question to be well understood. There was not that feeling upon the subject among the industrious classes which the hon. Gentleman represented to prevail. He (Mr. Thomson) had intercourse with many masses of the people, and he believed that, although certain currency doctors might set forth their views upon the subject, and endeavour to prove that the people were interested in it, the truth was, that they were either averse to it or indifferent about it. He could now look back to the currency up even to the opening of the American mines. He would take the period from 1540 to 1643, in which there had been a great depreciation in the value of money. The pound sterling, which in 1527 was worth 1*l.* 1*s.*, became worth only 1*l.* A writer (Mr. Smith) had said that the great distresses felt by the people in 1550 were owing to the debasement of the coin, which had given a nominal value to all things vendible, and as the money no longer contained the same quantity of silver it would not obtain so much of the necessaries of life. In 1550, in consequence of the depreciation in the value of money, a maximum was actually set on all the commodities of the country, and

the distress of the poor became greater than had ever been known. A second period was from 1660 to 1760, in which the value of the coin had been depreciated by the great influx of the precious metals from the American mines. In 1660 the poor-rates were computed to have amounted to 665,000*l.* in England and Wales. In 1750 they amounted to 689,000*l.*, being no increase whatever in that long period. But in 1695 the coin had been debased, and what had been the consequence? The poor, according to the annals of that day, were reduced to the greatest distress. Mr. Locke and Mr. Lowndes both agreed that the distress had arisen from the change in the value of the money. In 1770 the poor-rates had risen to 1,000,000*l.*; and afterwards, when the currency became settled, the poor-rates fell to 680,000. In 1816, Mr. Arthur Young had calculated that the agricultural poor in 1770 received in wages 7*s.* 6*d.* a week, and in 1810, 2*s.* 5*d.* a day, a rise of about 100 per cent. But the rise of provisions from 1770 to about 1811, was about 300 per cent. Bread was about double in price, butter was raised 120 per cent., cheese 200 per cent., oatmeal 220 per cent., salt 400 per cent., malt 140 per cent., and yet wages had risen not quite 100 per cent., though some articles of necessity had been raised even 400 per cent. The distresses of the poor at the end of the war were evinced by the increase of the poor-rates, which had increased from 240,000*l.* to 5,724,000*l.* in 1815. He now came to a fourth period. He was prepared to show, that wages had not decreased with the mere value of money, and that, although they had decreased, the necessities of life had decreased in a greater proportion. In 1814, 15, and 16, according to the statements of Dr. Keeler, the wages were, for certain mechanics, 2*s.* 6*d.*, 3*s.* 9*d.*, and 4*s.* 10*d.* a day. There was in 1830 a falling off, but the necessities of life were proportionably reduced. In cheese, candles, oatmeal, and other necessities, there was a great reduction; and while they amounted to 25 per cent. the fall in wages was only 7 per cent. Taking the periods, namely, 1790, 1812, and 1830, the rate of wages for artisans was 2*s.* 4*d.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 3*s.* 10*d.* In 1812, there was a rise of 132 per cent. for wages, while the fall in provisions was 110 per cent.; and this clearly proved that the depreciation in wages did not arise from the alteration in the value of money. Hence it was clear that the labourer could not gain by the depreciation of the value of money. (Hear, hear). How, then, could it be maintained that to continue the present system was either a matter of confiscation or of plunder? If the measure of 1819 were bad, and he would say nothing of it, yet he would say the proposition of the hon. Member to benefit? It was said that the bill of 1819 entailed distress, and so it would upon those who had thrown up a fictitious currency in paper; but what was the result?

Why, that barrenness and wretchedness were entailed upon the country by such imprudent over-issues of paper. (Hear, hear, hear). He rejoiced that this motion was submitted to the House, because it would present such a result (as he hoped) as would not involve the country in irremediable ruin. It was said that the landed interest was suffering. So it was. But could it be thought of the country gentlemen that they would be so unworthy and so base as to pay off their engagements in a depreciated currency? (Hear, hear). The manufacturer or the merchant might benefit to the extent of his stock in hand; he might get twenty-five pounds for his twenty pounds' worth of stock; but to-morrow the delusion would vanish, and every man would buy and sell under the existing state of the market. Then what was to become of debtors and creditors? Why, if any favour were to be shown at all, it certainly should be in favour of the honest and suffering creditors. Why should the springs of accumulation be checked? Who would accumulate if every man was to be at the fiat or the mercy of an Act of Parliament to alter the accumulation of some fifty years which he intended to leave as a provision for his family? In England there could be no doubt that we had a surplus capital, but if the currency were to be changed year after year, that surplus capital would soon fly from us to other countries. The question now was, depreciate or not? The hon. Member was vague and indefinite as to the scale of his depreciation. Whether it was to be five, ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. he had left completely undefined. If this resolution were carried, every creditor would call to-morrow upon his debtor, and ruin would surely follow. Then what would be the case with every bank? Why, every man who held their notes would go and call for sovereigns, and the result of this resolution would be a scene of universal bankruptcy (Hear, hear). For whom then was all this ruin to take place? Not for the landed interest—not for the manufacturers and merchants—not for the operatives—not for the working classes—not for the fundholders—No; but solely to meet the wishes of a few dissatisfied individuals. (Hear, hear). The hon. Member, however, said that his resolution would diminish the burdens of the people. He (Mr. P. Thomson) thought not. He thought that a reduction of taxation would do more towards that object than a depreciation of the currency. In the last four years the taxation had been reduced by the sum of six millions, and that he thought was the only honest way in which redress could be granted to the sufferings of the people. The public creditors had rather lost than gained by the appreciation of the currency, as was decidedly established in the able work of Mr. Musket. But after all the public creditor was fenced round by the public faith, which was pledged to him in 1819, and ratified by Act of Parliament. If that Act was unjust, and he would

not enter into that question, but he would say, that be it unjust or not, we should not now commit a more gross injustice upon the country. He saw nothing in the resolution then proposed to the House but misery and ruin; and almost worse than that for themselves, that the nations of Europe must think that they had lost the high character for honour and integrity which had always attached to them. (Hear, hear). There were 270,000 creditors to the public funds, and it was now said that we were to defraud the widows and the orphans of their just rights, and reduce them at "one fell swoop" to beggary and ruin! (Hear, hear). He would say let us avoid such an act; let us not forfeit our good name, which should be as dear to us as a nation as it would be as individuals. (Hear, hear).

Mr. BARING said that the question then under discussion was, whether Parliament would or would not sanction an arbitrary departure from the standard of value. The whole country was on tiptoe to learn what the wisdom of a reformed Parliament would decide upon such a point, and to see whether it would deviate from the path which had hitherto been sedulously followed, by those Parliaments on which a reformed Parliament was said to be an improvement. Now, he called upon the House to consider whether, if the pressure upon the country were ten times as great as it was represented to be, that pressure would be any justification of the measure now proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for Whitehaven, and whether that measure would be any remedy for the distress which was pleaded as a justification for trying it. He asked whether, in a country like this, where pecuniary transactions were of the most mixed and complicated character, any man out of Bedlam would contend that the distress under which it might labour could be remedied by a measure which of necessity must throw all its pecuniary relations into inextricable confusion. (Hear, hear). He believed that his hon. Friend the Member for Whitehaven brought forward his motion in the sincere belief that it was calculated to benefit the country; and therefore if, in the course of his observations, he should speak of his hon. Friend's proposition as a measure of spoliation, he trusted that his hon. Friend would understand that he did so in the belief that his (Mr. Attwood's) opinions were formed as honestly as his own. Though he (Mr. Baring) was opposed to the course, he had always contended at the time that the settlement made in 1819 was not a fair settlement; and he was therefore ready to go into the consideration, whether the circulating medium of the country could not be improved. He should feel it to be an insult to the House to enter into any discussion as to the precious metals being the best medium for the circulation of value through the world; but Mr. Galatin had placed that point in so clear a light, that he could not refrain from calling

the attention of the House to the expressions which he had used respecting it in his report upon the currency of America. Having quoted the opinion of Mr. Galatin, which, he said, was confirmed by the most ancient records now in existence, he called upon the House to hesitate before it came to a vote which would throw to the winds all the experience of past ages, and all the accumulated information of the present times. Those who had brought from Birmingham the new philosophy, that there was a better medium for the circulation of value than the precious metals, and that better medium was paper, had carefully abstained from telling the House what they wanted; but to him it appeared that the object to which they tended was a valueless circulating medium. (Cries of "No," from Mr. Attwood). If that were not what they meant, let them tell them what their intentions were. (Hear, hear). What was paper that was inconvertible? When he spoke of gold and silver, he spoke of that which was now, and had been for ages, the circulating medium of the world; but what notion could you form of the value of paper, when you departed from the notion that it was to be payable on demand? If, however, there was to be a convertible paper, to be paid on its being presented, then he must ask to what extent was that to be issued, and in what manner was it to be payable? But to that question his hon. Friend would give no answer, though he could not help seeing that if gold and paper circulated together without limitation a depreciation of both must follow. His hon. Friend, and those who thought with his hon. Friend, would pour paper into circulation without limit, and would then let it take its chance. Now, that must make the paper valueless, and from the moment you make your circulating medium valueless, you throw the country into confusion. But then, said his hon. Friend, "we had during the late war a great quantity of paper money, and with it we had great prosperity." Admitting that to be fact to a certain extent, they ought not to forget that certain elements which did not exist at present contributed to the formation of that prosperity. We had at that time a monopoly of the markets of the world; we had the full command of the seas; and at the moment that the French were boasting that they had blockaded us from the continent of Europe, we had blockaded the French and every other nation of Europe but ourselves from coming from the land to the sea. This produced great artificial prosperity, and by enabling us to borrow, as we had more than once, 50,000,000*l.* within the year, had scattered a false appearance of well-doing over the country. He would explain what he meant upon this point by a familiar illustration. Suppose, for instance, that every gentleman in Northamptonshire with 10,000*l.* a-year should determine to lay a heavy mortgage upon his estate, and to spend the amount of that mortgage in a few years in the neighbourhood of his residence. Undoubtedly

there would be in that neighbourhood great prosperity for a time, and everything would look delightful and pleasant: but at the end of a few years those gentlemen would have no more to spend, their property would be squandered, their estates would be impoverished, and they themselves would be in the poor-house. Such was our own case, and we should now be in the poor-house if there were any poor-house large enough to receive us. The worst of it was, that the profuse expenditure in which we had indulged had engendered habits which had led us to forget how our expenditure ought to be regulated. That forgetfulness had plunged us into fresh difficulties, and those difficulties were aggravated by our coming at the end of the war to a depreciated paper money. The hon. Member then proceeded to defend the course which he had felt it his duty to take upon all questions connected with the currency of the country. In the year 1810, when the late Mr. Horner produced his report upon the bullion question, he concurred in every sentiment which it contained, except the last—namely, that in the midst of the war, when our expenditure was annually 40,000,000*l.* and upwards, we ought to come within two years to a metallic circulation. It appeared strange to him that a conclusion so prosperous should have ever come into the heads of two such able men as Mr. Horner and Mr. Huskisson. He agreed with them in all their principles, but he differed from them in the conclusion to be drawn from those principles, and by so doing had rendered himself liable to the taunt which had often been cast upon him since, that he had argued one way and had voted another. He had equally voted against the famous resolution proposed by Mr. Vansittart, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. That resolution had met with general condemnation, even from unreformed Parliaments; but he had heard last night, in a reformed Parliament, from so great an authority as the hon. Member for London, some things which were well calculated to support that resolution. The argument used by that hon. Member rested upon this false basis, that the alteration of the value of money had nothing to do with the variation of prices. Now, if that were so, then, beyond all question, the resolution of Mr. Vansittart was well founded. He contended, however, that it was not so; and in support of his argument referred to a speech delivered by Mr. Henry Thornton, in the year 1811, upon receiving the report of the bullion committee. He recommended that speech to the attention of the hon. Member for London, and also of the right hon. Vice-President of the Board of Trade, who had rested a little too much upon Mr. Musket's statements respecting the appreciation and depreciation of money during the war. Mr. H. Thornton, who was a cautious practical man, declared that in his opinion it was impossible to calculate exactly the fall of money in 1811. "It was material," said he, "to observe that

there had, since the beginning of the war; been a continual fall in the value of money,—he meant of money commonly so called, whether consisting of cash or paper. This had been estimated by some at sixty or seventy per cent., and certainly was not less than forty or fifty per cent.” Now, though there was a long passage in Mr. H. Thornton’s speech showing how this gave a stimulus to the prosperity of the country, by the great advantage which it held out to borrowers, he should not read it at present, being quite content to have placed before the House the opinion of such a man upon the impossibility of calculating exactly the fall of money during the continuance of the war. It should be recollected, however, that Mr. Thornton, who was accustomed as a practical man to feel his way cautiously in the world of business, declared that that fall could not be less than forty per cent. A contrary opinion, however, prevailed, and the Legislature acted upon it. They saw nothing but the difference between the value of gold and that of paper. He undoubtedly admitted, that under such circumstances, it was a grave undertaking, in 1819, to come back to payments in gold; and opposed as he was to the proposition of his hon. Friend the Member for Whitehaven to revert back to paper, he admitted as readily that the *main difficulties of the country had arisen from the struggles which it had then, so much to its honour, though not perhaps so much to its prudence, thought proper to make. He stated on that occasion that he thought the philosophers were wrong; but when they came to the question of a great depreciation, he was ready to avow that he shrunk back. If we had experienced all the difficulties of this question, so far from its inducing the House to agree to the proposition of his hon. Friend, it was a warning to all against the danger and injustice of departing from sound principles. The moment they departed from sound principles they would get into a tangled web,—into difficulties which no sagacity, no ingenuity could surmount. After the experience they had had, they would surely not again trust themselves to a stormy sea, or they might get up and find themselves mistaken. Setting aside, therefore, the question of integrity, which was of importance in managing the concerns of a great country, trick and contrivance would never answer. But, taking a narrow view of the subject, let Gentlemen look at the interests, if not of themselves, of their constituents. Let them see how it operated on the country gentlemen. Whether right or wrong, the protection of agriculture in this country rested on the restriction on corn. What would be the consequence if it was to be worth only 10s.? The protection of 60s. would fall to 30s. If the corn laws turned on the price of 60s. or a protecting duty, the moment the standard was reduced, and the money depreciated, foreign corn would come in, for the protection would be only 30s., though we might call it 60s. That*

would be the result of the alteration; and although persons might undoubtedly come to Parliament and ask for a protecting duty of 120s., they would have to fight a battle with the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fryer), who was not the sort of antagonist they would be likely to get the better of. (Laughter). The same depreciation would operate in other ways; it would even operate on the constitution of the country, because by the late Reform Bill the whole representation turned upon the currency. If you meddle with the currency, you alter the franchise of a 10l. householder at once. He (Mr. Baring) noticed, at the time, that it was most absurd to put the representation on a money value. The noble Lord had pursued a different course in his Church Reform Bill (Hear, hear); he there adopted a corn-rent, but when he built a constitution, he did not think of a corn-rent. (Hear, hear). He should now take the liberty to state to the House his own views of what might be expedient. If the motion before the House had been brought forward by a soberer man (laughter),—if the motion had been of a more sober kind,—if it should have excited no doubt or uncertainty as to what step would be taken, or what it was all about, he should willingly have entered into a committee for the purpose of seeing whether some regulation of the currency might not take place, which might give a great facility to the business of the country. (Hear, hear). But to lowering the currency he positively demurred. He was ready to go into an inquiry of a mitigated description, if the intention of Parliament in so doing could not be misunderstood. And he would state to what extent he thought alterations might be made. His impression was, that *two alterations might be made, which would be advantageous; one was, making Bank of England notes a legal tender by country bankers. This would be an important advantage. The call for money on the Bank arose from two different causes; one was the state of the foreign exchanges, to right which gold must be sent out of the country; the other was a panic; and these two causes sometimes acted the one on the other. All panics were not political; there were commercial panics, which were equally fatal. There was then a draught on the Bank of England to balance the exchange; but the Bank, if its affairs were conducted with attention, was in a condition to meet this demand; and it was not possible for any person who read Mr. Palmer’s evidence to say that the Bank was not quite safe from this danger; and it must be very ill-conducted if 1,000,000l. or 2,000,000l. did not right the balance. But the other was a much more serious difficulty, and its effects might be exemplified by observing how it operated in 1825. He should not state the causes of the distress of 1825, which arose from the number of bubbles, or speculations, as they were called, which produced great distress; the Bank was deprived of its gold,—*

not for the purpose of sending abroad,—but it was drained and emptied to such a degree, that it was within an ace of stopping payment, and probably would have stopped, but for the accident of their paying in half sovereigns. Against accidents of that kind, however, no precautions could guard. His second object in a committee would be to introduce a silver standard. (Hear). Money, having its foundation in two metals, was less likely to vary in respect to commodities, and the agio between gold and silver was so small as not to disturb the minds of philosophers. There was no reason why the Bank should confine itself to one metal, and that not the metal of circulation. The two would afford the Bank increased facilities for righting itself, and it was extremely important that the different nations of the world should conform to each other. If they went into an inquiry on this subject, as he could not but think at some time they must (hear), there would really be found no difficulty in the matter. They did so in Holland, in France, in fact, in all parts of the world; he hardly knew a country in which silver was not practically the prevailing currency. He saw no reason why we should not be in harmony with them. In the Netherlands at this moment there were 10,000,000 of gold and 4,500,000 of silver, and the silver bore a premium over gold. In France silver bore a premium of 1-10th per cent. It was a most important consideration that we should have a standard in conformity with that of the whole world. These two points he should be ready to discuss in a committee. But the question propounded now to the House was, whether they would depart from the standard of value; for, whether it was one metal or the other, his proposition was that they should not reduce the standard, but make the 1*l.* sterling stand upon two legs instead of one. If they could get rid of public apprehension—and that would depend on the votes of to-night—he should not object to making it a matter of inquiry, to the length of looking into the question, whether the two circumstances of a silver standard, and a tender of Bank of England notes by country bankers, might not so alter the security of the paper currency, as to make it safe to issue 1*l.* notes. (Cheers). It was not to be supposed that he should consent to that; but he saw no reason why, under the additional circumstances of security, it might not be a matter of inquiry. He had always maintained that 1*l.* notes were of material use, but he apprehended danger from them. He should, however, like to see whether the changes he referred to might not alter the case, though, at the same time, it was a serious question. But there were two difficulties—one was the proportion, the other the insecurity which the issue of such notes would occasion to poor persons in the country. Those were serious difficulties, but he never denied that there were countervailing advantages, which should induce the House to look at the subject with some attention before it came to an ad-

verse conclusion. He did believe that the large manufacturing towns were in as great a state of prosperity as they ever were; but the agricultural parts of the country were very much distressed. (Hear). The farmers' capitals were much reduced. (Hear). The small agricultural towns were labouring under what they call a want of money, that is, a medium of circulation. There was a class of small traders in town to whom the farmers came, and if the bankers had the means of putting out paper, it would be a means of facilitating trade. That was the decided opinion of his constituents; and although he would not give up his opinions to anybody, he was bound to say that was their opinion.

Sir R. PEEL said, that although he believed he should agree with his hon. Friend (Mr. Baring) in the practical conclusions to which he had come, and in the vote he should give, yet there were some doctrines avowed by him in the concluding part of his speech which excited so much doubt and apprehension as to the consequences, if the suggestion were acceded to, that he could not pass them over unnoticed. His hon. Friend, though prepared with him to adhere to a metallic standard, seemed yet ready to admit of inquiry into three important points connected with the currency. First, the propriety of the union of a silver and gold standard; secondly, the advantage of giving permission to every country banker to offer the notes of the Bank of England in payment of his own, constituting that a legal tender; and, thirdly, the propriety of permitting a re-issue of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes. If his hon. Friend were prepared to grant an inquiry into these most important, difficult, and complicated questions connected with a monetary system, he was, in point of fact, himself prepared to adopt a course calculated to increase commercial difficulty and distress, and throw doubts upon the subject of the currency, which doubts he had dwelt upon as constituting the main obstacle and impediment to the motion of the hon. Member for Whitehaven. (Hear). As to the proposed re-issue of small notes, if ever he felt confident in predicting the consequences of any political measure, it was with respect to the unavoidable results of this proposition. He felt confident that the inevitable consequences of such a measure would be, that gold would disappear from the circulation. (Hear). He could prove the certainty of this consequence by a reference to the example of every country in which small notes had been issued. In Scotland there were 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes nominally convertible into coin, and practically so convertible, he had no doubt, if required; but what had been the result of their circulation? That they had practically excluded a metallic currency. In Ireland the same state of things existed, and with precisely the same results. In America, where notes of a still smaller denomination were in circulation in some of the states, not only gold, but silver also, was banished from the currency. In fact the matter could not well be otherwise,

seeing that the bankers had a direct interest in excluding it. No doubt, small notes while the credit could be maintained, constituted a cheaper circulation than gold and silver, and so far he admitted there was a positive advantage connected with such a system of currency. *But this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the simple fact that you could have no adequate security against excessive paper issue; take what deposits or securities you would from bankers, landed property might be an ultimate guarantee of the solvency of bankers, but it was no guarantee of an immediate exchange of notes into gold, which constituted the only adequate security against the issue of paper money.* (Hear). The consequence of an issue of 1l. and 2l. notes would be to increase prices, to apply a fictitious stimulus to commercial transactions, and we might go on for a few months without feeling any evil results; on the contrary, people might congratulate each other on an apparent increase of prosperity; *but mark the end—in about 18 months or two years, the paper circulation would become excessive—gold had already gone out of the country—the exchanges would fall—then there would be a run for gold—commercial alarm—the Bank must contract its issue, in order to meet the demand for gold—lastly would come that commercial or political panic against which there existed no unfailing system of security, but as against which a metallic standard afforded the best guarantee.* In such a state of things as he had described, it was true that the Bank would in one sense continue solvent, but it would be unable to meet the run for gold, and there must be a stoppage of cash payments. *That he told his hon. Friend would be the inevitable consequence of a re issue of small notes.* Then again as to a union of a silver and gold currency (the proposition had been made by his hon. Friend in 1830, and it was then negatived), his hon. Friend proposed to take silver, he believed, at 4s. 11d. or 5s. 2d., an ounce (it mattered not which); that would not be maintaining the ancient standard of value of silver, and his hon. Friend evidently meant to depart from that standard which constituted the value of silver when important alterations in the currency had been made. His hon. Friend's third proposition was, that every country banker should be allowed to offer his customers Bank of England paper in exchange for his own notes. Now, it was impossible to permit the country banker to be the only person who should do this. To him it was clear that if country bankers were allowed to pay their own notes with Bank of England paper, all men in the country must be permitted to do the same thing, that was, to discharge their engagements with Bank of England notes, which in this case must be made a legal tender. *Where was the justice of this proceeding? Gold had been deposited with the country banker, and when his customer demanded the amount, the banker said, "I am not bound to return you gold; but there are Bank of England notes;*

take them and send them to London in order to procure gold." If a customer drew on his banker for 4l. 10s., what would be a legal tender in payment of a check of that amount? Surely the banker must give gold, unless he was allowed to issue 1l. notes. He objected to this third proposal of his hon. Friend on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would be found to be full of difficulties to its practical operation, and exceedingly easy to be evaded. But his hon. Friend's proposed changes were so important and so complicated in their nature, that if a committee were appointed to inquire into them the inevitable effect must be that *agitation, distress, and embarrassment, so pregnant with injury to commerce and so dangerous in the state, would follow such appointment.* (Hear, hear). He now proceeded to state his opinion upon those two points which formed the immediate subject of the former discussion. So much reference had been made in the part he took in the bill of 1819, for establishing a permanent system of metallic currency, that he confessed he felt some *personal anxiety* on the subject, the importance of which he trusted would plead his excuse with the House, if even at that late hour he ventured to detain them at some length in discussing a matter so dry and difficult in its details as the question of the currency. (Hear). In applying himself to the motion of the hon. Member for Whitehaven, he was quite ready to admit that the most important part of the question was whether anything, and what, could be done to relieve the distress complained of. It was impossible to omit noticing the references that had been made to the act of 1819 as the cause of the distress. He did not refer to this point for *personal reasons*, but because he was willing to admit that *if you could show that the bill of 1819 was founded on injustice and iniquity, then the question was no longer one of a speculative nature, but one which should be at once met and disposed of, as calculated to undermine our whole monetary and commercial system.* He had heard of the authors of this bill having been spoken of as *culprits, who were actuated by the basest personal motives*: he admitted that none of those insinuations had been uttered in the House, but they were thrown out in places where they could not be answered, and where they were calculated to inflame and mislead an excited multitude. He repeated none of those vile insinuations had been thrown out in that place, so that he had not the opportunity which he could have desired of meeting the utterers of such charges *face to face*. It was true that the Member for Petersfield had said that in his opinion all the blame of the transaction did not attach to Mr. Peel, who at the date of the bill of 1819 was an *ignorant young man*, and the hon. Member added, that the blame might be more justly laid upon Lord Liverpool. He (Sir R. Peel) would not allow blame to be thrown upon the departed, he was quite ready to sustain his

share of the responsibility. It was true he had quitted office at the time, but it was equally true that he was chairman of the currency committee; and had brought in the act of 1819 on the full conviction that unless in a paper circulation, founded on a metallic standard, the country could have no security. The assumption of the hon. Member was, that the bill of 1819 had been passed without inquiry — without experience of distress, arising from an incontrovertible paper currency, in a moment of excitement produced by a speech which reminded the hon. Gentleman — of what? — *of the harp of Orpheus.* (Hear, and laughter). Did the hon. Member forget the inquiries of the bullion committee? And did he suppose that Orpheus would have chosen as a subject for his lyre the bullion question? (Renewed laughter). If Orpheus had done so, and had made a speech without matter in it, did the hon. Member think he would have been able to delude and soften the flinty hearts of the Bank directors? (A laugh). In 1819 five years of peace had passed away, but was the currency question then first heard of? By no means. The subject had been referred to in 1810. It was perfectly true that the resolution of Mr. Horner, proposing a resumption of cash payments within two years after the conclusion of peace, had been rejected by Parliament, and that the resolutions of Mr. Vansittart were preferred; but in them it was declared that it appeared expedient to the House at the earliest possible period to resume cash payments. Thus the principle of cash payments had been recognised at a much earlier date than 1819; indeed, from 1793 up to 1810 Parliament had never made Bank-notes a legal tender in all cases. Peace arrived in 1814, and the House recognised the justice of resuming cash payments, and limited the duration of the Bank Restriction Act to one year. The year 1815 arrived, the battle of Waterloo was fought, and a new restriction was imposed, limited, however, to a year. In 1816 the restriction was extended for two years more. 1818 arrived, and there was one universal persuasion that we must unavoidably recur to the ancient standard. 1819 came, and still no one doubted the justice and expediency of returning to cash payments. A committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Tierney, for the purpose of investigating the subject. He (Sir R. Peel) was chairman of that committee, and presented its report to the House, declaring the opinion of the committee, that within four years of that period cash payments should be resumed, but by gradual steps, and taking the price of gold at the time. What course were we to pursue in 1819? The Bank had already admitted its liability by paying gold for two years before, having issued seven millions of gold during that period. You might now be wise after the event, and with the advantage of succeeding experience before you, you might possibly think that the standard might have been depreciated. But what would have been the

result of a proposition for diminishing the standard in 1819, the Bank having been allowed to pay its notes with gold according to the standard value for two years preceding? Did you concede the necessity of a metallic standard? If so, the value must remain undepreciated. *There was no minister, be he ever so powerful, who could have reconciled the country to a depreciated currency in 1819. He disclaimed none of the responsibility of the measure, nor would he attempt to shift it from himself to any other person, although, in the whole course of the proceedings on the subject of the currency in 1819, no man was found to take the sense of Parliament against his proposition.* No counter-resolution was persisted in; one by the hon. Member for Coventry was withdrawn, and his proposition passed without a dissentient voice. It might be now very well to lay the whole blame (if blame there were) of the act of 1819 on him and the other authors of the measure; but why had nobody objected to it at the time? It was true there were two amendments to the measure, one brought forward in the Commons, the other in the Lords, but they did not militate against the principle of the bill. The resolution on which the sense of the House had been taken was as to the price of gold per ounce, and whether cash payments should be resumed in 1822 or 1823. In the other House of Parliament Lord Holland declared that he could not approve of the delay of cash payments till 1823, and he therefore moved that they be resumed in 1820. *Under these circumstances, if he wished to avoid the responsibility of the measure, was he not justified in saying that Parliament, by its unanimous approbation, had taken upon itself the responsibility?* (Cheers). It was too much to hear every evil, every distress and embarrassment, attributed to this bill, as if none had been before heard of, and to make us responsible as the cause of the evil and the authors of the distress. He denied that the act of 1819 was the cause of the distress; at the same time that he admitted the occurrence of great depression and distress since its passing. He went further, and said that its passing was the consequence of a considerable degree of distress, inasmuch as it tended to increase the value of the currency, and affect our commercial and financial relations, but to attribute the whole of the distress then occasioned to the change of the currency was a gross fallacy. (Cheers). *It was impossible that we could return from a system of inconvertible paper currency to one where gold was the standard without distress.* He admitted that the act of 1819, by fixing the depression where it was, must have been necessarily accompanied by considerable pressure — that in escaping from the distress of a paper currency we must have unavoidably incurred additional pressure in the transition to gold. *But what a lesson had we not then learned? Was it again to be proposed to depreciate the currency, and incur the distress of a paper*

circulation? No: "*these things were written for your learning.*" The evils of a depreciated currency were long felt, and ought to be a warning to us in future to adhere to a metallic standard, which was free from the fluctuations to which paper was exposed. Do not again incur the evil, a return from which was in itself a calamity, but infinitely inferior to the continuance of an inconvertible paper currency. He admitted the existing depression of prices, but said that if any man hoped by means of any currency whatever to *bolster up prices to a war standard, he would find himself miserably mistaken.* (Cheers). Let it not be forgotten that the war commencing in 1793 and lasting till 1815, a period of twenty two years, with an inconvertible paper currency, with a monopoly of the manufacturing market in our favour, afforded no parallel for ordinary times. Let it be remembered that within the period referred to there was not a country in Europe that had not been exposed to invasion except our own. His hon. Friend had quoted Mr. Thornton as an authority to show that prices had varied thirty or forty per cent.; but when was this? During war time, so that the quotation was adverse instead of favourable to his hon. Friend. Upon the subject of distress, the hon. Member for Whitehaven had referred every symptom of distress to the bill of 1819. *Was there, he asked the hon. Member, no distress previously to the passing of the act?* Had there been none in 1793, when we had an inconvertible paper currency? Was there no distress in 1797? Was there no distress in 1810, when we had the high war prices of which the hon. Member was so enamoured? But it appeared according to the evidence taken before a committee of the House, that even during the war, and with an inconvertible paper currency, prices had fallen fifty, sixty, and seventy per cent. Did not this prove that a paper currency was no protection against distress—no invariable stimulant of prices even in a time of war? Was there, he would ask, no distress in 1816? There was; bankers failed in numbers, and great commercial pressure and alarm were occasioned. He contended that the appreciation of the currency had arisen long before 1819, and therefore, it followed that the contracts which it was now proposed to alter, had not all been entered into since 1819, but since the termination of the war. If the committee was intended to lead to any practical result, it must lead to a depreciation of the currency; and what the honourable Member meant was, that every man who had entered into a contract within the last eighteen years should have it disturbed. If the motion were directed against the fundholder alone, and if it were only intended to disturb contracts entered into during the war, it would be a gross injustice but it went farther; you were going to inflict a double injury, a multitude of the contracts into which you meddled were entered into in an improved currency. These latter he

felt assured constituted 99 out of every existing 100 contracts (hear); and having been formed in an improved currency, if you depreciated the standard, in point of fact you altered the contracts. If he had the hon. Member in the witness-box, he would call on him as an evidence to prove that the bill of 1819 was not the original cause of the improvement in the currency, inasmuch as the improvement had commenced, according to the hon. Member's own showing, before 1819. The hon. Gentleman wrote a letter, dated May 2, 1817, and addressed to Mr. Vansittart, in which he described the monetary system of the country as it existed two years before the bill of 1819 had passed, and six years before it came into operation. There was an inconvertible paper currency, and abundance of paper too; yet the hon. Member stated "*that money had diminished in value during the last five years, that a scarcity of money had existed for that period, which caused prices to fall.*" That admission of the hon. Member brought us back to 1812. The articles of manufacture were those of war, and yet it appears that thousands are dying by inches for the want of wholesome food. This was, he it observed, on the 2. of May, 1817. The landlords have had no rent for the last four years. (Loud laughter). If they have received any thing, it has been as capital of the farm, or by the impoverishment or out of the amount of the principal, for (and he would beg attention to this point) the landlord who had converted his property into money had doubled his capital. (Hear, hear). He mentioned this to show that there had been, on the showing of the hon. Member himself, an improved currency since 1812; and there was nothing in agriculture or manufactures to account for the distress. The hon. Member in his letter went on to show that there had existed great distress amongst the manufacturers for the last few years, and that the industry of the artisan could not give him sufficient for his maintenance. The hon. Member proposed a remedy, and he (Sir R. Peel) begged the attention of the House to it. It was to convert a part of the fixed to a floating capital, an issue of Exchequer-bills bearing no interest. By this, to the amount of 10,000,000*l.*, he proposed that it should be applied in giving full employment to the labourers of the kingdom at their accustomed rate of wages. (Hear, hear). This was the hon. Gentleman's standard. He went on to say that if an invading army had come and broken up the roads, the country could not be in a worse situation as to intercourse between one part and another; and this, his letter went to remark, was the situation of the country ever since the bullion committee had broken up the relations between money and labour. Now he had read this to show, that if we had now broken up the contracts which existed between man and man, as we should do, if the object of the hon. Member were gained, we should break up those which had been made for the last 23

years. (Hear, hear). Allow him now to call the attention of the House to the state of the issues of the Bank of England during this period, when the country were in so much distress, and during which the landlords could not get any rent for four years—at this period, when 40,000 nailers were dying of hunger, and when no workman could make his industry fully available for his support. Be it observed, that at this period there was no limit to the issue of country banks. There was no check upon their amount. During this period the issues of the Bank of England were—

In 1807	£16,657,470
1808	16,645,860
1809	17,840,390
1810	20,442,740
1811	23,333,430
1812	23,322,020
1813	23,933,140
1814	25,157,710
1815	27,298,290
1816	26,573,280
1817	27,138,290

(Hear, hear). This, then, was enough to show that extraordinary issues of paper did not bring that improvement in our commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, which the hon. Gentleman would lead the House to believe; it would show that prices of wages might be lowered during even an extraordinary issue of inconvertible paper money. He would admit that if he took the issues in some of the months in the years he had mentioned, the difference would be greater; but the question was, whether the issues of the Bank of England were such as he had stated them during this period of distress, and was it consistent with the hon. Gentleman's argument that such distress as he had described should be coexistent with those so-much-desired issues of paper money. If a committee, such as the hon. Member moved for, were appointed, and that he was a member of it, he would say to them—Gentleman, you must look at other things beside the change in the currency to account for the distress of which you complain; you must consider the state of the country during the war, the stimulus which that war gave to the cultivation of land, the great outlay of Government during the war; but when that is done, you must inquire what have been the effects of the 18 years of peace, and how far that long interval of tranquillity had been the means of provoking the rivalry of other nations in our manufactures. He would ask them to consider whether England could hope to carry on the same extent of manufactures, and of almost monopolizing the whole trade of Europe, when she had to compete with France, and Spain, and Portugal, and Italy, and Germany. Could she hope with such competition still to keep up the old war prices? Look at the operation of manufactures in America, and see how far it had had the effect of diminishing your prices—look at the different rate of insurances, and at the reduced price

of the raw material, and then say whether they could expect to purchase at very low prices, and to continue to sell at high prices. He would then tell them to look at the improvement that had taken place in machinery—at the improved application of steam, and ask themselves if all these things had not tended to lower the prices of manufactures? (Hear, hear). That land had fallen in value he would admit, but did any one expect that it would preserve the same value as during the war, when so much capital was applied in bringing bad land into cultivation. He regretted that this kind of land was now thrown out of cultivation, but it could not be otherwise. Let them see what had been the effect of the large increase of Irish importation into this country. Let that be considered separate from the question of the currency. The moment the good land of Ireland was brought into competition with the bad land which had been brought into cultivation in England, it was a necessary consequence that the value of the latter must be greatly diminished, and much of it thrown wholly out of cultivation. Then see what had been the operation of the poor-laws, with all their defects of administration. Let all these circumstances be taken into consideration, and see what had been their combined effect, and then it would probably be evident that a very small portion of that (*and, as he contended, none at all of it*) would be left, as the result of the change in our currency which was made in 1819. To this, however, as the favourite year, all our distress was to be attributed. Indeed, one hon. Member carried his proofs of that further than could have been expected even from his great ingenuity; for according to his view of it, the downfall of the Bourbons in 1830 could be traced to the measure of 1819; and Louis-Philippe now sat on a tottering throne, in consequence of the low state of prices in France, from the same cause. One hon. Gentleman had carried his objections still further, and had traced the distress and disturbances to the same fatal cause—the measure of 1819. On hearing statements of this kind, one would like to have the proofs on which they rested in order to judge for himself. The description of the distress was almost the only thing like a proof offered. There was “devouring poverty” and “appalling distress,” both very dreadful, no doubt; but these were caused by the measure of 1819, and then—and here was the pinch of the argument—you had only to change the names, and to substitute England for Ireland, in order to show that the same distress existed here, and was produced by the same cause. (Hear, hear). The hon. Member who had used this argument had laid down some positions which he (Sir R. Peel) would not dispute—he had told them, that as crime had increased in Ireland, morality had decreased (laughter),—that distress was the cause of much suffering. (Laughter). These were points into the discussion of which he would not then enter

(a laugh): but the question was, whether this alleged distress was produced by the change from a paper to a gold currency, or whether there was less of it when the issue of paper currency was at its highest. He would admit that crime had increased, but was the year of the greatest paper money that of the least prevalence of crime? He found from returns before the House that the commitments in Ireland were—

In 1811.....	5,337
— 1813.....	7,164
— 1815.....	7,818
— 1816.....	9,091

The hon. Member seemed to look upon the years 1818 and 1825 as those of great prosperity, as being years of great paper issue. Now it happened rather unfortunately for his argument, that in 1818 was the greatest number of any preceding years with one single exception, and that the commitments of 1825 had been greater than those of any preceding year, for in that year they had amounted to 14,400, (hear, hear,) the largest amount ever known. He (Sir R. Peel) founded no theory on these facts. All that he was called upon to do, which he had done, was to show that the facts he had stated did not support the theory of the hon. Member. Now as to the value of Irish land. He had taken down the words, and making allowance for declamatory language, they were to this effect—that cattle had vanished from the fields, the plough was no longer at work, no manure was purchased, land was going out of cultivation, and universal distress prevailed throughout the land. They were not there to discuss to whom the produce of the land went—whether to the resident, or to the absentee; but whether capital had been applied to the cultivation of the soil in those periods to which the hon. Member referred. The argument was, that disturbance and distress had prevailed since the passing of the currency measure of 1819; and the inference intended to be drawn was, that they were both to be traced to that measure. He begged to deny the inference, and also the fact. He had had some experience of Ireland, and he was acquainted with its condition at the periods referred to; and he found, on referring back to dates, that disturbance and distress existed at times when the issue of paper currency was at a height which the greatest admirer of that system could desire. In 1817 paper issues were abundant, and in that year the Insurrection Act was applied to Ireland. In 1814, another year of extensive paper issues, the same act was again applied. He did not say that these acts were at all a consequence of paper issues; he only met the argument which stated that distress and disturbances had been a consequence of the change in the currency—of the measure of 1819. The question was, whether agriculture had been more depressed after this than before. The right hon. Baronet here read returns of the importation of cattle and corn from Ireland to England, in order to show that

they had greatly increased since the currency had been changed. They had in some instances been more than doubled; what then became of the argument that the cattle had been banished from the fields, that the labour of the plough had been suspended, and that land was thrown out of cultivation. (Hear, hear). The hon. Member for the North Riding of York, in an attempt to answer the unanswerable speech of the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, had selected three places in which he stated that great distress existed, and (if the argument was good for anything) that these were to be considered a fair criterion by which to judge of the condition of the rest of England. The places selected were Oldham and its vicinity, Macclesfield and Whitby,—three good situations. But what was the condition of these places, and was there no cause to be assigned for their distress but the change in the currency? Oldham, it was well known, had a great number of hand-looms, and that suffered more from the competition of the power-looms than any other branch of business. Macclesfield was suffering from the successful competition of Manchester; and such rises and declines of particular places were perfectly consistent with the highest degree of civilization and even of general prosperity; and Whitby—we gave it a member, yet it was known that Whitby had long been in a declining state. These cases of the hon. Member for the North Riding of York were, then, most fallacious as general tests of the condition of the country.

[The conclusion of Sir R. PEEL's speech will be given next week.]

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 22.—The supplies fresh up to this day's market were moderate from Kent and Suffolk, but the arrivals from Essex liberal. The best parcels were taken off by the home millers in the early part of the morning, at about the prices of this day week; all secondary and inferior descriptions, however, hung very heavily on hand, and to effect sales, lower prices must have been accepted, and the trade closed dull. Old Wheats remained firm. Banded Corn was more in request, but the offers continued too low to lead to any actual business.

Barley was in moderate supply. Best Malt—ing descriptions met with little inquiry, though they might have been purchased at 30s. to 31s. Stained parcels, as well as distillers' and grinding qualities, ruled excessively dull and were perfectly nominal in value.

Malt continued heavy sale at last week's prices.

The receipts of Oats were limited, and the article was in fair demand at fully last Monday's currency.

Beans were unaltered in value.
White Peas remained steady, both grey and maple must be noted 1s. per qr. lower.
Flour dull sale at former rates.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	14s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 36s. to 38s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 36s. to 38s.	
Pork, India, new ... 115s. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 67s. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 64s. to 68s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 62s. to 70s.	
— Cork ... 69s. to 70s.	
— Limerick ... —s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 48s. to 58s.	
— Dublin ... 50s. to 54s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 72s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 50s. to 56s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 46s. to 50s.	
— Edam ... 40s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ... 40s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 44s. to 54s.	

SMITHFIELD.—April 22.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Porkers, was but limited; the supply of Lambs and fat Calves moderately good. Trade, was, throughout, dull; with Beef, Veal, and Pork at Friday's prices; with Mutton and Lamb at a depression of 2d. per stone.

A full moiety of the Beasts consisted of Scots and home-breds, chiefly from Norfolk; about a fourth short-horns; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts, also chiefly from Norfolk; with a few from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and our western and mid-land districts; with, perhaps, about 100 Herefords, and as many Irish Beasts, from various quarters, with a few Sussex Beasts, Town's-end Cows, Staffords, &c.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and polled Norfolks, with a few old Leicesters and Lincolns; horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep; horned Dorsets, &c. About a moiety of the Lambs were Dorsets; the remainder, for the most part new Leicesters, of the various crosses.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 26.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		87½	87½	87½	—	87	87

CONSOLATION for GOUTY SUBJECTS
BLAIR'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS continue to afford the most astonishing proofs of their efficacy in all Gouty and Rheumatic affections, pains in the head or face, Lumbago, &c. The first dose of two pills never fails to convince the hitherto unhappy patient of the certainty of returning ease and comfort, and one box, price 2s. 9d., will, in most cases, effect a cure. The proprietor, anxious to alleviate the sufferings of those afflicted with this tormenting malady, respectfully invites them to partake of the benefits of this discovery, assuring the timid that in no case can its use be attended with the least inconvenience.

Sold, wholesale, retail, and for exportation, by Thomas Prout, No. 229, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple-bar; by Rennie, Lord-street, Liverpool; Stoby, Manchester; Beilby and Knott, Birmingham, and Corbett, Nottingham.

On Sunday, 5. May, will be published in THE ENGLISHMAN, the First Number (to be continued weekly) of

POLITICS FOR THE POOR.—By O.P.Q.
Paris Correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*.

A Saturday Afternoon Edition of the *Englishman*, admirably adapted for the country, is regularly published at No. 179, Strand, London, at Four o'clock, in time for the post, by which it may be received on Sundays, 200 miles from London. As a Family Newspaper, the *Englishman* stands unrivalled; not a line, or an advertisement, of an immoral tendency, is allowed, under any circumstances, to stain its pages. The *Englishman* is a twenty-folio-column Journal, the same size and price as the *Observer*, (Seven-pence). The paper upon which it is printed is of an excellent sort, and the type almost new. Indeed, for variety, quantity, and quality, it is the most perfect. In speaking of Sunday newspapers, it is proverbial to say, the *Englishman* is almost a library in itself.

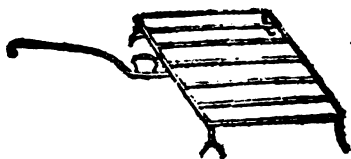
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LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 4TH, 1833.

[Price, 1s. 2d.]



TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 2. May, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,

BEFORE I proceed to offer you my opinions with regard to the final consequences of that which took place in the House of Commons on Tuesday last, I beg you once more to look well at the manner of conducting the business in that House. I have before published an account from the records themselves of part of a day's work. I will here publish the account of a *whole night's work*; and such a night's work no body of legislators ever performed in this world. The Speaker took the chair precisely at four o'clock in the evening, and he quitted it at four o'clock in the morning. The first work was balloting for two election committees, which took up an hour, pretty nigh, and which is a job for him to perform of a very toilsome nature. I should have observed, that a quarter of an hour was spent in prayers before the balloting-work began. Next came on a discussion and a division about the GRAVESEND Pier-Bill, which I opposed, or rather voted against, because no little conveniences of pleasure-parties ought to be suffered to weigh one single feather, when put in competition with the navigation of a great river like the *Thames*. These matters having been disposed of, several private bills were disposed of also, and one of them passed. Next came a parcel of petitions in favour of a repeal of the house and window-tax. All this work might possibly cost half an hour;

and thus we got to about half-after five o'clock. Then came Sir JOHN KEY, with his motion for a repeal of the house and window-tax. When he had done, came Lord ALTHORP with his amendment. This debate went on till about two in the morning. Then the House divided: and, as you will see, there were two other divisions, which brought the time to about *three o'clock*. You will see that the several pieces of business are numbered, from *one to forty-six*.

After these divisions you come to number 21 of these pieces of business; and you will see that *twenty-six* of them were dispatched *after three o'clock in the morning*. The twenty-seventh of these pieces of business you will find to be a thumper, containing no less than TWENTY-FOUR SEPARATE VOTES OF NO-NEY; altogether, I believe, amounting to more than a million! Then look at the pieces of business from twenty-eight to forty, amongst which you will find one bill going into a committee and reported; then you will find the affair close with six pieces of business, amongst which is the bringing up of a report from the public petitions committee.

Now, I pray you to look well at all this; I pray you to think well of it; and I pray you to be prepared for the inevitably ultimate consequences. You will observe, that these proceedings began at pretty nearly the *end of the day*; and that they terminated just about the time that men ought to be waking from their sleep in the morning. I think that I shall go to bed at my usual time, when the days get a little longer, and go to the House in the morning, and then do what I can before the House separates. For my part, I went away on Tuesday night, and was asleep two hours before the first debate was finished, and I awaked up in the morning much about the time that the Speaker was quitting the chair: he quitted his chair, and I quitted my bed, within half an hour of the same

time. Thus, you see, that all the *money-affair*; all the votings of money take place generally after twelve o'clock at night. It is impossible to make head against this, you will observe. I do not know how many members were present, while these twenty-four votes of money were passed; but you will agree with me, that all the members ought to be present; and you will also see that this is impossible, while the present mode of proceeding is adhered to. I shall now insert, from the printed account itself, the account of this famous night's work; and I beg you to read it over and over again. Think well of it, I pray you. Look at every part of it: see how many matters of immense importance were dispatched in the short space of an hour. And, if you do think well of the matter, I am sure you will be surprised at nothing that you now behold in the state of the country.

Tuesday, 30. April, 1833.

1. Linlithgow County, and Salisbury City Election.—House counted—251 Members present—Parties in both cases called in—Petition of James Joseph Hope Vere, Esq., complaining of the Linlithgow Election, *considered*—Names of Members down, and the number of thirty-three names being complete, the List was delivered to the parties, who then withdrew:—Petition of the Honourable Duncombe Pleydell Bouverie, complaining of the Salisbury Election, *considered*—Names of Members drawn out of the same glasses, and the number of thirty-three names being complete, the List was delivered to the parties who then withdrew.

Gravesend Pier Bill, Petitions *against*; of Pilots licensed by the Corporation of Trinity House of Deptford Strond; of Masters of Fishing Vessels belonging to Barking; of Freeholders, Leaseholders, and Occupiers of Waterside premises in Gravesend and Milton; of River Thames Fishermen under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor of the

City of London; of Persons travelling to and from London by water; of Lightermen and Watermen of Blackwall; of Watermen of Gravesend and Milton; of Inhabitants of Rochester, Chatham, and Stroud; of Tradesmen, Rate-payers, and Inhabitants of Gravesend and Milton; of Inhabitants of Greenwich; and, of Owners and Masters of Vessels trading to and from the City of London; to lie on the Table.

3. Gravesend Pier Bill; Petition of Inhabitants of Gravesend and Milton *in favour*; to lie on the Table.
4. Gravesend Pier Bill; Motion made and Question proposed; "That the Bill be now read a second time." Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months:" Question proposed, "that the word 'now' stand part of the Question."
5. Linlithgow County Election; Parties being returned to the Bar, the reduced List was delivered in, and the same was called over, as follows: Earl Grosvenor, Mr. Christmas, Lord Viscount Andover, Mr. Marryatt, Mr. Thomas Attwood, Mr. John O'Connell, Mr. Cornelius O'Callaghan, Mr. John Fielden, Mr. Fellowes, Sir Samuel Pechell, Mr. Charles Tyrell: Committee *sworn*.
6. Gravesend Pier Bill; Question put: The House *divided*; Ayes 161, Noes 49: Main Question put and agreed to: Bill read second time and committed.
7. Salisbury City Election; Parties being returned to the Bar, the reduced List was delivered in, and the same was called over, as follows: Mr. Cookes, Mr. Bannerman, Sir John Byng, Mr. Hurst, Lord Viscount Milton, Sir William Ingilby, Mr. Watson, Mr. Philpotts, Mr. Mostyn, Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, Mr. Compton Cavendish: Committee *sworn*.
8. Message from *The Lords*: that they have agreed to, Egham and Bag-

shot Road Bill; Grand Junction Railway Bill; Camberwell Poor Bill, *without* Amendment.

That they have *passed*, a Bill intituled, "An Act for consolidating and amending the Laws relative " to Jurors and Juries in Ireland."

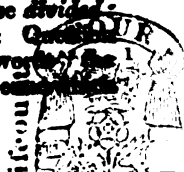
9. Walsing Street Road Bill; read second time and *committed*.
10. Cork Foundling Hospital; time enlarged for presenting Bill till Monday 13th May.
11. Gloucester, Over, and Maisemore Road Bill; read third time, and *passed*.
12. Rye Harbour Bill; Petition of Samuel Miller of Bedford Row, Middlesex, *against*; referred to the Committee on the Bill; Counsel ordered.
13. Great Givendale (York) Inclosure Bill; Petition for *additional Provision*; referred to a Committee.
14. Ledbury Road Bill; Petition for additional Provision *reported*; Instruction to Committee on Ledbury Road Bill to make provision accordingly.
15. New Writ for Westminster; in the room of the Right Honourable Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Chiltern Hundreds.
16. House and Window Tax; Petitions for the repeal thereof; of Inhabitants of St. Bride, London; of the Chairman of a Meeting of Inhabitant Householders of St. Leonard, Shoreditch; of Inhabitants of St. John Wapping; of Electors of the Borough of Finsbury; of the Chairman of a Meeting of the Vestrymen, and Governors and Directors of the Poor of St. Matthew Bethnal Green; of the Churchwardens, Overseers, and Inhabitant Householders of St. Sepulchre, Middlesex; of the Chairman and Secretary of the Shoreditch Society for promoting the purity of Election; of Inhabitant Householders of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster; of Paddington; of St. Marybone (Two Petitions); of Freemen and Inhabitants, Electors of the City of Gloucester; of

Inhabitant Householders of St. Ebb, in the City of Oxford; of Householders and Inhabitants of St. Giles, Oxford; of Inhabitants of Newark-upon-Trent; of Inhabitant Householders of Stockbridge; of Inhabitants of Chipping Barnet; of Lane End, Longton, and Fenton; of Manufacturers, Tradesmen, and Householders of Stoke-upon-Trent; and, of Owners and Occupiers of Houses in Ilminster; to lie on the Table.

17. Septennial Act; Petition of Inhabitant Householders of St. George, Middlesex, for shortening the duration of Parliaments, the adoption of Vote by Ballot, and for the repeal of the House and Window Tax; to lie on the Table.
18. Assessed Taxes; Petition of Inhabitants of Moreton-in-Marsh, for the repeal thereof; to lie on the Table.
19. House and Window tax; Motion made, and Question proposed; "That it is expedient to grant relief to His Majesty's subjects " by repealing that portion of the " Assessed Taxes charged on Inhabited Houses and Windows: " Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the deficiency in " the Revenue which would be " occasioned by a reduction of " the Tax on Malt to ten shillings " the quarter, and by the repeal of " the Tax on Houses and Windows, could only be supplied by " the substitution of a general Tax " on Property and Income, and an " extensive change in our whole " financial system, which would " at present be inexpedient: " Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Wednesday, 1. May, 1833.

Question put: the House *divided*: Ayes 137, Noes 355: Question proposed, "That the words, 'the deficiency in the Revenue' be



" would be occasioned by a reduction of the Tax on Malt to ten shillings the quarter, and by the repeal of the Tax on Houses and Windows could only be supplied by the substitution of a general Tax on Property and Income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which would at present be inexpedient," be added to the word 'That:.'

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment to leave out all the words after the word "Windows," and add the words "ought and can be provided for by every possible reduction in the Establishments and expenditure of the Country; and, if that should prove insufficient to meet the deficiency, the amount to be raised by the substitution of new Taxes that should bear less heavily on the industry of the Country than the Malt and House and Window Taxes have borne:" Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*: Another amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out the words "by a reduction of the Tax on Malt to ten shillings the quarter, and:" Question put, "That those words stand part of the said proposed amendment:" The House *divided*; Ayes 285, Noes 131: Question, "That the words 'the deficiency in the Revenue which would be occasioned by the reduction of the Tax on Malt to ten shillings the quarter, and by the repeal of the Tax on Houses and Windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general Tax on Property and Income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which would at present be inexpedient,' be added to the word 'That' in the original Question," put, and *agreed to*; Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Resolved, That the deficiency in the

Revenue which would be occasioned by a reduction of the Tax on Malt to ten shillings the quarter, and by the repeal of the Tax on Houses and Windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general Tax on Property and Income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which would at present be inexpedient.

20. Malt; Resolution [26. April], read as follows:

Resolved, "That it is the opinion of this House, That the Duty upon Malt be reduced to ten shillings the quarter."

Motion made, and Question put, "That Leave be given to bring in a Bill pursuant to the said Resolution;" The House *divided*:

21. House at rising to adjourn till Thursday next.

22. Committees; All Committees to sit notwithstanding the adjournment of the House.

23. Tile Duties Bill; read a second time, and *committed* for Thursday. Ayes 76, Noes 238.

24. Personal Estates Bill; read a second time, and *committed* for Thursday.

25. Cotton Duties Bill; read a second time, and *committed* for Thursday.

26. Assessed Taxes Acts; Committee thereupon *deferred* till Thursday.

27. Supply; Resolutions reported;
1. "That a sum, not exceeding £71,996*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Salaries to the Master General, and the principal Officers and Clerks belonging to the Office of Ordnance at the Tower, Pall Mall, Tooley Street, and Dublin, for the year 1833-4."

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £8,965*l.* be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Salaries to the Departments of the Office of Ordnance at Woolwich for the year 1833-4."

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £14,919*l.* be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Salaries of the Establishments of the Office

"of Ordnance at the Home Stations, for the year 1833-4."

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £26,871*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Salaries of the Establishments of the Office of Ordnance at the Out Stations in Ireland, and Foreign Stations, for the year 1833-4."

5. "That a sum, not exceeding £37,703*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Salaries of the Barrack Masters, Deputy Barrack Masters, and Barrack Sergeants, in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, for the year 1833-4."

6. "That a sum, not exceeding £5,010*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expense of Master Gunners at the Garrisons and Batteries in Great Britain, Guernsey Jersey, and Ireland, for the year 1833-4."

7. "That a sum, not exceeding £80,019*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expense of the Corps of Royal Engineers, the Corps of Royal Sappers and Miners, and of the Establishment for the instruction of Royal Sappers and Miners, for Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, for the year 1833-4."

8. "That a sum, not exceeding £277,156*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expense of the Royal Regiment of Artillery for Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, in the year 1833-4."

9. "That a sum, not exceeding £35,982*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expense of the Brigade of Royal Horse Artillery, and also for the Riding House Troop for Great Britain and Ireland, for the year 1833-4."

10. "That a sum, not exceeding £584*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expense of the Director-General of Artillery and Field Train Department, for the year 1833-4."

11. "That a sum, not exceeding £9,866*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expense of the Medical Establishment for the Military Department of the Ordnance in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, for the year 1833-4."

12. "That a sum, not exceeding £35,934*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge for the Superintendence of Ordnance Works and Repairs in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, for the year 1833-4."

13. "That a sum, not exceeding £85,104*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Extraordinaries of the Office of Ordnance for the year 1833-4 on account of Ordnance Works and Repairs, and Storekeeper's Expenditure, in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, after deducting; 95,000*l.*, for rents, sale of old stores, and unexpended sums of former Grants, and 10,000*l.* voted in the Supplementary Estimate last year for Stores, for Foreign Works and Repairs."

14. "That a sum, not exceeding £25,597*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge for the Superintendence of the Building and Repair of Barracks in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, for the year 1833-4."

15. "That a sum, not exceeding £68,384*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Extraordinaries of the Office of Ordnance for the year 1833-4, on account of Building and Repair of Barracks in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, after deducting 46,700*l.* for Rent of Canteens, &c., and 10,000*l.* voted in the Supplementary Estimate last year for Stores for the Building and Repair of Foreign Barracks."

16. "That a sum, not exceeding £65,792*l.*, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge

"for Barrack Masters' Expenditure, Allowances to Barrack Masters, and Lodging Money to Officers and others, in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, for the year 1833-4."

17. "That a sum, not exceeding £129,719¹/₂, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge for Military, Civil, and Barrack Contingencies, in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, for the year 1833-4."

18. "That a sum, not exceeding £88,000¹/₂, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge for stores for Ordnance and Military Store Branch Services, in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, for 1833-4."

19. "That a sum, not exceeding £20,000¹/₂, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge account of Stores, for the year ending the 31st day of March, 1835, required for Foreign Works and Repairs."

20. "That a sum, not exceeding £23,869¹/₂, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expense of services performed by the Office of Ordnance, and not provided for by Parliament, in the year 1833-3."

21. "That a sum, not exceeding £346,564¹/₂, be granted to his Majesty, for the charge of the Office of Ordnance in Great Britain and Ireland, on account of the Allowances to Superannuated, Retired, and Half-pay Officers, to disabled Men; also, for Pensions to Widows and Children of deceased Officers, late belonging to the several Ordnance Military Corps; also, for the charge of Allowances, Compensations, and Emoluments, in the nature of Superannuated or Retired Allowances to persons late belonging to the Office of Ordnance and to the Barrack Department, in respect of their having held any Public Offices or employments of a civil nature; and also for Pen-

sions to Widows, for the year 1833-4."

22. "That a sum, not exceeding £2,179¹/₂, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expenses of sums to be paid at the Treasury and at the Exchequer, for Fees, on the amount of the Ordnance Estimates, for the year 1833-4."

23. "That a sum, not exceeding £7,000¹/₂, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charges as undermentioned, viz, for perfecting the Fortifications for the coast defences of the Island of Jersey, 2,000¹/₂; towards the erection of a citadel upon the Petite Montagne, in the Island of Mauritius, for the improvement of the defences of the Colony, 5,000¹/₂."

24. "That a sum, not exceeding £2,625¹/₂, be granted to his Majesty, to enable his Majesty to pay Mr. Marshall for 1,250 Copies of his Digest of the Accounts and Papers presented to Parliament since 1799, for the use of the Members of this House, and for the public service."

Resolutions agreed to.

25. Small Debt Courts (Scotland) Bill; Committee *deferred till Monday next*
29. Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill; Second Reading *deferred till Friday*.
30. Bribery at Elections Bill; Committee *deferred till Friday*.
31. Parochial Rates Exemption Bill; Second Reading *deferred till Friday*.
32. Dramatic Authors Bill; Third Reading *deferred till Thursday*.
33. Savings Banks Annuities Bill; *reported*; to be read third time on *Friday*.
34. Stamp Duties Acts; Report thereupon *deferred till Thursday*.
35. Ways and Means; Committee *deferred from this day till Friday*.
36. Supply; Committee *deferred from this day till Friday*.
37. Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill; Se-

- cond Reading *deferred* from this day till *Wednesday*, 22. May.
38. Law Amendment Bill; Committee *deferred* from this day till *Thursday*.
39. Assizes Removal Bill; Committee *deferred* from this day till *Thursday*.
40. Payment of Debts Bill; Committee *deferred* from this day till *Thursday*.
41. Privy Council (Ireland); Statement *ordered*, "of the name of every " Privy Councillor in Ireland who " has received the allowance of " 9*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* out of the Customs " of Ireland, as a commutation for " the privilege of importing Wine " Duty free, since 1827; stating " the aggregate amount paid in " each year to the Privy Councillors " for that commutation."—(*Mr. Hume*).
42. Assessed Taxes; Account *ordered*, "of the amount of per centage " allowed to Surveyors of Assessed " Taxes on increases made by them " to the Revenue in each of the " five past years, up to the 5. Jan- " uary, 1833; stating the rule or " principle on which such per " centage is allowed, and the " amount allowed to each Sur- " veyor in each year."—(*Mr. Hume*).
43. Spirits (Sussex and Hants); Return *ordered* "of the number of gallons " of British and Foreign Spirits, " Brandy and Rum, permitted in " the Counties of Sussex and " Hampshire, in the years 1830, " 1831, and 1832."—(*Mr. Heywood Hawkins*).
44. Excise and Customs Convictions; Return *presented*, of all prisoners confined for breaches of the Laws of Excise and Customs, within the year ending Michaelmas 1832 [ordered 13. March]; to lie on the Table.
45. Public Petitions Committee; Fifteenth Report *brought up* and read; to lie on the Table, and to be printed.
46. Sheriffs' Court (Scotland); Return

of Causes decided in 1830. and 1831 [presented 29. April], to be printed.

Adjourned at four o'clock in the morning till *Thursday*.

CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON,
Speaker.

Such was this famous night's work. And now for a few observations with regard to the proceedings relative to the malt-tax, and the house and window-tax. As I stated to the House, the bells had been ringing in Berkshire and the west of Surrey on Saturday, in rejoicing at the repeal of the malt-tax. Every one appearing to be satisfied that it was impossible that the whole should not speedily be repealed. Of the ten shillings duty that remained, the Exchequer could not receive above seven shillings and sixpence upon the quarter of malt, while the man who brewed his own beer would have to pay about fifty-five shillings for the quarter of malt, instead of having to pay about twenty-five shillings, if every man were left free to make his own malt. As matters now stand the account is as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Average price of a quarter of barley	1	5	0
Money going into the Exchequer for a quarter of malt	0	15	0
Expense of collecting the duty	0	5	8
Charged by the maltster for profit, for the use of capital, for injuries arising from the Excise regulations, and for the constant hazard of ruinous penalties	0	19	4

Average price of a quarter of malt at this time to those who brew their own beer.. £ 3 5 0

Thus the whole is occasioned by the tax, all but the one pound five shillings a quarter; because, let maltsters say what they please, the increase in bulk will more than pay the expense of the malting. Besides this, why should there be a trade for making malt? why should this be the case over the country in

general? Why should malt not be made in the farm-houses and the parsonage-houses, as it formerly was? It very frequently happens, that barley gets damaged in the field by the wet. It is prepared for the malt-kiln by the showers themselves. Not daring to turn it into malt, this barley is in a great measure destroyed. Government comes and intercepts the blessings of Heaven, and bids the working man drink water, when God had sent him beer. Say maltsters what they please, the increased bulk in malting, and the malt-dust more than pay the expense of the malting. The malt-tax brings into the Exchequer about five millions a year; but it *costs the people* fourteen or fifteen millions a year. It costs, in short, the three pounds five shillings, instead of one pound five shillings. To have taken off half of it would have done little, except as the sure forerunner of taking off the rest; for the whole of the expense of the collection would have remained, and the whole of the maltster's extra charges would have remained; and he would not have taken ten shillings, and not more than five shillings, from the price of the malt to the private brewer. But it would have been impossible for the Parliament to continue to inflict this monstrous injury upon the people, for the sake of the dribble of a tax that would have remained; impossible for them to continue to make the people pay about twelve millions a year, for the sake of bringing about two millions and a half into the Exchequer. It would be said, that this would have broken up the *trade* of malting. And why not? What good does that trade do? The persons employed in that trade would find other employment; or if they could not, it would be much better for them not to be employed at all, than to be employed in amassing fortunes to the injury of toiling millions. These men are employed, in conjunction with the Government, to deduct from the meals, and to destroy the happiness and the morals of the people. I am not accusing them of criminal intention for being engaged in this pursuit. In it they see a mode of getting money with

more ease than by labour; it is natural that they should adopt this mode; but it is for a wise and just Government to take care that they be not enriched, and do not live at their ease to the injury of those who labour.

Such being the state of the matter; and the people being filled with joy at the news of the vote of Friday, what must be the *disappointment of the people* upon receiving the intelligence of the vote of Tuesday, rescinding, that is to say, giving up; that is to say, unsaying and recanting, the vote of Friday! That disappointment *must*, in the end, lead to consequences which I will not attempt to describe: those consequences are perfectly *inevitable*. They may come sooner or later; but come they *must*.

Then, with regard to the house and window-tax, the disappointment and rage are scarcely less great; for though the House did not *recant* upon this subject; though it had not its *words to eat*, there was so confident an expectation of the tax being taken off, that the disappointment is not less than in the former case. And thus stands the "*reformed*" Parliament before the people of this kingdom. It is not for me, situated as I am, to say what the people ought to think of that "*reformed*" House of Commons; but it is for me to recall to the minds of my readers what were the *expectations of all the reformers*, as to the *fruits* of a parliamentary reform; and, with regard to this matter, I put it to my sensible readers, whether the following propositions be not undeniably true; namely,

That we never petitioned for a parliamentary reform as something theoretical; as something to give us abstract enjoyments; but always as something to produce for us *practical good*.

That we never petitioned for a reform without stating the *practical good* which we expected from it; and that we always put in the front of that statement, a diminution of the taxes and a lessening of the burdens which we had to bear.

That we never petitioned for a reform without stating that we expected

from it an abolition of all pensions, not merited by well-known public services; a similar abolition as to all retired allowance, grants, sinecure, civil-list, and dead-weight expenses; to which we added a reduction of the military force to the standard of 1792.

That such were our prayers, and such the foundation of them, when we were crammed into dungeons, or driven into exile, in the year 1817.

That such were still the views of the reformers when the Duke of WELINGTON'S declaration drove him from office in the fall of 1830; and that such were the grounds of the expectations excited by Lord GRAY'S promise to give us parliamentary reform.

That these hopes and expectations became stronger and stronger during the struggles for the Reform Bill; and that it was from the influence of these very hopes and expectations, that the people carried Lord Grey back into office only a twelve-month ago.

That then came the elections for the present House of Commons; and that few, comparatively, were the instances in which, whether by positive pledge or by implication, the persons chosen did not promise to do their best to cause a reduction of the taxes; and that, before the Parliament met, it was the universal and anxious expectation of the people that a great reduction of taxes would take place.

That, whether wise or foolish; whether they made choice of persons likely to give effect to their wishes, or the contrary, that is no matter: it is sufficient, in estimating the ultimate effects of this recent decision, to know that this expectation was confident, and to know that it was scarcely anything less than universal, if that word can be properly applied to the whole extent of the kingdom.

These propositions being undeniably true, what must now be the feelings of the people? Where are we now to look

for the grounds of that harmony, that contented submission to the Government, that reconciliation between the different orders of the state; where are we now to look for these, which we were told a reformed House of Commons would bring us? It was clear to every man of common sense, that nothing could bring about this desirable harmony and reconciliation, but a House of Commons possessing the *full confidence of the people*, taking measures steadily and soberly to better the people's lot; to shake off the unjust incumbrances upon them: a House of Commons proving itself the real guardians of the public purse, controlling all improper expenditure of every description; being the guides, and not the tools, of the servants of the King. Every man saw, that, if the House were not of this description, the reform could do nothing but push us on towards a general convulsion; because, when disappointment came to be added to suffering, when despair and disgust came to supply the place of hope and lively expectation, what was to be expected by any rational man, short of that which now must come, except we be rescued from it by an interposition of Divine Providence itself!

Besides all this; besides the substantial facts, there are the circumstances for the people to contemplate; and the first of these circumstances is, that the Ministry, in calling upon the House on Tuesday to eat its words of Friday, had the *zealous support* of whom? Why, of Sir ROBERT PEEL, at the head of his party! What! All the bitterest enemies of the Reform Bill now supporting those who brought in that bill, in order to prevent the people from enjoying the fruit which they expected from that Bill! This circumstance is even more frightful than the fact itself; the eating of the words on Tuesday, which were uttered on Friday; the threat of the Ministers to resign if the House insisted upon taking off taxes; the obedience of the House to the will of the Ministers: these facts would be quite enough of themselves; but when to these facts are added the

circumstance, that the open, the avowed and persevering enemies of the Reform Bill made common cause with the Ministers in producing the word-eating of Tuesday, who is to expect patience on the part of this ouldened and suffering people?

It was rumoured on Monday, that the Ministers had signified their intention to resign, and that Sir ROBERT PEEL had been sent for to the King. This news reached me at forty miles from London, on Monday, at five o'clock in the afternoon. I knew that it could not be true, as to the latter part of it, at any rate, knowing Sir ROBERT PEEL not to be a madman; and knowing, that, besides his allegiance, and those feelings of justice and of love of country which he naturally possesses in common with the rest of us, he had too much to lose by that general convulsion which would naturally have been the consequence of such a step on his part. Oh, no! Sir ROBERT PEEL supports his political enemies, in order to uphold them in preventing that great change of the system which he evidently thinks would be dangerous to the safety of property, and of this form of Government; and which change I am firmly convinced, is absolutely necessary to the security of both. This is the true ground of his support: he does not give it, as most persons imagine, and most persons say, from the malignant desire of covering his opponents with shame and disgrace: he gives it from a motive not so despicable as this: he gives it from a conviction in his mind, that it is necessary to support his political opponents in their resistance of the people's wishes and prayers and hopes and expectations, lest, by yielding to these, the democracy should trample the other orders under foot. Having fairly stated the grounds of his support, it becomes me to express my opinion that those grounds are miserably erroneous. It is not by harshly and rudely resisting the claims of the people, that you put a stop to the progress of democracy. It is by yielding in time; by yielding to what is manifestly just in the people's demands; by re-

moving expenses so clearly unjust towards the people, and so clearly unnecessary to the support of good and efficient government: it is by taking from their backs burdens which they cannot bear without ruin; and which they ought not to bear at all. It is by means like these; by doing these things, which satisfy all *reasonable* men, and putting them on your side: it is by these that you check, and put a stop to, the progress of democracy; and not by acts which plainly tell the people that they are to expect no redress of their grievances *as long as the present order of things shall exist*.

Therefore, Sir ROBERT PEEL is clearly in error as to the grounds of his support of the Ministers in this case; and, if any thing could have added to the mischief of the House eating its words; if any thing would have added to the rage of the people on this account, it would have been the circumstance of his having given his support to the Ministers upon this occasion. The people have not forgotten the volumes of abuse which the Whig-press poured out upon him, while he was opposing the Reform Bill; the people have not forgotten the nick-names which these Whigs bestowed upon him; and the people look upon the coalition with disgust that it is impossible adequately to describe.

However, though the disappointment of many persons may be great, there can be very little disappointment, even at that which is now past, to my readers or my hearers in all parts of the country. What I told them upon the subject was this: "Either there must be a *complete change of the system*, or, that the two parties must, and would unite; that the question was simply this: whether the Whigs would change the system, and especially whether they would lop off the pensions, sinecures, grants, dead-weight and civil-list establishments; or whether they would adhere to all these: that, if they pursued the former course, they would have the *people* at their backs; and, if they pursued the latter course, they would have the *Tories* at their backs." They have resolved

upon the latter; and there stand, supported by the open enemies of all reform and all reduction of taxes, and with the people, with bosoms filled with disgust and abhorrence. What is to be the result of all this, no man can tell; and I, for my part, whatever I may think of such result, shall not here express either my wishes or my expectations respecting it. Certain it is, however, that the vote of Tuesday night, recanting the vote of Friday night, never can be rubbed out; *never can be forgotten*. Its influence will be felt in every proceeding on the part of the people, until the last scene of the last act of this awful drama.

The people in London appear to be animated by feelings naturally to be expected in such a state of things. Meetings are about to be called in London, in Westminster, and in the metropolitan boroughs, for the purpose of coming to some determination respecting the payment of the house and window tax. The following see-saw article from that false paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, will show to my readers about the country what the Whigs themselves expect to be coming. The observations of the writer relative to the vote of Friday; his vile attempt to set the farmers and the shopkeepers together by the ears; his base insinuation, that the house-tax ought to be laid upon the farmers, though their houses are mere lodging places for those who work upon the land, which is loaded with rates of all sorts, besides the monstrous malt-tax; this malignant man's efforts thus to divide the people, and render them an easy prey of oppression, will receive from my readers the execration which they so richly deserve. They will perceive that he dares not justify the continuation of the house and window-tax, because he would thereby lose his customers; but that he fears not to revile the people of the country, whose miseries would be lightened by taking off the malt-tax, and whom he is continually reviling as a set of criminals, to keep whom in check, he is constantly

recommending a village-police, or *gendarmerie*! My detestation of this cold-blooded, this savage tool of tyranny, is beyond anything which I have the power to express. Have the country people ever expressed any want of feeling for the inhabitants of towns? Have they ever been guilty of this enormous wickedness? and yet this wretch would have them live upon cold potatoes and water, or be daggered and pistolled by a *gendarmerie*. The cold-blooded savage will find his wishes abortive. He will find that, if the poor-law *gendarmerie* be attempted, it will only hasten on that terrible event, at the thought of which all good men startle with horror. The wretch is threatening even his customers with coercion: he is threatening them with destruction from the hands of this reforming Ministry. Let us hope that they will recoil from his cold-blooded suggestions: let us hope that they will relax, and be reconciled to the people before it be too late. With this preface I insert the observations of this literary savage.

"While we cordially approve of the vote on Tuesday night, and are quite sensible of the extent of the danger to which the country was exposed by the vote of Friday night, we are quite aware that the task of levying the house and window-tax in the great towns, and in the metropolis more especially, will be anything but an easy one. What incenses the inhabitants of the metropolis is the unfairness of the mode of assessing them. House rents have greatly fallen in many parts of London, but unfortunate lessees, notwithstanding the rent at which the house would now let may be greatly below the rent in their leases, are rigorously held to the latter. It has been said by some of the apologists of the house and window-tax, that the objections to it were not so much against the principle of the tax as against the unequal manner in which it was collected, and that there was, therefore, no reason for repealing the tax when the injustice could be remedied by a more impartial assessment. It is much easier to say

"this, however, than to satisfy the people that the inequalities will ever be corrected. In fact, the people do not believe that the tax will ever be levied on a fair principle. The windows can be counted, and with them there is little difficulty. But it is quite another matter when the value of the house is to be determined. If, during the length of time that this tax has subsisted, it has always been levied in the most unfair and unequal manner, we may take it for granted that the evils complained of are inherent in the very nature of it. In fact, what has particularly soured the people, is the conviction to which they have attained, that all attempts to obtain redress from the most flagrant injustice are utterly hopeless. They are worried to death with surcharges, and lose their time in dancing attendance on Boards, which generally turn a deaf ear to their complaints, and protect every underling in office.

"We have already observed that London is less able to bear this tax than it was some years ago—that the foreign trade of the Metropolis has evidently declined, and must continue to decline, as the improved modes of communication induce buyers to repair directly to the manufacturing districts, instead of supplying themselves from the Metropolis. The general complaint of the inhabitants of our colonies and foreigners is, that London is a dear place—that all manner of charges are exceedingly high here compared with what they are elsewhere; and when objections are taken to these charges, and the extravagant commission charged by London traders, it is of no use to tell them that the taxes are higher in London than they are in the out-ports. If there are other causes in operation for drawing the trade from London to other places, there is no use in aiding these causes by a tax which falls with such unequal pressure on the capital. If other towns have superior natural advantages, there is no necessity for artificially depressing London, in order to aid these natural advantages.

"Mr. Heathcote, the other night, made it a reason for continuing the house and window-tax, that his constituents, who were farmers, did not pay them. But why should farmers be exempted? A farmer is a manufacturer of food, and the raiser of food ought to pay for his dwelling as well as the producer of any other commodity. It is true, this might form a deduction from the landlord's rent; but it will not be contended that landlords have any right to increase their incomes by means of giving unfair exemptions to their tenants.

"But what is to be done? A meeting is about to take place in Guildhall. A meeting of the central committee of the Westminster parishes meets this evening in Cockspur-street. Every where the people are taking measures for ridding themselves of the tax. At present the tide runs very high against it. A gentleman in the city informs us that the excitement in that quarter is hardly to be conceived, and as an instance, he states that a respectable house, who gave a cheque for his assessed taxes on Monday, wrote yesterday to stop the payment of it.

"But it becomes a serious question whether the tax shall be resisted, as we know many give out that it will be. Before men come to such a determination, they should coolly and deliberately ask themselves what the consequences are likely to be. If there are many men dissatisfied with this tax and disposed to resist it, there are also many men who strongly feel the necessity of resisting the very first step towards anarchy. We are as certain as we are of our existence, that unions for the purpose of resisting the house and window-tax, will call forth unions of men determined to support authority at all hazards. We are sorry that the vote of Friday night should have made it imperative on the Government to resist all repeals of taxes this year, because, though the house and window-tax might have been dispensed with, the malt-tax in addition could not have been dispensed with. But, after the

" vote on Tuesday night, Ministers will " not easily suffer any inroad on any of " the existing taxes. What the ultimate effect of the attempt to resist " may be, we know not ; but we would " have those who are thinking of making " the attempt, to reflect that it will not " be an easy task. The precedent is " altogether one on which people of " property cannot be supposed to look " with satisfaction. If resistance to the " law be successful in one case, where " are we to stop ?

" Allusion has been made to the " determination of Earl Fitzwilliam, " during a critical period of the Reform " Bill, to refuse, in a certain case, payment of taxes. This was a noble determination ; and the country cannot " be too grateful for it to the high-minded nobleman, who put himself in " the front of the battle on that occasion. But are the conjunctures sinister ! We were then in the midst of a " revolution : for there is no use in denying that the Reform Bill was a " revolution. No man supposes that " the peers voluntarily passed the Reform Bill. The proud array of the " country presented them with an alternative from which they wisely shrank. " Lord Fitzwilliam's declaration was " made during that revolutionary period. We have gained the organical " reform for which that declaration was " hazarded, and by that organical reform, all other reforms and ameliorations become practicable. But the " organic reform once completed, the " law resumes its dominion. Revolutionary means must be left for periods " of revolutions. A nation must not be " always putting its masses in array " against authority. We say, then, " it is unfair to the high-minded nobleman in question to adduce his example as a justification of a refusal to " pay taxes at this time.

" We are doing our duty to our " readers to warn them to proceed " with gravity and caution at this time. " The tax is a most unjust one—it is " injurious, above all, to the metropolis, " the traders of which are ill able to " bear it at this time. We wish means

" could be found of relieving London " from this tax, and do hope that Ministers even yet will bethink themselves of the claim of the inhabitants " of the metropolis for relief. But oppressive as the tax is, a good man " ought to pause before he embraces " the desperate resolution of resisting " the laws in ordinary times."

Whether the following lists be perfectly correct or not, I cannot say. I came home about midnight, as did also my colleague, and, of course, we did not vote at all. We saw that our votes could produce no effect ; and as we do not lie in bed till three o'clock in the afternoon, in order to sit out the night, we went away at midnight, in order to have a part, at least, of our due of sleep ; and, in order to be able to come again, and to be ready to act, when acting might be of some use. I had discharged my duty in urging the House to do that which I thought it was its duty to do. I could clearly see, that even fifty votes would be of no use in the preventing of that which was about to take place ; and, for these reasons, I came home. I should observe, that Sir ROBERT PEEL did not take all the Tories with him in this voting ; and I am led to believe, that there are, amongst them, some men who, notwithstanding all their hostility to reform, will, before it be too late, make the discovery, that the safety of those who have great estates, is more likely to be promoted by their so acting as to have the friendship, and not the enmity, of the people ; will make the discovery, that the *march of democracy* is not to be impeded by putting on its side that weighty middle class of persons who have hitherto stood aloof from it, and who have shown so much anxiety to avoid coming to extremities. It is said, that when subjects draw their swords against their sovereign they must throw away the scabbard. Much about the same may be said of a body of nobility and gentry who draw the sword upon a people. I do most earnestly pray, that wisdom will dictate a timely yielding to the prayers of the people ; and that we are destined yet to behold the prevention of

that end which seems to be threatened by the present prospect before us.

MAJORITY ON SIR W. INGILBY'S MOTION ON THE MALT-TAX.

Adams, E. H.
Aglionby, H. A.
Arbuthnot, Hon. H.
Astley, Sir J. D.
Attwood, T.
Balfour, J.
Bankes, W. J.
Baring, A.
Baring, H. B.
Barnard, E. G.
Beauclerk, A. W.
Bell, M.
Bellew, R. M.
Bennett, J.
Bernard, Hon. W. S.
Bethell, R.
Bish, T.
Blackstone, W. S.
Blamire, W.
Blandford, Marquis of
Bolling, W.
Bowes, J.
Brigstock, W. P.
Brodie, W. B.
Bruce, Lord E. A.
Burrell, Sir C.
Cayley, Sir G.
Cayley, E. S.
Chandos, Marquis of
Chaplin, T.
Clayton, W. R.
Cobbett, W.
Connolly, E. M.
Cooke, T. H.
Crawley, S.
Curteis, H. B.
Curteis, E. B.
Davies, T. H. H.
Dillwyn, L. W.
Dundas, J. W. D.
Etwall, R.
Faithfull, G.
Fancourt, C. S. J.
Fielden, W.
Fenton, J.
Ferguson, G.
Fielden, J.
Finn, W. F.
Fitzgerald, T.

Fitzsimon, C.
Fitzsimon, N.
Folkes, Sir W.
Fox, S. L.
Fryer, R.
Gaskell, D.
Gaskell, J. M.
Godson, R.
Gordon, W.
Gore, M.
Goring, H. D.
Guise, Sir B. W.
Gully, J.
Handley, H.
Handley, B.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harvey, D. W.
Hay, Sir J.
Hay, A. L.
Heathcote, G. J.
Henniker, Lord
Herber, Hon. S.
Hodges, T. L.
Hoskins, K.
Humphery, J.
Hutt, W.
Hughes, H.
Kerrison, Sir E.
King, E. B.
Knatchbull, Sir E.
Lalor, P.
Langdale, Hon. C.
Langton, W. G.
Leech, J.
Lefevre, C. S.
Lennard, Sir F. B.
Lennard, T. B.
Lister, E. C.
Lloyd, J. H.
Locke, W.
Lopes, Sir R.
Mandeville, Viscount
Maxwell, J. W.
Maxwell, Sir J.
Methuen, P.
Milton, Viscount
O'Bryan, C.
O'Connell, M.
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, M.
O'Connell, C.
O'Dwyer, A. C.
Ossulston, Lord
Palmer, C. F.
Palmer, R.

Parker, J.
 Parrott, J.
 Pelham, Hon. C. A. W;
 Phillips, M. J
 Pigot, R.
 Pinney, W.
 Plumptre, J. P.
 Poulter, J. S.
 Price, R.
 Rickford, W.
 Rider, T.
 Rippon, C.
 Robinson, G. R.
 Roe, J.
 Romilly, J.
 Rooper, J. B.
 Russell, W. G.
 Ruthven, E.
 Roberts, —
 Sanford, E. A.
 Scholefield, J.
 Seale, J. H.
 Sharpe, M.
 Shawe, R. N.
 Simeon, Sir R. G.]
 Sinclair, G. jun.
 Spencer, Hon. F.
 Spry, S. T.
 Staunton, Sir G. T.
 Stewart, J.
 Sullivan, R.
 Talbot, C. R. M.
 Talbot, J.
 Tancred, H. W.
 Taylear, W.
 Taylor, Right Hon. M.
 Tennyson, Right Hon. C.
 Tooke, W.
 Torrens, Colonel R.
 Townshend, Lord C.
 Trelawney, W. L. S.
 Troubridge, Sir E. T.
 Turner, W.
 Tynte, C. J. K.
 Tyrell, C.
 Tyrell, Sir J.
 Verner, W.
 Vigers, N. A.
 Walter, J.
 Wason, R.
 Welby, G. E.
 Weyland, R.
 Williams, Colonel G.
 Wilmot, Sir J. B.
 Windham, W. H.

Wrottesley, Sir J.
 Yelverton, Hon. W. H.
 Young, J.

Tellers.

Hume J.
 Ingilby, Sir W.

LIST OF THE MINORITY OF 133,

Tellers included, who, on the 30. of April, voted for Sir W. A. INGILBY'S Amendment, that all the words relating to the malt duty should be omitted in Lord Althorp's Resolution, which affirmed that a general tax on property and income would be necessary to supply the deficiency which would be occasioned by the reduction of the malt duty, and the repeal of the house and window-tax.

Aglionby, H. A.—Cockermouth
 Arbuthnot, Major-Gen. — Kincardineshire.

Attwood, M.—Whitehaven
 Attwood, T.—Birmingham
 Barnard, E. G.—Greenwich
 Baring, A.—North Essex
 Baring, H.—Marlborough
 Bainbridge, E. T.—Tarlton
 Bayntun, S. A.—York
 Beauclerk, A. W.—East Surrey
 Bell, M.—S. Northumberland
 Bellew, R. M.—County of Louth
 Benett, J.—S. Wiltshire
 Bish, T.—Leominster
 Blackstone, W. S.—Wallingford
 Blamire, W. E.—Cumberland
 Blandford, Marquis of—Woodstock
 Bolling, W.—Bolton
 Brocklehurst, J. jun.—Macclesfield
 Bruce, Lord E.—Marlborough
 Barrell, Sir C.—New-Shoreham
 Cayley, E. S.—N. Riding York
 Chandos, Marquis of—Bucks
 Chetwynd, W. F.—Stafford
 Clayton, Lieut-Col.—Marlow
 Cole, Visc.—Fermanaghshire
 Conolly, E. M.—Denegalshtre
 Copkes, T. H.—E. Worcester County
 Cooper, E. J.—County of Sligo
 Crawley, S.—Bedford
 Curteis, Capt.—Rye
 Dare, R. W. H.—South Essex
 Dawson, E.—South Leicester
 Denison, W. J.—West Surrey

- Duncombe, Hon. Wm.—North Riding
 Yorkshire
 Dundas, Captain—Greenwich
 Dillwyn, L. W.—Glamorganshire
 Etwall, R.—Andover.
 Fancourt, Major—Barnstaple
 Fellowes, H. A. W.—Andover
 Fellowes, Hon. N.—North Devonshire
 Ferguson, G.—Banffshire
 Finn, W. R.—County Kilkenny
 Fitzsimon, C.—Dublin County
 Forester, Hon. G. C. W.—Wenlock
 Fox, S. L.—Halston
 Freemantle, Sir T.—Buckingham
 Fryer, R.—Wolverhampton
 Fitzsimon, N.—King's County
 Gaskell, J. M.—Wenlock
 Gaskell, D.—Wakefield
 Gore, M.—Devizes
 Goring, H. D.—New Shoreham
 Gillon, D.—Falkirk
 Grimston, Viscount—County of Hertford.
 Guise, Sir W.—East Gloucester
 Hall, B.—Monmouth
 Handley, H.—S. Lincolnshire
 Hanmer, Sir J.—Shrewsbury
 Hay, Sir J.—Peebleshire
 Hayes, Sir E.—Donegalshire
 Henniker, Lord—East Suffolk
 Herbert, Hon. S.—S. Wiltshire
 Hodges, T. L.—West Kent
 Hoskins, K.—Herefordshire
 Hume, J.—Middlesex
 Irton, S.—West Cumberland
 Jolliffe, H.—Petersfield.
 Kemp, J. R.—Lewes
 Kerrison, Major-General, Sir E. —
 Eyre
 Lalor, P.—Queen's County
 Langdale, Hon. C.—Beverley
 Langton, Col. Gore.—East Somersetshire
 Leech, John—West Surrey
 Lennox, Lord W.—King's Lynn
 Lester, E. C.—Bradford
 Locke, W.—Devizes
 Lowther, Viscount—Westmoreland
 Lowther, Hon. Col.—Westmoreland
 Maxwell, Sir John—Paisley
 Maxwell, H.—Cavan County
 Methuen, P.—Wiltshire
 Norreys, Lord—Oxfordshire
 O'Brien, C.—Clare County
 O'Connell, Maurice—Tralee
 O'Connell, Morgan—Meath County
 O'Connell, John—Youghal
 O'Connell, Charles—Kerry
 Ossulston, Lord—North Northumberland
 Oswald, James—Ayrshire
 Oswald, R. A.—Pembroke County
 Palmer, E.—Berkshire
 Parker, Sir Hyde—West Suffolk
 Parrot, Jasper—Totness
 Pease, Joseph, jun.—County of Durham
 Perrin, Lewis—Monaghan
 Perceval, Col. A.—Sligo County
 Phillips, Mark—Manchester
 Plumptre, J. P.—East Kent
 Pigot, R.—Bridgnorth
 Potter, R.—Wigan
 Poulter, J. S.—Shaftesbury
 Roe, J.—Cashel
 Ruthven, Ed.—Kildare
 Sanderson, R.—Colchester
 Shaws, R. N.—Suffolk, East
 Stanley, Ed.—Cheshire, North
 Stewart, J.—Lymington
 Stormont, Visct.—Norwich
 Talmash, Algernon—Grantham
 Tapps, G. W.—Christchurch
 Tancred, H. W.—Banbury.
 Tennyson, Rt. Hon. C.—Lambeth
 Thompson, Ald.—Sunderland
 Tooke, Wm.—Truro
 Torrens, Lieut. Col.—Bolton
 Trevor, Hon. G. R. B.—Carmarthen-shire
 Tullamore, Lord—Penryn
 Tynte, C. J. K.—W. Somerset
 Tyrell, C.—W. Sussex
 Tyrell, Sir John—N. Essex
 Verner, W.—County of Armagh
 Vigers, N. A.—Carlow
 Wallace, R.—Greenock
 Walter, J.—Berkshire
 Watkins, J. L. V.—Brecon
 Weyland, R.—Oxford County
 Wilmot, Sir J. E.—N. Warwick
 Wood, Col. T.—County of Brecon
 Wyndham, W. Salisbury
 Windham, W. H.—E. Norfolk
 Tellers.
 Ingilby, Sir W., Bt.—Lincolnshire
 O'Connell, D.—Dublin

LIST OF SEVENTY-TWO MEMBERS,

Who, having voted for Sir Wm. Ingilby's Motion for reducing the Malt-Tax on Friday, 26. April, did not vote on Tuesday, 30. April, with the Minority of 153 above-stated, although the question was then brought back to precisely the same state.

Adams, G. H.—Carmarthenshire
Ashley, Sir J. D.—Wiltshire, N.
Balfour, J.—Haddingtonshire
Bowes, J.—Durham County, S.
Brigstock, W. P.—Somerset E.
Brodie, W. B.—Salisbury
Cayley, Sir G.—Scarborough
Chaplin, T.—Stamford
Cobbett, W.—Oldham
Curteis, H. B.—Sussex, East
Davies, Col. (absent from illness)—
Worcester

Faithfull, G.—Brighton
Felden, W.—Blackburn
Fenton, J.—Rochdale
Fielden, J.—Oldham
Fitzgerald, T.—Louth county
Folkes, Sir W.—West Norfolk
Godson, R.—Kidderminster
Gordon, Hon. W.—Aberdeenshire
Gully, J.—Pontefract
Handley, B.—Boston
Harvey, D. W.—Colchester
Hay, L. A.—Elgin
Heathcote, J. G.—South Lincolnshire
Humphrey, J.—Southwark
Hutt, W.—Hull
Hughes, H.—Oxford
King, E. B.—Warwick
Knatchbull, Sir E.—East Kent
Lefevre, C. S.—Hampshire, N.
Lennard, Sir T. B.—Essex, S
Lennard, T. B.—Malden
Lopes, Sir M.—Westbury
Mandeville, Vist.—Huntingdon County
Milton, Vist.—Northamptonshire
Palmer, C. F.—Reading
Parker, J.—Sheffield
Pelham, Hon. C. A.—North Lincolnshire

Pinney, Wm.—Lyme Regis
Price, R.—Radnor
Rickford, Wm.—Aylesbury
Rider, Thos.—Kent, West
Rippon, Cuthbert—Gateshead
Roberts, A. W.—Maidstone

Robinson, J. R.—Worcester
Romilly, J.—Bridport
Russell, W. C.—East Worcester
Sandford, E. A.—West Somerset
Scholefield, J.—Birmingham
Seal, Col.—Dartmouth
Sharpe, General—Dumfries
Spencer, Hon. Capt.—Midhurst
Sinclair, G.—Caithness
Simeon, Sir R. G.—Isle of Wight
Spry, S. T.—Bodmin
Staunton, Sir G.—Hampshire South
Sullivan, R.—Kilkenny
Talbot, C. R.—Glamorganshire
Talbot, James—Athlone
Tayleur—Bridgewater
Taylor, Rt. Hon. M. A.—Sudbury
Townshend, Lord C.—Tamworth
Trelawny, W. L. S.—Cornwall, East
Trowbridge, Sir T.—Sandwich
Turner, Wm.—Blackburne
Wason, R.—Ipswich
Welby, G. L.—Grantham
Williams, Col.—Ashton
Wrottesley, Sir J.—S. Stafford
Yelverton, Hon. W.—Carmarthen
Young, G. F.—Tynemouth

A LIST OF THE METROPOLITAN MEMBERS

Who voted for and against the repeal of the House and Window Tax.

FOR THE REPEAL.

Sir J. Key—City of London
G. Grote—ditto
G. Lyall—ditto
Alderman Wood—ditto
Joseph Hume—Middlesex
W. Clay—Tower Hamlets
Sergeant Spankie—Finsbury
Sir S. Walley—Marybonne
John Humphrey—Southwark
Major Beauclerk—East Surrey
Captain Dundas—Greenwich
E. G. Bernard—ditto
C. Tennyson—Lambeth

AGAINST THE REPEAL.

G. Byng—Middlesex
Dr. Lushington—Tower Hamlets
Sir W. Horne—Marybonne
R. Grant—Finsbury
W. Brougham—Southwark
J. J. Briscoe—Surrey

R. Mawes—Lambeth
 Sir F. Burdett—Westminster
 Sir John Cam Hobhouse did not vote,
 having accepted the Chiltern Hun-
 dred.

A LIST OF THE MINORITY

Who voted for the repeal of the House
 and Window Tax on Sir John Key's
 Motion.

Aglionby, H. A.—Cockermouth
 Attwood, M.—Whitehaven
 Attwood, T.—Birmingham
 Baillie, J. E.—Bristol
 Bainbridge, E. T.—Taunton
 Barnett, C. J.—Maidstone
 Beaucherk, Major—East Surrey
 Beaumont, T. W.—S. Northumberland
 Bell, M.—S. Northumberland
 Berkeley, Hon. C. F.—Cheltenham.
 Barnard, E. G.—Greenwich
 Bish, T.—Leominster
 Blackstone, W. S.—Wallingford
 Blamire, W.—Cumberland
 Blandford, Marq.—Woodstock
 Bowes, J.—South Durham
 Bowes, T.—Plymouth
 Brodie, Capt.—Salisbury
 Brotherton, Joseph—Salford
 Buckingham, J. S.—Sheffield
 Bulwer, E. L.—Lincoln
 Burrell, Sir C.—Shoreham
 Chandos, Marquis—Bucks
 Chaplin, Col. J.—Stamford
 Chetwynd, Capt. W. F.—Stafford
 Chichester, J. P. B.—Barnstaple
 Clay, W.—Tower Hamlets
 Clayton, W. R.—Great Marlow
 Collier, J.—Plymouth
 Cooke, T. H.—Worcestershire
 Crawley, S.—Bedford
 Curteis, Capt. E. B.—Rye.
 Dare, R. W. H.—S. Essex
 Dawson, E.—Leicester c.
 Denison, W. J.—West Surrey
 Dundas, Capt. J. W.—Greenwich
 Ellis, W.—Leicester
 Etwall, R.—Andover
 Ewart, W.—Liverpool
 Faithfull, G.—Brighton
 Fancourt, Major—Barnstaple
 Fellowes, M. A.—Andover
 Fenton, John—Rochdale
 Fryer, Richard—Wolverhampton
 Gaskell, D.—Wakefield

Godson, R.—Kidderminster
 Goreing, H. D.—Shoreham
 Greene, T. G.—Lancaster
 Grono, Captain R. H.—Stafford
 Grote, G.—London
 Halcomb, John—Dover
 Hall, B.—Monmouth
 Handley, B.—Boston
 Handley, Menry—Lincoln C.
 Hammer, H.—Aylesbury
 Hardy, J.—Bradford
 Harvey, D. W.—Colchester
 Henniker, Lord—E. Suffolk
 Hill, M. D.—Hull
 Hodges, T. L.—West Kent
 Hoskins, K.—Hereford
 Hotham, Lord—Leominster
 Hughes, H.—Oxford
 Hume, J.—Middlesex
 Humphery, J.—Southwark
 Hutt, W.—Hull
 Ireton, Samuel—Cumberland
 Ingilby, W. A.—E. Lincoln c.
 Jarvis, J.—Chester city
 Jolliffe, Col. H.—Petersfield
 Kemp, T. R.—Lewes
 Kerrison, Sir E. Bart.—Eye
 Key, Sir J. Bart.—London
 Langton, Col. G.—East Somerset
 Leech, John—West Surrey
 Lennox, Lord A.—Chichester
 Lennox, Lord W.—King's Lynn
 Lister, C.—Bradford
 Lloyd, J. H.—Stockport
 Locke, W.—Devizes
 Lowther, C. H.—Westmoreland
 Lowther, Viscount—ditto
 Lyall, G.—London
 Methuen, P.—North Wilts
 Miller, W. H.—Newcastle, Staf.
 Molesworth, W. H.—East Cornwall
 Palmer, Gen.—Bath
 Palmer, C. F.—Reading
 Palmer, Robert—Berks
 Parker, Sir H. Bart.—West Suffolk
 Parrott, J.—Totness
 Pease, J.—South Durham
 Petre, Hon. E.—York City
 Phillips, M.—Manchester
 Phillpotts, J.—Gloucester
 Pigot, R.—Bridgenorth
 Plumtre, J. P.—East Kent
 Porlock, F.—Huntingdon
 Potter, R.—Wigan
 Poulter, J.—Shaftesbury

Ramabottom, J.—Windsor
 Richards, J.—Knaresborough
 Rider, J.—West Kent
 Rippon, C.—Gateshead
 Robinson, G. R.—Worcester
 Roebuck, J. A.—Bath
 Romilly, J.—Bridport
 Russell, C.—Reading
 Seal, Col.—Dartmouth
 Shaw, R. N.—East Suffolk
 Spankie, Sergeant—Finsbury
 Spry, S. T.—Bodmin
 Stanley, E.—West Cumberland
 Staunton, G. P.—South Hants
 Stewart, J.—Lymington
 Thompson, Ald.—Sunderland
 Tancred, H. W.—Banbury
 Tapps, G. W.—Christchurch
 Tayleur W.—Bidgewater
 Temyson, C.—Lambeth
 Tooke, W.—Truro
 Torrens, R.—Bolton
 Townshend, Lord C.—Tamworth
 Turner, W.—Blackburn
 Tynte, C. J. K.—W. Somerset County
 Tollemache, Hon. A.—Grantham
 Wigney, J. N.—Brighton
 Williams, Col. G.—Ashton
 Wilmot, Sir J. E. B.—N. Warwick c.
 Windham, W. H.—E. Norfolk
 Wood, M.—London
 Waker, John—Berk
 Wason, R.—Ipswich
 Watkins, J. L.—Brecon
 Whalley, Sir S.—Maryhonne
 Wyndham, W.—Salisbury
 Young, G.—Tynemouth

I SEND you, to the care of Mr. HAZ-
 LIWELL, a great parcel of addresses to
 you from various parts of England and
 Scotland; and I now insert here an
 account of the rejoicings at New York,
 on account of your having elected me.
 You will see that you were toasted
 upon the occasion; and you may be
 well assured that I deem it the greatest
 honour to have my name associated
 with yours.

Let me avail myself of this occasion

to beseech you not to despair of good
 finally arising out of your efforts. It is
 true that you do not see adopted, and
 that you have no prospect of seeing
 adopted, these measures which we all
 so much desired to see, because they
 would have tended to the restoration of
 harmony and happiness to the country.
 If only *ten towns* had done their duty as
 you did yours, you would have seen
 things in a very different state from
 that in which they now are. Other
 places, deluded by false promises, and
 talked into the election of men, living in
 one way or another upon the taxes,
 made a choice little better than that
 which would have been made by the
 boroughmongers themselves; and, if they
 experience disappointment and mor-
 tification, these are the just rewards of
 their servility or their want of sense;
 and the only thing to be regretted is,
 that you suffer as well as they. How-
 ever, such a monstrous system as this
 cannot be overset in a moment. You
 see nothing *done* for your relief; but,
 you see every thing done in attempting
 it that possibly can be done by man.
 You see your battle well and bravely
 fought, I trust. In all such under-
 takings time is demanded. The diffi-
 culties that we have to contend with
 are far too great for me to be able
 to describe; but, nothing ever was
 achieved, that was praiseworthy, with-
 out difficulty; and you may be well
 assured that, though we actually have
 effected no change of system, we are
 laying the sure foundation of such
 change, which, perhaps, will be ren-
 dered more complete by postponement.
 Be you assured, that we shall neglect
 nothing within our power to cause this
 salutary change. For my own part, I
 look upon myself as existing for no
 other purpose than that of accomplish-
 ing it. I shall manage my body in
 such a way as for it not to be destroyed
 by my exertions: I will take my right
 share of sleep, and of country exer-
 cise; and I will do all that I can,
 taking those precautions. I shall deal
 the system a great many heavy blows;
 and, by-and-by, it will yield. I exhort
 you to the exercise of as much patience

as you can possibly bring to bear; and, in the meanwhile, you will have the proud reflection, that you have nothing to be ashamed of, while other great towns have such abundant grounds for shame and for self-reproach. Look at all the towns in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, and see if you can find one who has contributed one jot towards the means of restoring the liberties and the happiness of the country. It is not lofty edifices; it is not even temples of antiquity; it is not gaudy streets, and splendid mansions; it is not promenades of the rich and showy; it is none of these that do honour to a town or a city: it is the virtue, the sound judgment, the public spirit, the devotion to liberty and justice that are found in the minds of its people. These I have never seen in any town in the world equal to what I have seen in the town of OLDHAM. I deem it a reward for all my toils and all my sacrifices, to have been chosen to represent the very best of all the people of this kingdom. Others have the apology, indeed, of having been deluded; but you have a right to tell them that they ought not to have been deluded; that wealth and rank and tinselled name ought not to have deceived them. Had the other towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire only done their duty as you have done yours, all the unjust and most odious taxes would, at this hour, been swept away. However, I beseech you not to despair. Truth and justice are eternal; falsehood and oppression of ephemeral existence. The struggle may be more or less long; but, with your bright example before it, it is impossible that this nation can sink into slavery.

WM. COBBETT.

CELEBRATION OF MR. COBBETT'S BIRTH-DAY IN AMERICA.

THE following account of the celebration of Mr. Cobbett's birth-day, at New York, is taken from the *Working Man's Advocate*, published in that city. In the same paper we see it announced that his return for Oldham was to be publicly celebrated at Philadelphia:—

At a convivial meeting of the friends of William Cobbett, Esq., M. P., held at Village Hall, Brooklyn, N.Y., on Saturday the 19. ult., Mr. William Turner (late of Atherstone) in the chair,

The first toast from the chair, was, "The people—the source of all power; and may the power of the people be rendered in finite, by the possession of Mr. Cobbett's three Bs,—bread, bacon, and beer." (Loud laughter).

Second, "The King." Some hesitation on the part of the company having manifested itself to the drinking of this toast,

MR. GEORGE BLACKWOOD rose and said, Gentlemen—I am not surprised that some of you should hesitate to drink this toast, especially when I reflect that many of us have lived long and happily in a country where there is no king; but, gentlemen, as a subject of the King of England, I am very anxious that this toast should be drunk, and if it will not go down without butter, I beg to be permitted to butter it a little. This, however, is no time, nor is it a proper occasion to go into the question of king or no king; but you will, I hope, bear with me while I just observe, that our ancestors, who deemed it proper that their head servant should be a king invested with royal prerogatives, were wise, brave, virtuous, free, and happy; and that however much tyranny has been practised in the name of the king, that tyranny has for the most part proceeded from the borough villains, who, before they could practise such tyranny, invaded the royal prerogative, and made the king their instrument, their servant, their slave. The borough-mongers, thanks to my countrymen, are stripped or nearly stripped of their power to coerce the king, and with a restoration of the royal prerogatives to his Majesty, the people will, I am confident, regain their liberties. I beg to propose the King; and may the Parliament, however reformed, insist upon a restoration to his Majesty of all the royal prerogatives, and may it especially insist that his Majesty be not in-

terfered with in the exercise of that relative to the currency.

Mr. GOODMAN: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I have risen to beg permission to give a partial utterance to those emotions of my soul to which no language at my command is capable of giving a full expression; and, therefore, I am, as you see, exceedingly embarrassed; embarrassed, gentlemen, not for lack of thoughts, but for want of proper habiliment in which to clothe them, in order that they may come before the world in their true character. Gentlemen, when we look back at the perils through which the Hercules of politics has passed, in his vicissitudinous career, every feeling is lost in gratitude to the people of Oldham. (Cheers). Gentlemen, when I reflect upon the conduct of those brave and virtuous men, when I call to mind the many obstacles thrown in their way, and the steadiness of purpose with which they have overcome them; and when I contrast their conduct with the conduct of those who imprudently and basely call them "lower orders," I must confess, I feel proud that I can boast that the country which contains such men is the land of my birth; we owe them, gentlemen, a great deal: all England, nay, the whole world owes them much, and that they may see how their transatlantic brethren estimate their character, I conclude by giving the "*Men of Oldham*." (Cheers)

Mr. CLARKE: Gentlemen, I am not used to stand forward on occasions like these, or in any way to take part in such proceedings, but it would be a shame for me, who have been a friend to and admirer of the old boy during the whole of his political race, to be silent on the present occasion; therefore, sir, with your leave, I give ye, "The Surrey Ploughboy; may he clear the political fields of pensioner docks, sinecure thistles, clerical and other obnoxious weeds, that have been planted in it by the odious boroughmongers." (Loud cheers, with great clapping of hands).

Mr. GEORGE WOODWARD: My friends—If I beg pardon, Gentlemen,—in dealing

with the impudent and audacious Tories, we never were at a loss how to shape our course, for we had to deal with audacity and defiance; not so, however, with the liberal Whigs; for here we have speciousness of pretence coupled with the most subtle and profound hypocrisy. The people at large, and from "without," had no difficulty in foiling the Tories when they were resolved to foil them: and we have beheld with infinite delight with what perfect ease they were driven from the councils of the King—I had like to have said completely abashed; but, at any rate, completely stripped of all legitimate political power. Let the hypocrisy and double dealing of the Whigs be as clearly manifested to the people as were the tyranny and audacity of the Tories, and they too will be made to quail beneath the indignant frown of my justly incensed countrymen. We have too long been the instruments of these horrid factions; I have no reliance upon either, gentlemen: I plank my hope entirely on the people from without; and I leave to the execrable Whigs the enjoyment of their majorities within. I give you, gentlemen, "The People of Great Britain and Ireland, may they unanimously demand a repeal of the Septennial Act." (Cheers).

Mr. WILLIAM H. HALE (an American): Gentlemen,—The toast to which I beg to call your attention is, "The author of 'Paper against Gold,' and may this work prove as instructive in driving away the infamous and degraded currency of my country, as it has in restoring to England the ancient coin of the realm." (Applause).

Mr. READ (of Vermont): Sir,—If we be not Mr. Cobbett's countrymen, Mr. C. is in some measure ours: the mountains and valleys of Vermont have been made to smile in plenty and beauty, through his entertaining and valuable little book on gardening. As a mark of my gratitude to the author of that book, I propose, Mr. Chairman, "The able and talented representative of nailed shoes and smock-frocks; and may he, untrammelled with aristo-

"cratic clogs, find his level." (Cheers, with great laughter).

MR. WOODWARD, SEN.: Gentlemen,—It is not for me, who am an old man, knowing more of ploughing than speech-making, to attempt to pronounce an eulogium on Mr. Cobbett. But being somewhat his senior, and having had my eye upon him for twenty-five years, claim to know enough of him to justify me in craving your indulgence, while I try to tender for your adoption a toast which my good old neighbours at home will respond to. I propose, "That man who has maintained battle with a thing for thirty years, having at its back a hundred and twenty thousand cut-throats, three hundred lying presses at its command, revenues of sixty to one hundred millions sterling of taxes at its disposal, and having squandered a thousand millions of pounds sterling of borrowed money, yet lives; and may he live to have justice done him (in part at least) by a restoration of the thousand pounds wrung from him for giving utterance to that indignant nation which every Englishman ought to have felt on such an occasion." (Great cheering).

After the health of the chairman had been drunk, the meeting broke up in a most amicable manner.

MR. FITTON'S LETTER.

THERE appeared in the *Times* newspaper, some time ago, a letter contradicting the statements relative to distress made by Mr. FIELDEN in the House of Commons. Though this letter was *anonymous*, SIR ROBERT PEEL, in speaking on Mr. ATTWOOD's motion, did not think it beneath him to quote it as an authority, exhibiting a true picture of the state of the people of OLDHAM. To that letter, which is supposed to have come from a mortified Tory of that town, the following is an answer; and it has a name at the bottom of it, and that name belongs to a man whose information is as extensive as any man's in Lancashire, and who is as famed for his

scrupulous veracity as for the extent of his information. In the course of my life I have never known a man upon whose word I could more firmly rely. SIR ROBERT PEEL may avail himself of it if he choose. Whether he do or not, I recommend it very strongly to the attention of my readers. It was sent to the editor of the *Times* newspaper; and most men will think that impartiality required that editor to insert it. However, as he has not chosen to do it, I do it now; and I beg the writer to accept of my thanks for his having taken the pains to write it, being well assured that he will also have the thanks of my industrious and oppressed constituents.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—Whilst the contradiction of the truth of the statements lately made in the House of Commons by Mr. Fielden, as to the extent of distress which prevailed in the manufacturing districts, was in a great measure confined to the *Manchester Guardian*, the low state to which that unpopular journal is fallen prevented me offering any arguments in support of those statements. Seeing, however, that "*An Elector of Oldham*" has thought proper, in a letter dated so far back as the 26. March, but which I have only just seen, to propagate such contradiction through the medium of your columns, I beg leave now, through the same source, to maintain, in opposition to "*An Elector*," that those statements are, in the main, well founded. The circumstance so much dwelt on, and with so much evident self-complacency by "*An Elector*," of the increase of the town of Oldham from being, "only a century ago, little more than a village," has, in fact, but little to do with the question. Every body knows, that not only Oldham, but almost every town and village in this part of Lancashire, owing to their local advantages for the manufacture of cotton, have undergone a very considerable increase within the last half century. Every one knows too, that not only in Oldham, but in every other English manufacturing or trading town, that large fortunes

have been sometimes rapidly made. This, however, is rather to be ascribed to that spirit of reckless adventure and enterprise, fostered and encouraged by a false credit, arising from a delusive system of banking and paper-money, than to any real or permanent prosperity. I ask "An Elector," if fortunes have been rapidly made, have they not also been sometimes rapidly lost? If there are many men, who, during the last thirty years, have been greatly elevated from their original humbleness, are there not also great numbers who have, within the same time, fallen from the elevated station which they or their fathers then occupied, to a state of dependent, and some of them, into hopeless poverty? Under such circumstances, to point out individuals, would be ungenerous and invidious; but "An Elector," who I doubt not is a man of observation, must know the fact. I am far from wishing to make any remark which can be offensive to any one, and I disclaim, in the fullest and most unqualified sense, every thing like personal allusion, when I say in general terms, that the real truth appears to be, that the unnatural system of false credit, banking, and paper-money, has rendered exceedingly precarious and uncertain the commercial operations of men; has encouraged, as I have before said, a spirit of reckless speculation, rendering property so exceedingly insecure, that in many instances, the man of wealth yesterday is a beggar to-day, and the upstart of yesterday, by the same rule, for the time becomes a man of property. This, however, so far from being a proof of permanent prosperity, is a proof of precisely the contrary: it proves that the political and social condition of the country is in an unhealthy and unnatural state. *Real accumulations* of property; those produced by their only legitimate means, industry and frugality, are necessarily slow; and any large exhibition of property, not the result of these means, and suddenly springing into existence, must as a matter of course be regarded as more showy than substantial, which may, in the various contingencies of

commercial transactions, by possibility enrich the adventurer, or, which is quite as probable, turn out a visionary speculation, involving great numbers of deserving individuals in ruin, but leaving the ostensible owner, perhaps, a little better in circumstances than it found him.

Having thus disposed of what "An Elector" appears to deem the sheet-anchor of his case, I now come to such of the more detailed parts of his letter as seem to merit particular attention. He admits that "distress" from particular circumstances does "exist in Oldham." Now this, you will please to observe, is in substance what Mr. Fielden says. He says, that out of a population of more than 50,000, there were in January last 1,867 whose individual weekly income was not above 1s. 6d., 2,643 whose individual weekly income was not above 2s., and 3,035 whose individual weekly income did not exceed 2s. 6d. He never said, and never could be understood to say, that these were the general average incomes of the whole of the inhabitants of the borough. Were this the case, the whole of the community would be in so deplorable a state of poverty, want, and utter destitution, that no human laws could preserve the bonds of society; a state of universal anarchy would inevitably ensue. It is therefore perfectly true, as "An Elector" says, that bricklayers, labourers, &c. &c. have, while working, a much greater income than this. I think, however, if "An Elector" will institute a close investigation of the matter, he will find that bricklayers, labourers, &c., are generally, for several months in the year, not fully employed, and, consequently, not constantly receiving their wages; he will find that the average of their weekly wages, allowing of course six days to the week, is, taking the year together, a *great deal less* than even 3s. per day. The same remark applies to those who work in factories. So many deductions are made from their ostensible wages, in consequence of the breakings down of the mill-gearing, the rigid

enforcement of penalties, and under various pretences, that their *real incomes* will be found, on close inquiry, to be much less than at first sight they appear to be. As "to the hatters," who, "An Elector" says, "as a body are fairly paid, "some branches of the trade extravagantly, and all tolerably well employed;" if this be so, the hatters themselves either do not know their own condition, or wilfully misrepresent it. It is certain, if their own statements are to be relied on, that, although a little improvement has recently taken place in the trade, yet that many of them are nearly, if not entirely, unemployed; and the great majority of those who are employed, are receiving much lower wages, and are, consequently, much worse off than they formerly were. I may here observe that the rule above-mentioned, which applies to bricklayers, labourers, &c., applies to joiners, carpenters, masons, slaters, and other artisans generally.

There now only remain two other points of any importance to notice in "An Elector's" letter. One of these is the comparatively small amount paid for the relief of the poor during the last year, and the other is the great improvements which he says have within the last few years taken place in the town. How far the former of the two is indicative of the general prosperity may be inferred from this fact, with which I have been furnished by several gentlemen of veracity in Oldham, who have frequently served as members of the select vestry, and are intimately acquainted with the mode in which the poor-rates are appropriated; that some years ago it was a standing rule with the select vestry to supply the paupers with whatever might be deficient in the weekly income of *three shillings* per head. Some time since the select vestry were obliged to set aside this humane regulation, and to substitute *two shillings*, instead of three shillings as before, as the maximum of parish relief; and this, too, you will observe, not because of the lessened necessity of the poor for relief, but in consequence of the diminished means of the rate-payers

to pay; and even out of this scanty allowance, if I am correctly informed, and I believe I am, they are compelling the miserable wretches to pay their poor-rates! Thus, sir, you see, that what is so triumphantly referred to by "An Elector" as a proof of the prosperity of Oldham, is, when placed in its true light, one of the strongest of arguments against the correctness of the view taken by him. I now come to what "An Elector" says about the great improvements, as he calls them, which have taken place at Oldham within the last few years. It is perfectly true, and I have no wish to deny the fact, that large sums of money have been expended in the establishment of the gas and water-works, the building of the blue-coat school, and a new government church, and the taking down and rebuilding the old church. These are, I suppose, the principal improvements, and those to which "An Elector" refers. From my own knowledge I am not able to say how much has been expended on these different works; but I have not the least wish to call in question the strict accuracy of "An Elector," in that respect. Admitting it, therefore, to be as he says, 100,000*l.*, I ask, has the whole of it been paid by the town of Oldham, or even by the parish? The government church has been built out of the funds voted by Parliament for that purpose. The gas and water-works are a joint-stock concern, in which there are of course many shareholders not inhabitants of the town or the parish. The finishing of the blue-coat school is, or until very lately has been, suspended for want of funds to go on with; and the rebuilding of the old church has been mainly effected by loans from the Government Commissioners, and different private individuals, advanced in anticipation of the parish repaying them; a thing which does not appear very likely yet to happen, judging from the want both of ability and inclination on the part of the rate-payers. From this you will see that these improvements, as they are called, when fairly considered and both sides stated, afford no great proof of the real prosperity of the inhabitants.

I have been thus particular, that no part of "An Elector's" letter of any importance might be unnoticed. I need scarcely observe, however, that all this has really very little to do with the question. The simple question is, as far as the borough of Oldham is concerned, whether there are, or rather were, in January last, 1,867 whose individual weekly income was not above 1s. 6d., 2,643 whose individual weekly income was not above 2s., and 3,035 whose individual weekly income was not more than 2s. 6d. Mr. Fielden says there were; and he makes the assertion on the authority of those who made the survey. Let those who deny it, fairly and impartially investigate the subject, and I have but little doubt of their finding it to be correct. It is no argument to say that there are great numbers whose earnings and incomes are greater than these. Those who earn more do not give to those who earn less. And the condition of these latter is such as to enlist in their behalf every humane mind, and to call forth every effort for their relief. I quite agree with "An Elector" in reproaching any "exaggeration" on the subject; but, believing as I do, that Mr. Fielden has not been guilty of any exaggeration, I also disapprove of every attempt to make the distress appear less than it really is. Such conduct lessens the sympathy to which the victims of that distress are fairly entitled, and becomes a formidable obstacle to those changes which are essential, in order effectually to ameliorate their destitute condition.

In the hope that you will oblige me, by the insertion of this letter in your extensively circulated paper, I beg to subscribe myself very respectfully,

WILLIAM FITTON.

Royton, near Oldham,
April 18. 1833.

DISTRESS

OF THE

MANUFACTURERS AT KIRKINTILLOCH.

(From the *Glasgow Free Press*, 24. April, 1833.)

Kirkintilloch, April 18.

In compliance with a requisition to the magistrates, a public meeting of the

inhabitants of this town and parish was held this day, for the purpose of petitioning the Commons' House of Parliament, to institute a committee of inquiry into the distressed state of the nation. Bailie Gemmel was called to the chair; and, to show the existing distress, a number of affidavits by the manufacturers and weavers were then read, after which Mr. George Walker, teacher, moved the resolutions, and enforced them by a most pointed address: and Dr. Wallace, from Kilsyth, supported them, in a lengthened and animated speech, which was received by the meeting with great applause, after which a petition, founded on the resolutions, was agreed to, and that it be sent by the chairman to J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., member for the county, for presentation, and that he be requested to support the prayer thereof.

AFFIDAVITS.

Upon the 18. April, 1833, appeared before us, David Gemmel and John Dickson, bailies of the burgh of Kirkintilloch, within the court hall thereof, Robert Muir, manufacturer here, who depones and saith, that, having carefully compared his books, finds that the average rate of wages paid to his weavers for six months prior to the 6. instant, amounts to, and does not exceed, the sum of 4s. 10½d. per week each, from which sum the necessary expenses of loom-rent and candle must be deducted, to show the net weekly wages on which the weaver, and perhaps a numerous family, has to subsist; and all this is truth, as the deponent shall answer to God.

(Signed) ROBERT MUIR.

JOHN DICKSON, Bailie.

DAVID GEMMEL, Bailie.

Same day and place appeared William Cooper, weaving agent, who depones and saith, that he agrees with the former deponent in all things, with this difference, that the average rate of wages paid by him to his weavers, for six months prior to 1. January last, amounts to, and does not exceed, the sum of 4s. 10½d. per week each; and

this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

(Signed)

WILLIAM COOPER.

JOHN DICKSON, Bailie.

DAVID GEMMEL, Bailie.

Same day and place appeared Hugh Pollock, weaving agent, who depones and saith, that he agrees with the former deponents in all things, with this difference, that the average rate of wages paid by him to his steady weavers, for three months prior to 12. inst., amounts to, and does not exceed, the sum of 4s. 11½d. weekly each; and this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

(Signed)

HUGH POLLOCK.

DAVID GEMMEL, Bailie.

JOHN DICKSON, Bailie.

Same day and place appeared William Gray, manufacturer here, who depones and saith,—that he has carefully compared his books for the last twelve months, and that he has examined a considerable number of his most steady workmen, and finds that the average rate of wages per week for steady workmen, working twelve hours per day, does not exceed 4s. 6d., deduct 1s. for loom rent and charges, making their net wages 3s. 6d.; and this is truth, as the deponent shall answer to God.

WILLIAM GRAY.

DAVID GEMMEL, Bailie.

JOHN DICKSON, Bailie.

At Kirkintilloch, this 18. day of April, 1833, appeared before the bailies of the burgh of Kirkintilloch, David Horn, aged forty-one years, who depones and saith, that he has been engaged at the cotton-weaving since the 13. day of September, 1803, which is nearly thirty years. Recollects that in 1805, he was working at a 900 lappet, eighteen heddles, ten shots weft, weaving per ell, 8d., and 1½d. on the shilling, which amounted to 9d.; and that in the summer of 1832, he had under his charge a 900 lappet, thirty-eight heddles, eight shots weft, for which he was paid the miserable pittance of seven-eighths of a penny per ell weaving; and deponent saith, that in the same shop with him is a 900 lappet, thirty-four heddles, eleven shots weft, weaving per

ell, 1½d.; and deponent further saith, that a short time after the memorable battle of Leipsic (in 1813), he was working at a 1,200 twilled and veined stripe, weaving per ell, 1s. 4d., and that the same kind of work is going on at the present day at 2½d. per ell weaving, with lapetting additional to the former; and deponent further declareth, that all descriptions of cotton goods with which he is acquainted, have fallen, in the price paid for weaving, in nearly the same proportion; and deponent saith that certain incidental expenses, such as loomstead rent, candles, dressing, carriage, &c. &c., cannot be furnished for less than 1s. 3d. per week; and deponent saith, that it is consistent with his knowledge, that many severe and ruinous privations are felt among many employed in the same occupation as himself, particularly those who have a wife and four or five small children to support. They are necessitated to work fourteen, and in some cases, fifteen or sixteen hours per day. They are poorly fed, and a replacement of clothing is almost out of the question, and all this ariseth, in his opinion, from want of a proper remuneration for labour; and deponent further states, and saith, that he would most willingly have abandoned a profession that has long been unprofitable, and in following which he has suffered many severe privations; but from the channels of industry being full and overflowing, deponent has hitherto been unsuccessful in finding employment in any other trade or profession; and all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

(Signed)

DAVID HORN.

DAVID GEMMEL, Bailie.

JOHN DICKSON, Bailie.

Same day and place, appeared James Cooper, weaver here, who depones and saith, that having been a weaver upwards of 41 years, he in the course of that period, has from time to time beheld, amid the various fluctuations of trade, the most overwhelming disparity of prices paid for weaving, at different times, which the following will in some measure attest: Recollects in 1799, was weaving a book muslin at 1s. 7d. per ell,

at present paid only about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$; in 1808, was weaving a vein lappet, at $1s. 8d.$ per ell, at present paid about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$, and in 1809, and in 1810, was in the habit of giving out webs; recollects 11-8ths lappet shawls paid at $10\frac{1}{2}d.$, at present about $2d.$; 6-4ths gauzes at $8d.$ per ell, at present $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell; and 6-4ths lappets, at $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell, at present $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell; only $10d.$ per piece of 10 yards weaving, instead of $5s.$ formerly; however, these statements are only a few specimens amongst the number and variety of fabrics that might be produced, and except amongst those connected with the trade, by the public in general (as we are extremely averse to believe anything that gives pain) would scarcely be credited; however, the above, to the best of my knowledge, is as near the truth as I can recollect, to which I here depose, and being further interrogated how workmen continue at that unprofitable employment, answer, because they cannot find a better; and all that is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

(Signed) JAMES COOPER.

DAVID GEMMEL, Bailie.
JOHN DICKSON, Bailie.

in 1826, the same kind of work was wrought at $3\frac{1}{2}d.$; and in 1832, under his charge, at $2d.$ per ell. In 1813, a species of figured gauze, called bird's-eye crape, was wrought in a 700 reed, at Kirkintilloch, at $1s. 1d.$ per ell; in 1833, the same kind of work was wrought in a 600 reed at $1d\frac{1}{2}$. In 1813, he wrought a 1,300 one in the breadth, twilled vein lappet at $1s. 1d.$ per ell; in January, 1833, he wrought work of nearly the same description in a 1,400 reed, at two in the breadth, at $5d.$ per ell; since January, has got an advance of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell. So much for the present advance of wages. He thinks $1s. 3d.$ per week but barely sufficient for loomstead rent and other incidental expenses necessary in carrying on his business; and being further interrogated how workmen continue at so unprofitable an employment, answers, because they cannot find better, and this is the truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

(Signed) JAMES HUTCHISON.

JOHN DICKSON, Bailie.
DAVID GEMMEL, Bailie.

Same day and place, compeared James Hutchison, weaver here, who depones and saith, that in the following statements, as to particular dates he is not perfectly certain, he only states from memory, but he thinks he comes pretty near the different periods mentioned, with respect to prices referred to. He is perfectly certain, he likewise admits, of some difference, and the time specified respecting the various fabrics of work mentioned; but it goes for almost nothing to the weaver, it amounts to nearly the same thing as the different fashions of a coat in the seventh and eighteenth century. He commenced weaving about the year 1797; shortly after that period, say 1798, the weaving of lappets was introduced to Kirkintilloch; at that time a 1,200 plain lappet was paid $1s. 6d.$ per ell, and $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ on the shilling, which made $1s. 9\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell. In January, 1833, a 1,200 plain lappet was wrought in his shop at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell. In 1806, he wrought a 1,771 lappet shawl at $1s. 3d.$;

Same time and place, compeared Thomas Cooper, weaver here, who depones that he has been a weaver in Kirkintilloch for thirty years; is aware that a great reduction has taken place in the price of weaving within that time; remembers, when a boy, of working a lappet at $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell, and that in 1832, had one of the same kind wrought under his charge at 7-8ths of a penny. Deponent further saith, that he is fully persuaded that it takes as much, if not more, exertion to work an ell of the latter as of the former, and is persuaded that the prices of weaving lappets of every description are fallen in nearly the same proportion, and in many instances much more. Does not mean to say that prices have been falling gradually these thirty years. Has known prices fall very rapidly. In one instance, viz. in 1818, had a web at $1s. 5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell; but before six months expired, was offered the same kind at $9d.$ per ell, and has known work of a similar kind wrought at $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ell since; and this

is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

(Signed) THOMAS COOPER,
DAVID GEMMEL, Bailie.
JOHN DICKSON, Bailie.

Kirkintilloch, 18. April, 1833.

We certify that the individuals who have this day been examined on oath, in the presence of the magistrates, are known to us, all of them to the one or the other of us, and that we regard them as men of strict probity, whose declaration even without an oath, would be entitled to the amplest credit. We can add from our own knowledge, that the class of the population employed in hand-loom weaving, who in this town are the most numerous class, have, owing to the melancholy depression of that branch of trade, been gradually sinking in the scale of comfort, till they are now, generally speaking, reduced to a state which may be termed, with too much truth, a state of privation. Many have disappeared from the public ordinances of religion, who assign as the reason, that they are no longer able to provide themselves and their families with decent apparel, and though this perhaps may in some instances be falsely pleaded as an excuse by the careless, we have not the smallest doubt that, in the great majority of cases, it is pleaded in good faith.

(Signed) ANDREW MARSHALL, Minister.
WILLIAM TURNBULL, Minister.

SIR R. PEEL'S SPEECH ON THE CURRENCY.

(Concluded from p. 254, No. 4.)

BUT let them look at the condition of the working classes, and see how they had been affected by this measure. *It was a conviction that a depreciated currency was working the ruin of the lower classes, which was one of the great inducements to him to endeavour to bring it back to a wholesome standard. He saw that prices of provisions rose much faster than the wages of labour, and he was convinced that the latter not keeping pace with the former entailed much misery on those classes.* He hoped the working classes, who were now daily becoming more and more acquainted with their true

interests, would bear this in mind. He would be satisfied to appeal to them. If the advocates of a paper currency should enlist them on their side by addresses to political unions, and other associated bodies, they would undoubtedly get a powerful auxiliary; *but he would appeal to their wisdom and mature deliberation, and would tell them that those were their best friends who sought to prevent their being paid in a depreciated currency.* (Hear, hear). He hoped the House would be always disposed to attend to the condition of those classes, and to the effects of any general measure upon them. They had heard affecting statements as to the condition of the working classes in his vicinity from the hon. Member for Oldham. He would admit that there was much distress there, but he had already alluded to its cause, as chiefly local—the great number of hand-looms. The hon. Member for Oldham had said that he had 3,000 power-looms, but should regret if he had injured any of the owners of hand-looms by them. Then the hon. Member must feel greatly distressed; for if any improvement in machinery had ever been an injury to those engaged in the trade to which it applied, power-looms were to those who worked at hand-looms. He did not mean to say that the use of them was to be condemned—by no means. He only mentioned the fact to account for the distress in Oldham, as arising from causes differing from those assigned by the hon. Member. The right hon. Baronet then adverted to a letter signed "*An Elector of Oldham*," which had appeared a short time back in some of the papers, and which gave a very able, and to him, *convincing account of the distress at Oldham having been the result of local causes; but even that distress was shown to have been greatly exaggerated.* The right hon. Baronet next entered into statements as to the present wages of artisans, such as carpenters, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, plumbers, painters, in the midland districts, to show that they were now much better than under a depreciated currency, and he asked what would be the effect of a law which would necessarily *raise the prices of provisions without at all raising the wages of those artisans in anything like the same proportion? It was much more easy to raise the price of provisions than the price of labour, and he maintained that any attempt to depreciate the currency would have the effect of placing the working classes in a much worse condition than at present; for that at this moment their wages could procure for them a much larger share of the necessaries of life than at any time under a depreciated currency.* At that late period of the night he would not go further into these details, connected though they were with a deeply, a most important, subject; but let any hon. Member move for a return, and let such return be laid before the House, and it would convince all those who would be guided by the evidence of facts that the present rate

of wages afforded to the labouring population a greater command over the comforts and necessities of life than they possessed in the so-much-vaunted times of a depreciated currency. Let such a return be made, and if it were honest it would show that there had been on the part of the labouring population a great increase of the powers of consumption. Why, then, was this inquiry called for? Were those who called for it agreed in their opinions as to the course which should be adopted? Let the House for a moment look to the course which the present discussion had taken. Not any two of the gentlemen who had taken part in the debate in support of the motion for the appointment of a committee were agreed as to the course which should be adopted, not one of them but differed diametrically from the other as to the remedy to which it was desirable to resort, and was it, he would put it to the common sense of the House, worth while, with such conflicting opinions as those gentlemen entertained on this subject, to send them to inquire into the state of the country, and to provide a remedy for it? (Hear, hear). The hon. Gentleman who had spoken first (the hon. Member for Whitehaven) had, as it had been remarked, wisely abstained from suggesting any particular remedy. It was obvious, however, that a depreciation of the currency was the object which he had in view. That hon. Member had said that our population had increased, and that our produce had increased, but that notwithstanding all that we prevented our standard from being increased. The honourable Member might just as well have said, "*Roads have increased and new works have been discovered, and yet the yard and a mile remain the same.*" (Hear, hear, and a laugh). To hear persons talk, as they had heard hon. Members in the course of this debate, of an "antiquated standard," was just as if they talked of metal being old. They might just as well talk of the pound weight having got old, or the weight of metal, as that the standard of money had become antiquated. (Hear). The hon. Member was greatly mistaken when he asserted that the present standard of our monetary system did not allow of variations. Let not, then, the hon. Member suppose that we had not a variable currency because we had a fixed money standard of value. The two things were not at all incompatible, quite the contrary, as every day's experience of the commercial transactions of this country fully proved. The hon. Member for Whitehaven, as he had already said, had suggested no remedy; he had only attempted to show that our present monetary system was chargeable with every evil that afflicted this country, and he wisely and prudently abstained from indicating the remedy. He was followed on this side of the question by the hon. Member for Oldham, who said that he would vote for the motion, and yet that he differed upon every point with the hon. Member who had brought it forward. (A laugh). He (Sir Robert Peel)

was never more disappointed than he had been upon this occasion by the speech of the hon. Member for Oldham. He had said that he was particularly entitled to address the House on this subject; that it was one to which he had particularly applied himself; that no man who spoke upon the subject could say a word that was worth listening to that had not been stolen from him (Mr. Cobbett), and that the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had made a very good speech, but it had been all taken from his (Mr. Cobbett's) writings. (A laugh). He could assure the honourable Member for Oldham, that he might entertain no such fears with regard to the speech which he had delivered on this occasion; he might not apprehend that he would have any one to steal his ideas in that instance; they were too original, too extraordinary, to tempt even the most unprincipled plunderer of such ware. Never indeed was there a speech made that possessed more efficient claims to an exclusive copyright. (A laugh). No one that heard him deliver it could, if he had not heard the previous debate, bring himself to imagine for a moment that it was on the currency question. While the hon. Member was speaking, a young Member, who had just come into the House, and who sat behind him (Sir R. Peel) addressed him thus: "Is the currency debate over? On the navy estimates, I suppose?" (A laugh). The fact was that the hon. Member had delivered himself upon the currency question of his old notes on the navy estimates. The hon. Member told them that he was for a gold standard, and that he preferred the king's coin to cotton paper. All the remedy that the honourable Member proposed was, that we should cut down everything connected with our expenditure to the standard of 1792. The hon. Member told them that it was proper that England should always assume a high tone; that poor Canning made her do so till he was corrupted by the Whigs (a laugh), that she should not allow France to have a navy, or Spain to have a navy; that, in fact, she should insist upon undisputed dominion upon the sea; and what was the hon. Member's secret for effecting this magnificent project? Simply to cut down our expenditure to the standard of 1792. (Hear, hear). He would ask the hon. Member how he would propose to deal with the Cape of Good Hope—with the Mauritius—with Malta? (Hear). The hon. Member said, that England had been engaged in a great naval war, in which she had annihilated the power of her enemies, and yet he was at a loss to know why the number of our admirals had been increased. (A laugh). The third speaker in favour of the motion was the hon. Member for Knaresborough. He differed essentially from the mover, and he commenced his speech by saying that the plan recommended by the hon. Member for Oldham would lead to national plunder. The remedy which he proposed was, that they

should have an issue of paper money convertible into gold ingots. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton was the next that followed in support of the motion, and he proposed that the whole of the burdens of the country should be thrown upon the landed interest. The hon. Member for the northern division of Yorkshire, and the hon. Member for Newcastle, had not proposed any particular plan; their plan was for a general and rapid rise of prices, however it might be effected, throughout the country. Another hon. Gentleman, the hon. Member for Birmingham, had not spoken on this occasion, and he (Sir R. Peel) did not know, therefore, whether he was inclined now to depart from the plan which he had recommended as a remedy in 1817. That plan was for an unlimited depreciation of the standard. Suppose, now, without joining any of the opponents of the motion with those seven gentlemen, they should send those seven gentlemen to consider merely this question of the currency—he would ask was there the slightest prospect of their discovering or agreeing upon a practical remedy? (Hear, hear). Would it be wise when they found a patient labouring under a severe disorder to send for two physicians, differing so diametrically in opinion as the hon. Member for Oldham and the hon. Member for Birmingham, to send for Sangrado from Oldham, and for Cuchuelo from Birmingham, to rid the poor patient of all his evils by putting an end to his existence? (Much laughter). Were they to appoint a committee of such discordant materials? Were they to send those seven or eight gentlemen together to consult about a remedy with regard to which every one of them was of an opposite opinion? The motion was for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the distress; but if such a committee should be appointed, the country would understand, from what had taken place in the course of the discussion, that the object of its appointment was a depreciation of the currency; and it would firmly believe that it had no other object in view. Now what would be the effect of such a notion, if it got abroad, upon the commercial dealing of this country? Would not every man, calculating that the sovereign, in the course of four months, would be worth 22s., endeavour to get as many of them as he could? If he should institute an inquiry with such an object, one effect of it would be the ruin of all debtors whose debts had been contracted during the last 23 years in a gold currency and who would be bound to pay them in it. All the depositors in the Bank of England would at once endeavour to get gold for their deposits. Would any man, with such a depreciation in prospect, engage to advance 30,000*l.* on mortgage, when he was sure to be paid for his sovereigns, so advanced, in paper twelve months hence? The truth was, that all the speculations of merchants, and all the commercial dealings in the country would be suspended, while such an inquiry with such an object in

view would be in progress. The question was not now as to depreciation or no depreciation, but the question was, whether a depreciation should be effected through the means of a long and interminable inquiry that no man saw the end of. Depreciation was bad enough, but a depreciation so effected would be the greatest of all curses. That the country was suffering at present under distress no one would deny. He believed that a good deal of that suffering was attributable to the effects of the past political excitement, which were now passing away; and besides, the suspension of commercial dealings, which caused that distress was also attributable to the circumstance of those great questions of the Bank charter, and the East Indies and the West Indies not yet being settled. If, in addition to the uncertainty thus produced, they were to throw in doubts as to the maintenance of our present standard of value, they would only enhance the difficulties of the country, and the sufferings of the different classes of the population in it, whom it was their object to relieve, one hundred-fold. (Hear). The present motion was, no doubt, mixed up with a plausible proposition for an inquiry into the distress of the country, but if they were convinced that its real object was a depreciation of the currency, he trusted that they would do their duty in rejecting it. Sure he was that their constituents would separate the real object of the motion from the plausible pretence with which it had been connected, and that they would give them credit for a right and for a just decision. They could address their constituents in the words of that great man Edmund Burke,—of that man who surpassed in all the highest intellectual attainments any man that had existed either before or after him in this country; who reviewed in his large and comprehensive mind the relations of the governed and of government with clearer views than any man had displayed since the time of Lord Bacon. (Cheers). He would read to them the doctrine of that most exalted man respecting the duty of representatives towards their constituents. He says, in answer to those who called upon him to vote against his conscience, or to resign his seat, "It is certainly not pleasing to be put out of the public service. But I wish to be a member of Parliament, to have my share of doing good and resisting evil. It would, therefore, be absurd to renounce my objects, in order to obtain my seat. I deceive myself indeed most grossly, if I had not much rather pass the remainder of my life hidden in the recesses of the deepest obscurity, feeding my mind even with the visions and imaginations of such things, than to be placed on the most splendid throne in the universe, tantalized with a doubtful practice of all which can make the greatest situation any other than the greatest curse." He called upon them in the same spirit fearlessly to do their duty. They were placed on the mountain-top, in order that they might take a more correct view of things than those

who were involved in the mists and obscurity of the plain. They might depend upon it, if they did their duty according to their conscience and judgment, their constituents would not call them to account; and if they did, they could reply to them in the beautiful words of Mr. Burke, which he had just quoted. If their constituents should call upon them to sacrifice their seats for having done their duty, it would redound to their eternal honour. They might, in the words of the same great orator, say—"In every accident which may happen through life, in pain, in sorrow, in depression, and distress, I will call to mind this accusation, and be comforted." The constituents of that great man called on him to resign his seat, or sacrifice his principles. He chose at once the former alternative, and now, after the lapse of time that had occurred, what was the contrast between their conduct and between his? He (Sir R. Peel) called upon the members of this the first reformed Parliament, in the same way to do their duty; they might depend upon it that their constituents would do justice to their motives, that they would look upon them as having acted according to their honest judgment and conscience, as having acted as representatives who had faithfully fulfilled their duties to the country, and who had proved themselves worthy of being intrusted with the protection of its interests. (The right hon. Baronet sat down amidst loud cheers).

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

COLEMAN, S. Tottenham, nursery-woman.
FELHAM, J. C., late of Shad-Thames, Hornlydown, wharfinger.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

GREENLEY, D., jun., Goswell-street, victualler.
LANCE, W., Lewisham, Kent, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

ARBER, T., Horseferry-road, builder.
GILBERT, J., Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire, farmer and innkeeper.
CORTHOPPE, J. B., Regent-street, painter and house-decorator.
CRAWLEY, J., Oxford-street, linen-draper.
DISAUD, J. S., Goswell-street-road, jeweller and goldsmith.
MILLINGEN, J., Wells-street, Hackney-road, jeweller and wedding-manufacturer.

NEWARK, H., and J. Toms, Wood-street, Cheap-side, ribband-manufacturers.
NEWELL, H., St. John's Wood-terrace, Portland-town, jeweller.

TUESDAY, APRIL 30, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

CARTER, J., Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, water-proof-manufacturer.
RANSFORD, T., Bristol, hat-manufacturer.
SIMSON, J., Hertford, hatter.
SMITH, F., Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, water-proof-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SHORT, R., Dartmouth, Devonshire, sail-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

BADGER, W., Merthyr Tydvil, Glamorgan-shire, general-shopkeeper.
BURTON, E., and J. T. Winterbottom, Manchester, wine-merchants.
MARFLEET, D., Whitechapel-road, draper.
MILLINGTON, T. and W., York, curriers.
NORTON, A., Bulstrode-street, Manchester-square, cabinet-maker.
ROBERTS, J. M., Villiers-street, Strand, copper-plate-printer.
TAYLOR, J. F., Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, wine-merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 29.—The supplies from the home counties fresh up to this morning's market were only moderate. We had a tolerably good attendance of buyers, and fine samples of Wheat being scarce, 1s. per qr. more money was in a few instances realized, though generally speaking the better descriptions were only a shade dearer; secondary and inferior parcels sustained little alteration, and a limited demand. Old Wheats maintained fully their former rates, and for bonded parcels some little inquiry still existed, but without any improvement in the offers.

The vote in the House of Commons last Friday, as to the reduction of the Malt duty from 20s. 8d. to 10s., has thrown the trade into a very unsettled state. More money was to-day demanded for Malt, but purchasers having no positive grounds to act upon, refrained from buying, and business was therefore rendered quite stagnant. The same remarks will partially apply to Barley. The supply was very short, and higher terms required for the best parcels, without, however,

being acceded to by buyers. In other descriptions nothing doing.

The supply of Oats coming short to hand this morning, good fresh qualities, both of English and Irish, obtained from 6d. to 1s. better prices than this day se'nnight.

Beans were in request, and must be noted 1s. higher.

Peas continued without alteration.

Flour experienced a dull sale at its former currency.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 31s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	14s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 36s. to 38s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 36s. to 38s.	
Pork, India, new ... 115s. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 65s. to —s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast ... 64s. to 68s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 62s. to 70s.	
— Cork ... 68s. to 70s.	
— Limerick ... —s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 48s. to 58s.	
— Dublin ... 50s. to 54s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 72s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 50s. to 56s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 46s. to 50s.	
— Edam ... 40s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ... 40s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 44s. to 54s.	

SMITHFIELD.—April 29.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs, was moderately good: the supply of Calves and Porkers rather limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, as dull as, at a similar season of the year, with the weather favourable to slaughtering, was, perhaps, ever witnessed. With Beef and Veal at a depression of full 2d, Mutton full 4d, and Lamb full 6d per stone; with Pork at barely Friday's quotations.

The beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Scots, and Norfolk home-breds, and Welsh runts, with a few Herefords, chiefly (say 1,800 of them) from Norfolk; with a few from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, our midland and western districts; and about 40 Sussex beasts; 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Irish Beasts, Staffords, &c. from various quarters.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal proportions of the South Downs and white-faced crosses; about

an eighth South Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Leicesters and Lincolns, horned Norfolks, Somersets, and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. The Lambs seemed to chiefly consist of about equal numbers of West Sussex, South Downs, new Leicesters and Dorsets.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 4.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	} Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	} 87½	27	87½	—	87	87

MR. FAITHFULL'S SPEECH.
This Speech is now published, and may be had at my Shop at Bolt-court. It should be read by every man in the Kingdom. The price is 7s. a hundred.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church),

BEG to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats	0	16	0
Figured ditto ditto	0	18	0
Valentia ditto	0	12	0
Barogan Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT.**



STAMP DUTIES.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 8. May, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,

You have been informed before, that this is a branch of taxation which, including the cost of collection, not to mention the enormous expenses attending prosecutions and applications to the Stamp Office for redress of grievances; not to mention these, you know that this is a branch of taxation, amounting to the enormous sum of eight millions of pounds sterling a year, falling, as you will presently see, on the most meritorious part of the industrious classes. In the month of February I first brought this subject forward, but was induced to postpone it until after the passing of the Irish Bill. From the accounts which I have given you of the mass of matter brought before the House of Commons, and of the manner of proceeding as to that matter, you will easily perceive what difficulty one has to encounter in the bringing forward of any subject whatsoever. After being prevented from time to time from renewing this subject, I saw no prospect of ever being able to do it, except under circumstances, which, according to the rules of the House, would prevent me from having a reply. I am now about to give you an account of what took place on Friday, the 3. of May, when I brought forward my resolutions upon this subject. But, first

let me congratulate you on one very important achievement; namely, on the abolition of stamps on receipts of all sums under five pounds. This was proposed by the Minister himself, and was agreed to by the House last night. He is going to make other alterations also in these stamp duties; and, as the reporters seem not, all of them, to have clearly understood what he said upon this occasion, justice to him demands from me, that I state to you precisely what he did say. He has it in contemplation to bring in a bill for what he calls *consolidating* the stamp duties. Why he makes use of the word *consolidate*, I cannot imagine; but he clearly means to bring in a bill to alter the duties in some respect or other. I, understanding this to be the case, asked him, *whether it was his intention to make freehold property liable to the legacy and probate duty, in like manner as personal property now is.* His answer was: "*I do not mean to make freehold property liable to the legacy duty: I mean to make an alteration in the scale of the probate-duty.*" Whereupon I said, that I would bring in a bill for putting freehold property upon a level with personal property with regard to legacies and probates. This was all that was said upon the subject by Lord Althorp; and, therefore, the statement which I have seen, in one of the papers at least, about his declaring his intention to make freehold property *liable to the probate duty*, is certainly not correct: it was a matter that I necessarily paid the strictest attention to; and I cannot have made a mistake upon the point.

I shall now insert the whole of the resolution, as it was moved by me; and then I shall have to make some remarks upon what passed upon the occasion. I shall not take up your time with a report of my *speech*. The newspapers have done me great justice, as far as I have been able to look at them; and I am quite sure, that you will be ready to do me a great deal more

than justice. I have numbered the paragraphs from *one* to *eighteen*, in order that I may, if necessary, the more easily refer to them.

1. "RESOLVED. That an impost, which according to the letter of the law imposing it, is made to press with greater weight, on one man, or on one class of men, than on other men, or on another class of men, is, properly speaking, not a *tax*, but a confiscation, and the law imposing it is, if properly defined, a *penal law*, such as were the laws imposing double taxes on the Catholics of England, and on the Quakers of the United States of America; and that, when one part of the community is compelled to pay a tax, from which another part of that same community is wholly exempted, there is a clear and undeniable confiscation; and that, if such confiscation be inflicted without crime committed by, and proved upon, the party on whom it is inflicted, such confiscation is an act of tyranny.

2. "That, by the acts of Parliament passed on the 11. of July, 1815, being chapter 184 of the fifty-fifth of George the Third, and by the act passed on the 5. of August, 1822, being chapter 117 of the 3rd of George the Fourth, imposing certain duties on *stamps*, amounting annually, in the aggregate, to upwards of *seven millions* a year, the utmost care has been taken to exempt the nobility and great landed proprietors from bearing any but a very small share of the burden; and further to make the tax heavier and heavier, in proportion to the smallness of the amount of property on which it is levied; so that each tax goes on, pressing heavier and heavier, from the very rich down to the very poor, as will clearly appear by a reference to the letter of the said acts.

3. "That by the first of the said acts, various duties on legacies, and on property coming by intestate succession, are imposed applicable to different degrees of relationship between the legatees and the successors and the deceased, beginning

"at one per cent., and going on to ten per cent.; but that, from these duties all freehold property is wholly exempted, and, therefore, from this tax, which is, on an average, about three per cent. on all other property in the kingdom left by will, or coming by intestate succession, the estates of the nobility and landed gentry (including the advowsons and lay-tithes) are exempted, while the father, the mother, the child, of the fundholder, the tradesman, the farmer, or other person bequeathing personal property, has one per cent. to pay on the amount of the legacy or intestate succession, while a brother who has had a thousand pounds left him by a brother, has thirty pounds to pay on this duty, and while a distant relation of the deceased has, on a legacy of the same amount, to pay one hundred pounds.

4. "That, in regard to the probates of wills and letters of administration, if the deceased leave property above the value of twenty pounds, his successors have to pay a stamp duty of ten shillings: that is to say, at the rate of two pounds per cent. on the value of the property; but that, if the party dying leave by will any sum from thirty thousand to five hundred thousand pounds, the duty is only one pound ten shillings per cent.; and that, in this case again, all freehold property is exempted.

5. "That, in the case of conveyances of all sorts, the duty upon a thing of five pounds, or on anything under twenty pounds value is ten shillings, and the duty upon a thing of two hundred thousand pounds value, or any sum above that, is a thousand pounds; so that, in the latter case it may be less than ten shillings per cent. on the value of the thing conveyed, and in the former case, if of five pounds value, it is two hundred shillings per cent. on the value of the thing conveyed; and thus, in this case, the poor man pays twenty times as much tax as the rich man on precisely the same sort of property, and under the same act of Parliament: and that, as the act will show, the weight of the duty goes on

"increasing from ten shillings per cent. to two hundred shillings per cent., exactly in the proportion that the value of the property becomes smaller and smaller in amount.

6. "That in the case of leases of lands, tenements, &c., where the yearly rent is five pounds, the stamp-duty is one pound, or *twenty per cent.*; but where the yearly rent is a thousand pounds, or any sum above that, the stamp-duty is ten pounds, or *one per cent.*; and that tax goes on, from four hundred a year rental to five pounds a year rental, getting heavier and heavier, but increasing in the small rentals in a most disproportionate manner.

7. "That in the case of mortgages, bonds, and securities of every description, if the amount of the mortgage, for instance, be twenty-five pounds, the amount of the stamp is one pound, or *eighty shillings per cent.*; but if the amount of the mortgage be twenty thousand pounds; the amount of the stamp is twenty pounds, or two *shillings per cent.*; that, in this case, the poor man pays forty times as much tax as the rich man; and that the stamp is no more if the amount of the mortgage be one hundred thousand pounds; so that, in a case like this, the poor man pays two hundred times as much tax as the rich man; and that, in this case also, the tax goes on increasing in weight as the taxed person becomes poor.

8. "That in the case of annuities, if the annuity be for ten pounds, or under, the amount of the stamp is one pound; and that, in due proportion, an annuity of two thousand pounds ought to pay a stamp-duty of two hundred pounds; but instead of that, it pays a stamp-duty of only twenty-five pounds; and if the annuity be for ten thousand pounds, or any greater amount, it still pays a stamp-duty of only twenty-five pounds; so that here the poor man pays forty or fifty times as much tax as the rich man; and that, in this case also, the tax goes on getting heavier and heavier as the parties become more and more poor.

9. "That, in the case of promissory notes and bills of exchange, not exceeding two months after date, if the sum be forty shillings, or above forty shillings and not exceeding five pounds five shillings, the stamp is *one shilling*; and, in the same proportion, the stamp on three thousand pounds ought to be twenty-eight pounds eleven shillings; but that, it pays only fifteen shillings; and that for any higher sum the stamp is no more than one pound five shillings, instead of being, on ten thousand pounds, ninety-five pounds four shillings; and that, therefore, in the former case, while the poor man pays nearly *one pound per cent.*; the rich man pays *sixpence per cent.*; and, in the latter case, while the poor man pays nearly *one pound per cent.*, the rich man pays *threepence per cent.*; and that, therefore, in the first case, the poor man pays forty times as much as the rich man, and, in the latter case, nearly *eighty times* as much as the rich man: and here, as in all the former cases, the tax becomes heavier and heavier, as the tax-payer becomes poorer and poorer; and that, in bills of a longer date than two months, the partiality is still greater, and weighs still more heavily on the needy man.

10. "That, in the case of insurance of lives, where the sum insured amounts to less than five hundred pounds, the stamp is one pound; that, if it amount to five hundred pounds, the stamp is two pounds; that, if it amount to five thousand pounds, or upwards, the stamp is five pounds; so that the man who insures ten thousand pounds pays only *one shilling per cent.*; while he who insures for less than five hundred pounds, and suppose that to be three hundred pounds, pays *six shillings and eight pence per cent.*; and thus the man of scanty means pays nearly seven times as much as the man of wealth.

11. "That, in the case of receipts, if the sum be two pounds, the stamp is two-pence; if the sum be a thousand pounds, the stamp is ten shillings, when, in due proportion, it ought to

"be four pounds three shillings and fourpence, that thus the poor man pays more than eight times as much tax as the rich man; and if the sum go on increasing to a hundred thousand, or a million pounds, still the stamp is only ten shillings; and that for any sum expressed to be in full of all demands, whether it be for two pounds or a million, the stamp is always ten shillings; so that in this case it may be fairly said that the poor man pays a thousand times as much tax as the rich.

12. "That, in the case of appraisements not exceeding the value of fifty pounds in the value of the thing appraised, the stamp is two-and-sixpence; that, if the thing appraised exceeds five hundred pounds in value, though it amount to a million of money or more, the stamp is but one pound; so that here the tax falls almost wholly on persons in the middle rank of life, and the estates of the nobility and landed gentry are all nearly exempted: that an estate of the value of a hundred thousand pounds ought to pay an appraisal stamp of two hundred and fifty pounds, instead of the one pound which it now pays; so that here the people in the middle rank of life pay, in many cases, *two hundred and fifty times* as much as the rich.

13. "That, by the aforesaid act of the 55th George the Third, the duty on deeds as expressed by the act, limits its operation to deeds containing no more than 2,160 words; and the act provides that for every 1,080 words beyond that number there shall be a further duty of one pound; and no difference is made as to this further duty, be the amount of the thing conveyed what it may; so that, in this respect, an estate of the value of a hundred pounds pays as much duty as the estate of the value of a million of money; and that, it frequently happens that the deed conveying the small estate requires a greater number of words than the deed conveying the large estate.

14. "That with regard to apprentice-

ships, the parents of a poor boy, who give no premium at all with him, have two pounds to pay for the indentures and the counterpart; that in this case, however, where nobody but tradesmen are concerned, the stamp goes on gradually and fairly from thirty pounds to a thousand pounds, a premium under thirty pounds paying one pound stamp, and a thousand pounds paying sixty pounds stamp; because, in this case, the nobility, clergy, and landed gentry, are not concerned; and here we observe, that while the poor boy's parents are thus taxed, the duties on settlements made by the rich, pay only a twenty-five-shilling stamp on a thousand pounds.

15. "That, according to the aforesaid act, every transfer, assignment, disposition, assignation, or re-conveyance of any mortgage or wadset, had a duty imposed upon it, on a certain *ad valorem* scale; so that the transfer, disposition, or assignation, &c., paid the same *ad valorem* duty as was imposed on the original mortgage or wadset; but that, by the last of the aforementioned acts, viz.: chapter 117 of the 3d of Geo. Fourth, an alteration was made in this respect; and in such wise as to make the duty in all cases whatsoever *the same sum*, namely, one pound fifteen shillings; so that the stamp on the transfer of a mortgage of two hundred thousand pounds, or a million of money, has, since the year last-mentioned, been the same as on the transfer of a mortgage of no more than two hundred pounds; thus, compelling the tradesman, or other small proprietor, to pay just the same amount of duty on the transfer of his small mortgage, as is paid by the peer upon the transfer of a mortgage to the amount of hundreds of thousands of pounds.

16. "That there is a total exemption from this stamp-tax for all bonds, contracts, mortgages, conveyances, deeds, and instruments for making provision for building, repairing, or purchasing houses, and other buildings, for the beneficed clergy on their benefices.

17. "That by several acts of Parliament, ending with 55 Geo. III., chapter 142, which acts impose duties on things sold by auction, a duty of *sevenpence* in the pound is imposed, in Great Britain, on the amount of the sale of any interest in possession or reversion, in any freehold, customary, copyhold, or leasehold lands, tenements, houses, or hereditaments, and on any share or shares in the capital or joint-stock of any corporation or chartered company, and of any annuities or sums of money charged thereon, and of any ships and vessels, and of any reversionary interest in the public funds, or of any plate or jewels; but that, on all sales of furniture, fixtures, pictures, books, horses, and carriages, and all other goods and chattels whatever, there is a duty of *one shilling* in the pound; while on wool, sold for the benefit of the landowner or his tenant, or the first purchasers, the duty is only *twopence* in the pound; and that from this duty all sales of goods distrained for rent or tithes, and all sales of leases of lands or tenements, and all sales of woods, coppices, cattle, live or dead stock, and all unmanufactured produce of land, and of all produce of mines, when the sales are made on the lands or at the mines, are wholly exempted, as well as all the produce of quarries, or of implements used in quarries, mines, or farms; and that thus, while every product of the hand of man has to bear this tax in almost a double degree, compared with lands and tenements themselves, the produce of the land bears no part of this tax, which is thus shifted from the shoulders of the great and the rich, and made to fall almost exclusively on the middle and working classes of society.

18. "That this House will, with as little delay as possible, make such an alteration in the several acts, imposing duties on stamps and on sales at auction, as shall cause the peers, nobles, baronets, and other great landowners, to pay, in proportion to the amount of their property (subject to

"those duties), as great an amount in those duties as is paid by the fundholders, annuitants, tradesmen, manufacturers, farmers, mechanics, and the rest of the industrious classes of the kingdom; and as shall cause, in all cases, the rich to pay the said duties in the same proportion as the poor."

To this statement no answer whatever was given. Mr. SPRING RICE, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, was the person chosen to defend this system of taxation. He had two things to defend: first, the exemption of freehold property from the legacy and probate duty; and, second, the rates on the scales of the other duties; and, in the case of the auction duties, he had again to defend both exemptions and rates. Every one that heard him must have been convinced that he succeeded in no part of his undertaking. He did not dare say that the thing was right and just as it stood; and my Lord АНТОНЪ, who said that Mr. RICE's was a triumphant answer, ought, to have been consistent, to have maintained the duties as they stood, instead of *being ready to announce his intention of making alterations in them!* I will not avail myself of the advantages which this publication of mine affords me, to pay off the score run up, I, being likely to have an opportunity of paying off that score when the parties are before me face to face. But, it is quite proper that I notice here the grand *diversion* which Mr. RICE made relative to a pamphlet of Mr. DUNN. His object was, to make the House believe, that I had picked up all my knowledge of this subject from a little book, called the "*Remembrancer*," published by Mr. DUNN. If this had really been the case, and had Mr. DUNN instructed me how to proceed, as an attorney does an advocate, what had that to do with the matter? That would not have altered the facts: that would not have made injustice justice. The truth is, however, that I never saw Mr. DUNN's book, until February last; and, from the *Isle of Wight to Edinburgh*, those that have been indulgent enough

to listen to me, have heard me complaining of the gross injustice of these stamp and auction duties. Some time before the meeting of the Parliament, General COCHRAN published a letter in the *Morning Chronicle*, with his name at the bottom of it, in which letter he said, *that the new Parliament would be judged of by him, according to the manner in which it would deal with the probate duties*; and, it is now more than ten years since that gentleman showed me papers, which he had caused to be printed himself, stating the cruelties of those duties. Besides, the *fifteenth* paragraph of my resolution relates to a matter, contained in an act of Parliament, of which Mr. DUNN does not appear to have been at all aware; and, of this paragraph, Mr. SPRING RICE took not the smallest notice, though it relates to the most flagrant act of injustice contained in the whole series; and though it will be impossible for my Lord ALTHORP to retain his character, if he suffer this act of Parliament to remain upon the statute book, now that his attention has been drawn to it.

Mr. DUNN does not treat at all of the auction-duties, which are most monstrously oppressive, and not less monstrously partial; and Mr. SPRING RICE's answer with regard to which, was such as I will not attempt to characterize. My tongue itched to reply; but, I do not know, that it was injurious to my case, that I was not permitted to do it. The best reply is the alteration which Lord ALTHORP is making in these very bad acts of Parliament. The abolishing the duty upon all receipts on sums below five pounds is doing a great thing for the public. The town of HULL has recently petitioned for having that very thing done. It is done; and, what is very curious, Mr. SPRING RICE reproached me, on the 3. of May, for not knowing that there was a *bill upon the table*; to take off those stamp-duties, when it was only *last night*, the 7. of May, that the House came to a *resolution* to bring in a bill to take off those duties; when it ordered such a bill to be brought in by Mr. BERNAL, Lord

Viscount ALTHORP, and Mr. SPRING RICE. Yes, he really reproached me for want of diligence as a member of Parliament, in not knowing that there was that bill *upon the table*!

However, I will not proceed further with this matter; and I will leave you to determine, and leave the hundreds and thousands of persons who will be relieved by this measure, to ascribe it to whom you think it due, just observing, however, that it *made no part of the budget*. You will want nothing to instruct you to conclude that this is the best reply to Mr. SPRING RICE, who will receive other and further replies as my Lord ALTHORP proceeds in his "*consolidation*" of the stamp-duties. In short, these duties must be altered, and in a very considerable degree: they are the most sore and galling grievance which is felt by that prodigious number of industrious, careful, frugal, affectionate, and peaceable, families, whose hearts are kept in a continual ache by these unjust, these partial, these oppressive duties, on legacies and probates particularly, which cause them to be worried by commissioners, and to be surrounded by expensive appraisers and attorneys, keeping them in constant fear and anxiety, and stripping them, in the end, of one half of their small and well-merited means. The country must be, and will be, delivered from this tantalizing scourge; and I desire that country to give its thanks *to you*, my sensible and public-spirited constituents; and to leave me wholly out of the question.

With regard to the conduct of the Ministers in this affair, they have done, as all Ministers have done, since I have known anything of them, given way with a bad grace. How much better would it have been to silence me at once by doing the just thing; by acknowledging that there was something wrong, and that they would put it to rights! This is the way that sensible men act. But, *power* is always apt to be headstrong; and never was power more headstrong than that in the hands of English Ministers. I have now given notice of a motion, to be made on the 21. of May, "*for leave to*

"bring in a Bill to alter and amend the Act 55 Geo. III. chap 148, as far as relates to duties on legacies; and duties on probates of wills."

Now, I ought to have been spared this trouble; and the Minister ought to have spared himself the trouble of having to deal with this subject again in this sort of way. He is going to alter the scale of the probate duties. So far that is right; and it will be something for the people to be pleased with; but it is impossible that it can satisfy, if he do nothing more. However, I will not prejudice his doings in this way: nor, will I do anything for the purpose of creating embarrassment to him and his colleagues, notwithstanding any treatment that I may have received, or may yet receive, from them or any of their supporters. I know that such a mass of evil is not to be dissipated in an hour: an attempt to carry on the old system with the new Parliament must necessarily be attended with difficulties, such as no man can possibly describe. How many hundred times have I said, that I would rather now be compelled to earn my bread with a hoe or a spade, than attempt to carry on this system of taxation for one single month. Lord ALTHORP is a man of good sense; a man of great experience; all who know him say, that everything belonging to his private character is excellent; as to *love of gain*, the thing is almost physically impossible that that can be his motive: and, therefore, to me it is one of the most surprising things that my mind ever contemplated, that he should persevere in attempting to carry on this system. If, indeed, I saw a CANNING, a HUXTERSON, or some such *Parvenu*; some such political adventurer, to whom a scramble would be almost a matter of indifference; if I saw such an one seated where he sits, I should not deem it matter of surprise; but to see him worried by deputations, badgered by paragraphs, exposing himself to such loads of obloquy; and, after all, without the chance of eking out the system for more than a few months, is really a phenomenon quite sufficient to engage

the speculations of the profoundest of philosophers.

I here insert, from the votes of the House, the Stamp resolutions of which I have spoken above; and these resolutions, observe, were passed on the seventh of May. You will also observe, that the reduction of stamp-duties on receipts made no part of Lord ALTHORP's budget.

STAMP DUTIES ACTS, — Resolutions reported;

1. "That the Duty of Stamps now payable in Great Britain and Ireland respectively upon every Receipt or Discharge given for or upon the payment of any sum of money not amounting to 5*l.*, shall cease and determine."
2. "That the Duties of Stamps now payable on any Advertisement, shall cease and determine; and that, in lieu thereof, there shall be charged upon every Advertisement contained in any Gazette or other Newspaper, or contained in or published with any other Periodical Paper, or in or with any Pamphlet or Literary Work, s. d.

If printed and published in Great Britain, a Duty of 1 6
If printed and published in Ireland, a Duty of 1 0

3. "That there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid the several Duties of Stamps following, on the Sea Insurances hereinafter particularly mentioned, in lieu of those now payable on the like Insurances in Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that is to say,

Upon or in respect of every Policy of Assurance or Insurance, or other Instrument, by whatever name the same shall be called, whereby any Insurance shall be made upon any Ship or Vessel, or upon any goods, merchandize, or other property, on board of any Ship or Vessel, or upon the freight of any Ship or Vessel, or upon any other interest in or relating to any

Ship or Vessel which may lawfully be insured for or upon any voyage, other than a voyage from any port or place in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, or Sark, or the Isle of Man, to any other port or place in the said Kingdom or Islands, or Isle of Man :

Where the premium or consideration for such Insurance actually and *bona fide* paid, given or contracted for, shall not exceed the rate of fifteen shillings *per centum* on the sum insured,

If the whole sum insured shall s. d.
not exceed 100l. 1 3

And if the whole sum insured shall exceed 100l., then for every 100l., and also for any fractional part of 100l. whereof the same shall consist. 1 3

And where the premium or consideration for such Insurance actually and *bona fide* paid, given, or contracted for, shall exceed the rate of fifteen shillings *per centum*, and shall not exceed the rate of thirty shillings *per centum* on the sum insured,

If the whole sum insured shall not exceed 100l. 2 6

And if the whole sum insured shall exceed 100l., then for every 100l., and also for any fractional part of 100l. whereof the same shall consist. 2 6

And where the premium or consideration for such Insurance actually and *bona fide* paid, given, or contracted for, shall exceed the rate of thirty shillings *per centum* on the sum insured,

If the whole sum insured shall not exceed 100l. 5 0

And if the whole sum insured shall exceed 100l., then for every 100l., and also for any fractional part of 100l., whereof the same shall consist. 5 0

But if the separate interests of two or more distinct persons shall be insured by one Policy or Instrument, then the said Duty of 1s. 3d., 2s. 6d., or 5s., as the case may re-

quire, shall be charged thereon, in respect of each and every fractional part of 100l., as well as in respect of every full sum of 100l., which shall be thereby insured upon any separate and distinct interest,

Upon or in respect of every Policy of Assurance or Insurance, or other Instrument, by whatever name the same shall be called, whereby any Insurance shall be made upon any Ship or Vessel, or upon the freight of any Ship or Vessel, or upon any other interest in or relating to any Ship or Vessel which may lawfully be insured for any certain term or period of time, the following rates or sums for every 100l., and also for any fractional part of 100l., whereof the same shall consist; that is to say,

Where any such Insurance shall be made for any term or period not exceeding three calendar months s. d.
— not exceeding six 2 6
— not exceeding nine 5 0
— not exceeding twelve 7 6
— not exceeding twelve 10 0

Resolution agreed to; Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bernal, Lord Viscount Althorp, and Mr. Rice.

You shall be informed of the committees which have now been appointed. I have told you before about the standing committee for the examining of petitions: and I have now to inform you of the appointment of five other committees, consisting each of about thirty persons. So that, if they be all sitting at once, here are a hundred and fifty of the members sitting on committees. These committees will make a report when they have examined witnesses upon the subject; each will make its own report; and will subjoin an account of the evidence which it receives, and on which it founds its report. When these reports are made it will be my business to look into them thoroughly; but, I am told that it is very likely that not one of them will make its report during the present session. However, if they do not make

their reports during the present session, I shall be able to discover how they are *going on*, particularly that with regard to agriculture, from which I expect some very entertaining matter. I insert here, before I make further remarks, the titles of the committees, and the names of the members composing them; and I beg you to look very well and attentively at all these names.

AGRICULTURE—Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the *present state of Agriculture*, and *of persons employed in Agriculture in the United Kingdom*:"—Lord Viscount Althorp, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Littleton, Sir Richard Vyvyan, Lord Ormelie, Sir John Sebright, Mr. Alexander Baring, Mr. Dominick Browne, Sir John Dalrymple, Mr. Cayley, Sir Matthew Ridley, Sir Charles Lemon, Mr. Robert Clive, Mr. More O'Ferrall, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Mr. Ayshford Sanford, Mr. James Bulter, Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, Mr. Matthias Attwood, Mr. John Benett, Mr. Paulet Mildmay, Lord Viscount Milton, Mr. Bethell, Mr. Gilbert Heathcote, Lord Viscount Howick, Mr. William Denison, Mr. Childers, Sir William Browne Folkes, Mr. Brigstock, Lord Heniker, Mr. Roberts, Earl of Kerry, Mr. John Murray, Mr. Stanley (Cheshire):—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, AND SHIPPING.—Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the *present state of Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping*, in the *United Kingdom*, and to report *their opinions and observations thereupon from time to time to the House*:"—Lord Viscount Althorp, Mr. Poulett Thomson, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Alexander Baring, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. George William Wood, Lord Viscount Lowther, Mr. James Oswald, Mr. James Morrison, Mr. Grote, Mr.

Abercromby, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Herries, Mr. Thomas Attwood, Mr. Lyall, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Ewart, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Baunerman, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. John Parker, Mr. George F. Young, Mr. Charles Pelham, Mr. John Fielden, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Vernon Smith, Mr. Hyett, Mr. Warburton, Mr. George Robinson, Mr. Emmerson Tennent, Mr. Hedworth Lambton, Mr. Rawdon Briggs, Mr. Rumbold, Mr. John Abel Smith, Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer, Mr. Christmas, Mr. Aaron Chapinan, Mr. Alderman Thompson:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

ARMY AND NAVY APPOINTMENTS.—Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the establishment of *the Garrisons*; into every branch *of pay and emolument of all General and Staff Officers in the Army both at home and abroad*; *and into the emoluments of Naval Officers holding the appointments of Vice and Rear Admirals of the United Kingdom*, and *of Generals and Colonels of Marines*; and to report *their opinion, whether any, or what reduction or alteration can be made in them, without detriment to the efficiency of the Public Service, or to the just reward of professional merit*:"—Lord Viscount Ebrington, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, Mr. Ellice, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Williams Wynn, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. Abercromby, Mr. Pendarves, Sir Ronald Ferguson, Mr. Hume, Sir Alexander Hope, Colonel Davies, Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Fazakerly, Sir John Wrottesley, Colonel Maberly, the [O'Connor Don, Sir John Sebright, Sir John Byng, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Bohnam Carter, Mr. Carew, Mr. Strickland, Admiral Fleming, Mr. Morgan O'Connell, Mr. Richard Oswald, Mr. Hedworth Lambton:—Power to send for persons,

papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

IRISH VAGRANTS.—Select Committee appointed, "to take into consideration the Laws relative to the passing of poor persons born in Ireland to their own Country, with a view to the alteration and amendment of the said Laws, and to report their opinions thereupon to the House." Mr. Robert Palmer, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Lamb, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Calvert, Sir Thomas Fremantle, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Wilson Patten, Mr. Greene, Lord Viscount Sandon, Mr. Alderman Wood, Lord Granville Somerset, Mr. Evelyn Denison, Colonel Wood, Mr. Methuen, Mr. Benett, Mr. Deans Dundas, Sir Gray Skipwith, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Walter, Mr. Slaney, Mr. Ewart, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Byng, Mr. Augustus Moreton —: Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

LAND REVENUES.—Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the management of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown, and to report how far the measures recommended by the Commissioners appointed under the Act 26 George 3, c. 87, have been carried into effect, and what other measures such Committee would recommend for further improving and rendering more productive the Hereditary Estates of the Crown."—Lord Vict. Duncannon, Mr. Warre, Mr. Murray, Mr. Harvey, Lord Visct. Lowther, Mr. Ward, Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Edward Bolton Clive, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Mr. Lambert, Mr. John H. Talbot, Mr. Petre, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Charles Buller, Lord Viscount Villiers, Mr. Hume, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Gisborne, Mr. Slaney, Lord Viscount Clements, Mr. William Ord, Colonel Leith Hay, Mr. Bingham Baring, Mr. Horatio Ross, Mr. Herries, Mr. Robert Gordon, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Madocks, Mr. Hyett:

—Power to send for persons, papers and records; Five to be the quorum.

You will understand, that these committees cannot make acts of Parliament; and can only offer their opinions, together with any reasons that they may happen to have to spare in support of those opinions. With regard to the witnesses, they are selected of course, and they come at the summons of the Speaker. We shall see who will be brought as witnesses in the case of agriculture, for instance, and we shall hear what these witnesses have to say. When the report is made to the House, the House can deal with it as it pleases: it can call in question the opinions of the committee: it can reject any recommendation that it may give; and, even while the committee is sitting, any member can call for an account of how it is getting on, and ask what sort of persons it is having brought before it as witnesses. So that no mischief can be done by these committees, unless the House were to neglect *its duty*; which is a thing that we are not to be permitted to suppose possible. These committees, when properly constituted (and we are to suppose [that] they are all so constituted), are very useful, because they can enter into inquiries which would be next to impossible to conduct in the House. They answer this purpose, too: they are ready to receive, and attend to, all the petitions that may be referred to them, relating to the several subjects, respectively; and, on the other hand, they can do no harm, if the House do its duty. If the members selected are deficient in point of knowledge or judgment as to the matter in question, there are the knowledge and judgment of the House to correct any errors into which they may have fallen; but then, it becomes the House to be extremely careful how it adopts the errors of a committee; instead of correcting those errors. If the committees do not make a proper selection of witnesses to bring before them, the House will be a judge of that; it will ransack the

whole of this matter; and, after having fully discussed the proposition of the committee, and the evidence on which it is founded, it will be able to come to a right determination.

I have thus given you an account of these committees, which may be looked upon as so many sets of delegates appointed to prepare matter on which for the House to deliberate, and to come to a determination. But, there is one of these committees, that on the "*Land Revenues*," which is worthy of your particular attention; and of the attention of the whole kingdom. When Lord ALTHORP proposed the appointment of this committee on the 7th instant, he said, that *great exaggerations had gone abroad upon this subject*; and that this was one of his reasons for the appointing of this committee. Mr. HARVEY, the Member for *Colchester*, said, that these land revenues were worth fifteen millions of money. I have always put these revenues at more than three times that sum; and though it became Mr. HARVEY to speak greatly within compass, I am sure that my estimate will, in the end, be found to be correct; and within compass also. What I was principally anxious about as to this matter, was, that Mr. HARVEY should be a member of the committee. I found that this was so; and, indeed, common decency demanded this. Mr. HARVEY is a man of very great talent; and he has now the power of rendering the country a service, which it falls to the lot of few men to be able to render it. I am not to presume that there is any reason to suppose, that he will find any impediment raised up by his associates in the committee; but, if this were the case, there is still the *House* for him to appeal to.

Lord DUNCANNON, who is the surveyor, as it is called, of the estates of the crown, which are, in fact, now the estates of the people, said, as I understood him, that the proceeds of these estates had, in part at least, been lent to street-wideners and London beautifiers, and the like, for the purpose of making those "*worst improvements, ma'am*," that the Jewesses and their men so

much admire. Now, in the first place, all these "*worst improvements*" are a monstrous evil; and, in the next place, why were not these revenues applied to the supply of the place of some of the taxes. These revenues would supply the place of the whole of the assessed taxes, if they were properly brought to account. Mr. HUME put a very pertinent question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon this occasion; namely, "*whether the committee were to inquire into the affairs of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster*;" to which he received an answer in the *negative*! Why, take in these two Duchies, and here is revenue of three or four millions a year. The fact is, that the whole of this property ought to be brought to book by the House of Commons, as a lord's steward brings the whole of his estate to book. The House is the steward of the nation; and here is a prodigious estate which it ought to take into its hands, and manage it to as great advantage as it possibly can. The American Government has a great quantity of lands, part of which it occasionally sells; but the account is kept as regularly and as strictly, as if the lands belonged to a private estate. This estate is prodigious in magnitude; and, if the Ministers were wise, they would at once subject every part of it to a strict examination, and would bring every farthing of the proceeds to the credit of the people. What we have hitherto seen will appear to give us very little hope of a peaceable settlement of our embarrassed affairs; but, we are not to despair: a system like this is not to be changed in a day: the majorities of the Ministers appear to be astounding; but, it is impossible for a near observer of the scene not to perceive that those majorities are, in fact, worth very little to them. Those majorities may become minorities in consequence of some mere accident; for, the food that used to sustain everlasting majorities is growing scarcer and scarcer every day: the "*CRIB*," as Sir FRANCIS BURDETT used to call it, becomes daily more and more destitute of fodder. "Where the carcass is, there will be the eagles

"gathered together; but, if they gather together in expectation of a carcass and find none, they will very soon disperse.

It is right that I should put on record the names of the minority who voted for my motion, relative to the stamps and auctions, on the 3. of May; and the following is the list of that minority.

LIST OF THE MINORITY OF TWENTY-SIX

Who voted for Mr. Cobbett's motion upon the duties on stamps and auctions.

Attwood, T.
Blake, Martin
Cobbett, Wm.
Faithfull, G.
Fielden, John
Finn, Wm.
Fitzsimon, C.
Fryer, R.
Lalor, P.
Lowther, Colonel
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, J.
O'Connell, Maurice
O'Connell, Morgan
O'Connell, Charles
Oswald, R.
Palmer, Gen.
Pease, Jos.
Richards, J.
Roche, Wm.
Ruthven, E.
Scholefield, J.
Torrens, Lieut-Col.
Vigors, R. A.
Warburton, Hen.

Tellers.

Hume, Joseph
O'Connor, Fergus.

There were about *two hundred and fifty* who voted on the other side; but, in justice to that majority it should be observed, that Mr. LENNARD, one of the members for MALDEN in Essex, said, that, in voting with the Ministers he begged to be understood as doing it in full confidence that they would make *some material alteration with regard*

to the duties in question; and, it is but fair to presume, that many other gentlemen who voted in the majority did so, entertaining the same expectations as those entertained by Mr. LENNARD. Besides, we ought always to bear in mind, that for an individual member of Parliament experiencing a defeat, by finding himself in a minority, is a mere trifle to him: it calls in question neither his judgment nor his popularity; but that it is far otherwise with regard to a *Ministry*, who, if defeated, are, in some measure, disgraced. Hence it is, that we often see them supported, in matters, with regard to which, their supporters themselves finally made them give way. And, thus it will happen in the present case. The thing is so flagrant; the partiality so shameful; the taxes are so cruel and so tormenting, that a rectifying must take place; and, if it has been made matter of so much public discussion and so much public interest, the fault is not mine. I should have preferred, and greatly preferred, a quiet memorial addressed to Lord ALTHORP himself: but, after the defiance hurled in our teeth by the SPEECH with which the Ministers chose to open the Reformed Parliament, it would have been meanness and baseness in me to approach them in the style of a *suppliant* in behalf of any part of the people.

And what was it that was proposed for the House to adopt? Here are the words.

"That this House will, with as little delay as possible, make such an alteration in the several acts, imposing duties on stamps and on sales at auctions, as shall cause the peers, nobles, baronets, and other great landowners to pay, in proportion to the amount of their property, as great an amount in those duties as is paid by the fundholders, annuitants, tradesmen, manufacturers, farmers, mechanics, and the rest of the industrious classes of the kingdom; and as shall cause, in all cases, the rich to pay the said duties in the same proportion as the poor."

Could anything be more reasonable, anything more just? Yet I think less of

the majority and the minority than I did of those of Tuesday, the 26. of April. Here the thing may be put to rights; to put the vote of that Tuesday to rights will be a very difficult matter indeed; and of all the acts of the present Ministers that was certainly the most unwise.

THE HOUSE AND WINDOW TAXES.

(From the Times of the 7. instmt.)

[From a Correspondent.]

At 8 o'clock last night a special meeting of the Central Committee of the united parishes of Westminster took place at the British Hotel, Cockspur-street, for the purpose of receiving a report from a deputation of their body, which had that afternoon had an interview with Lord Althorp to ascertain the precise nature and extent of his Lordship's proposed reduction of these taxes. The attendance was very numerous.

The chair was taken by Mr. WILD, who, after briefly stating the object for which they were convened, called their attention to the report.

A member of the deputation who had, to prevent all possible inaccuracy, taken notes during the interview, and who had explicitly avowed to his Lordship the object for which he took them, and his intention to give them the utmost possible publicity, gave the following details of the interview, which, it appears, lasted an hour and a quarter. He observed that the account he had to give was a very gloomy one. The deputation found his Lordship fully prepared to receive them, and on this occasion he was attended by Mr. Spring Rice; there was a number of prepared documents on the table, and from first to last his Lordship gave the most courteous attention to everything they said. After a few introductory remarks, the deputation explained to his Lordship the object the central committee had in view in sending them to wait on his Lordship. His Lordship, in reply, said that he was aware that what he stated in the House of Commons re-

specting the proposed relief with regard to the assessed taxes was not exactly comprehended by the public. He had, therefore, now come to the determination that the house-duty should be reduced one half on all houses which have shops attached to them. His Lordship then entered into a minute detail of the practical effect of his proposed reduction. He took 100 consecutive houses in Oxford-street, as many in the Strand, in Piccadilly, in Regent-street, and in St. James's-street, and 50 in Newgate-street, and 50 in Union-street, Southwark, and declared that, with the exception of Piccadilly and Union-street, Southwark, where there were a greater proportion of private houses intervening, the relief would amount to very nearly 50 per cent. With respect to the window tax, instead of remitting one-third as he had previously proposed, he should retain the whole.

The deputation expressed both surprise and regret at the latter part of this communication, and then put the following prepared question to his Lordship:—They were instructed to ask if the following trades and professions would not participate in the proposed relief as to the house duty,—namely, licensed victuallers, hotel and tavern keepers, schoolmasters and mistresses, apothecaries (with surgeries attached to their dwellings), solicitors (with attached offices), lodging-house keepers, tailors, wine and other merchants (having counting-houses attached), working-jewelers, and other artisans.

Lord ALTHORP replied, that certainly there would be no relief to any of the classes enumerated, excepting surgeons, law stationers, " &c." (his Lordship's own word), who had a shop attached, and who could make good a claim for exemption of three windows under the existing law. All who could establish this claim would be entitled to the reduction of one half of the house duty.

The deputation again called his Lordship's attention to the condition of the licensed victuallers, and asked him if they were to be excluded from the proposed relief.

His Lordship replied, that if any

further concession could, after mature consideration, be granted, their claim would certainly be a subject of consideration.

A long colloquy ensued on this topic, in the course of which Mr. Spring Rice stated that the pressure was not so great on hotel and tavern keepers as on other parts of the trading community.

One of the deputation informed his Lordship that it had been publicly stated papers were prepared at the Tax-office, for the purpose of being delivered to every householder, requiring him to make a return of his actual rent, and to furnish a duplicate of the last half-year's receipt for the payment of the same, with a view to the making a new assessment of the house duty generally, and fixing it at the actual rental.

Lord ALTHORP admitted that such a plan had been proposed, but had been abandoned, as it was considered it would prove very vexatious.

The deputation, generally, declared their complete concurrence in this part of his Lordship's statement.

His Lordship was afterwards told by the deputation that it had been reported that the assessed tax-office was determined to go on with surcharges for the house duty throughout the country. Although they were aware that his Lordship had no direct personal jurisdiction over that office, yet, as the Government received all the odium, it was desirable to know whether any steps were meant to be taken to prevent the continuation of these vexatious proceedings.

Lord ALTHORP said he could not put a "stopper" upon the Tax-office, but he had intimated in that quarter that it was not the wish of the Government that anything oppressive should be done in this way.

Mr. SPRING RICE followed, and stated that it was under consideration to increase the salaries of the surveyors, and to proportionately reduce their per centage, in order to prevent, as far as possible, any undue influence from operating in their minds.

A deputy remarked that there could be no doubt the per centage operated

as a very powerful incentive to corrupt practices in some instances. A fact had come within his own knowledge, and he was prepared, if called on, to give both name and place, where a lady residing a few miles out of town was called upon by the surveyor, in the temporary absence of her husband, whom he expressed a particular wish to see. He was requested to wait, as the gentleman was expected to be home almost immediately. He consented, and was ushered into the drawing-room, where he had not been long, before he artfully observed upon the pleasantness of the situation, and concluded by saying, "Dear me, ma'am, you no doubt pay a very high rental for this house; I should suppose so and so at the least?" The lady in her reply told him the real truth, and a few days afterwards the gentleman was rewarded for his wife's ingenuousness by a notice of surcharge.

Lord ALTHORP repeated his statement, that Government were not disposed to encourage anything like such conduct.

Lord ALTHORP afterwards stated, that in respect of the house tax, Government had come to a determination to remit one-third in favour of houses rated at less than 10*l.* per annum, and on houses rated from 10*l.* to 19*l.* they would grant a graduated scale of reduction, varying from 5*s.* in the pound to 1*s.* The number of housekeepers who would thus be more or less relieved was 215,233.

Mr. SPRING RICE called the deputation's attention to the fact that there were no less than 2,400,000 houses in Great Britain that were wholly exempt from this tax.

A long conversation followed, in the course of which strong declarations were made to his Lordship as to the certain dissatisfaction his proposed measures would produce.

Mr. POUNCEY begged to state, that although he was opposed to the committee by which he was deputed, on many points, yet a sense of duty, and a regard to truth, compelled him to assert that tradesmen of considerable wealth, of

long standing, of high character, and of quiet dispositions, were now resolved to resist these taxes by all legal means; that the time was fast approaching when a total repeal would not be considered as any concession, but as a matter wrung from his Lordship by the resistance that was manifested, and therefore would not allay the great irritation that existed: and that those who contended for the repeal were supported by a deep sense of the justice of the cause, and would not rest until they obtained success.

Mr. **SOFFE** also assured Lord Althorp that his fellow-deputies had not overrated the disappointment and excitement which prevailed in every city and town throughout the kingdom in consequence of the partial and very limited relief proposed by his Lordship.

Mr. **ADCOCK** addressed his Lordship on the same subject.

Lord **ALTHORP** heard these observations with his proverbially good temper, but declared at their conclusion that it was impossible for him to yield more than he had already done.

THE HOUSE AND WINDOW TAXES.

(From *Morning Herald*, 8. instant.)

A deputation from the standing Committee appointed to protect the rights of the licensed victuallers, as a body, yesterday had an interview, by appointment, with Lord **ALTHORP**, in Downing-street, for the purpose of urging upon his Lordship the clear and indefeasible claim they considered themselves to possess of being allowed to participate in any relief which he might give to shopkeepers generally.

The deputation consisted of Messrs. **Larby**, **Vonsley**, **Rockley**, **Watchorn**, and **Cliff**, as members of the trade, and they were accompanied by Mr. **Hawes** (the Member for Lambeth), Mr. **Sheriff Humphrey** (the Member for Southwark), and by their professional adviser, Mr. **Ald. Brown**.

Lord **ALTHORP** received them with great courtesy.

Mr. **SEANE RICE** shortly after en-

tered the room, and took a part in the conversation.

The members of the deputation severally addressed his Lordship, and urged upon him that their houses were clearly houses of retail business, and that therefore they ought to be allowed to come in for an equal portion of any relief which might be given to other retailers.

Mr. **Sheriff HUMPHREY** and Mr. **HAWES** also addressed his Lordship, and strongly urged upon him the strict justice of their claim.

Lord **ALTHORP** observed that, if he gave the relief asked, the new beer house keepers would also expect to be included in the measure. Were this done, the loss to the revenue would be greater than Ministers could afford.

The deputation, in reply, called the attention of his Lordship to the great and serious loss that had been inflicted upon the licensed victuallers by the Act of the Legislature which established these beer-shops.

Mr. **S. RICE** admitted the full truth of this observation.

After a conversation which lasted about half an hour, Lord Althorp assured the deputation that he would take their case into his most serious consideration, and that as soon as he had come to a determination on the subject, he would communicate the result to them in writing, through the medium of their professional adviser, Mr. **Alderman Brown**.

The deputation thanked his Lordship for the frank and courteous reception he had given them, and retired.

The following additional particulars of what transpired at the interview between the Westminster Central Committee and Lord Althorp, on Monday last, is given on the authority of the correspondent from whom our former account was received:—

Towards the conclusion of the audience, and after the deputation had ascertained the precise extent of the now-intended remissions, the deputation told his Lordship in substance as follows:—
“That they felt convinced that the

country generally would be disappointed and dissatisfied with his plan. That many of those in whose favour a partial remission was extended would think its amount too small to be regarded as a boon, while others would complain at being excluded from its benefits. The country, they knew, had confidence in the integrity and sincerity of his Lordship's character, and, they individually believed, would be content with the retention of the whole of the assessed taxes for the present, if the finances of the country should render such retention absolutely expedient — provided his Lordship would come forward in his place in Parliament and distinctly pledge himself that they should be wholly abolished from the 10. of October next. They even believed that the public would go further, and be satisfied if they were clearly promised that they should cease on the 5. of April next year." His Lordship smiled, and said he could make no such promise.

At the special meeting of the committee, in the evening, to receive the report of the deputation, very general dissatisfaction was expressed at the result. One member declared that for his part, he was determined to pay no assessed taxes for the future; another stigmatized the plan as a "chandler's-shop" one; and it was finally agreed, on the motion of Mr. Charlwood, that an official report of what passed at the interview should be sent to each of the parishes within the city of Westminster

I HAVE received the following-mentioned petitions, which I endeavoured to present yesterday, but it did not come to my turn. The slavery affair and the Sabbath affair will soon be brought to a close; and, then we may find room and time for other matters. The slavery affair brought about two hundred petitions yesterday. And, I should inform my readers, that it will be impossible for the Parliament to comply with those petitions. They all contain a prayer for *immediate* and *total* abolition of slavery in the West Indies.

It will be Mr. STANLEY's office to bring in the intended bill, or measure; and he must be an envious man, indeed, who can envy Mr. STANLEY that office! This is a job which has been brought upon the Government by the canvassing and haranguing in the crack-skulled county of York, where Mr. MACAULAY made the people believe, that the blessings of the Reform Bill would render a reduction of taxes wholly unnecessary. However, this affair adds to the confusion that prevails; and to adopt a measure with regard to it, without producing enormous mischiefs in one way or another, appears to me to be absolutely impossible.

1. BURY, Lancashire: Prays for the repeal of the malt, hop, soap, sugar, and assessed, taxes.
2. BIRMINGHAM: Complains of the monstrous oppressions to which the industrious classes are subjected; sets forth the grievous wrongs that have, for many years, been inflicted on them; and prays that the House will grant speedy and effectual redress.
3. YARNOUTH: Complains of the oppressive weight of the taxes; and prays for the repeal of the malt, hop, soap, stamp and other taxes which press on the working people.
4. HOLYOUBORN, Hants: From the agricultural labourers: Prays for the repeal of the malt and hop taxes; and that no alteration may be made in the Beer Bill.
5. WOODCHURCH, Kent: Complains of the great alteration that has, within the last forty years, taken place in the well-being of the agricultural labourers, in consequence of heavy and oppressive taxation; and that, while the working man is starving, the pensioner, the sinecurist, and other tax eaters, are rolling in luxury.
6. HEDDEN-BRIDGE, Halifax: Prays for the repeal of the corn-laws.
7. BREWOOD, Staffordshire, against any alteration in the Beer Bill.
8. WINGHAM, Kent: Prays that the bill, now before the House, for the

- better observance of the Sabbath, may not pass into a law.
9. Gravesend : Prays for an inquiry into the case of Richard Newsham.
 10. Enniscarthy and Templeshannon : Sets forth that all the tumults, rebellion, and bloodshed, with which Ireland is, and has been afflicted, have arisen out of the existence of the Protestant established church in that country ; and prays for the total abolition of tithes, and the appropriation of all church property to public purposes.
 11. Wm. Whitehouse and Thos. Oxley, Clerkenwell : Against the Sabbath Bill.
 12. Samuel Ward, Sezincot, Gloucestershire : Prays for the repeal of tax on spring-carts.
 13. Samuel Hubbard, Gravesend : Complains of many acts of oppression and injustice committed by the corporation of that place ; and prays the House to inquire into the same, and afford redress.
 14. Robert Bradbury, Manchester : Complains of gross partiality in the stamp-laws ; and prays that the House will make an equitable alteration in the same.
 15. William Adam, Manchester : Prays for the impeachment of Lord Grey for introducing, and procuring to be passed, the Irish Coercion Bill.
 16. John Halsall, Lea, Lancashire : Prays that the House will sanction no measure for granting political privileges to the Jews.
 17. Washington Holt, Southwark : Complains of great injustice inflicted on him by the Commissioners of Excise ; and prays that the House will afford him redress.
 18. David Scott : Prays that the House will adopt a plan, named in his petition, for paying off the national debt.
 19. John Nicholas, Coalbrookdale, Salop : Sets forth, that great demoralization has been produced amongst the labouring people by the imposition of the malt-tax, and prays for its total repeal.
 20. Peter Gray, chairman of a society at Liverpool : Prays for the insertion of certain clauses, named in the petition, in the Sabbath Bill.
 21. John Fitzgerald : Complains of the improper conduct of certain Law Officers in Ireland ; and prays for redress.
 22. Christopher Rapiet, Gateshead : Sets forth that great mischiefs would arise from the immediate abolition of slavery in the West Indies ; and prays that the House will proceed carefully in any interference between the slaves and their owners.
 23. CHOWBENT Political Union : Complains of the increase of crime and misery arising out of excessive taxation ; and prays that the crown and church property may be sold, and the proceeds equitably divided amongst the feudholders ; and that the working classes may be no longer oppressed by the national debt.
 24. Stoke-upon-Trent . Complains of vexatious speculative surcharges ; and prays the House to grant them redress.
 25. Dartford Political Union : Prays for the repeal of the tax on newspapers.
 26. Thomas Haughton, Belfast : Prays that an inquiry may be made into the state of Ireland, its resources, manufactures, &c. ; and that such measures may be adopted as will relieve the distresses of the suffering people in that part of the kingdom.
 27. Henstridge, Somersetshire : Complains of the great oppression of the assessed taxes, and of their inability to pay them ; and prays that the House will pass an act for their total repeal, and that such act may be retrospective.
 28. ROMSEY, Hants : Prays that the House will immediately discard the Sabbath Bill ; and proceed to relieve the people by the repeal of burdensome taxation, and such other measures as are necessary for the amelioration of the present deep distress.

20. Peter Gray, chairman of a society

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

The High Bailiff of Westminster having appointed yesterday for the election of a member to serve in Parliament in the room of Sir John Hobhouse, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, several thousands of persons assembled at an early hour in the neighbourhood of Covent-garden, where, as usual, the hustings were erected. The usual accompaniments of a contested election were in plenty about the hustings. Lots of placards were exhibited, setting forth the merits of the different candidates; coalheavers hired for the day were in attendance, to emulate with their sweet voices the voices of those who might oppose their hirers; cabbages and turnip-tops, which a Westminster elector would consider it a breach of the liberty of the subject not to be allowed to use, were abundant, and none of the other noise, bustle, and confusion, incident to such a scene was wanted.

At half-past twelve o'clock Colonel Evans, accompanied by Mr. D. W. Harvey, M.P., Mr. Gillon, M.P., and several other gentlemen, appeared on the hustings, and were received with shouts of applause. Shortly afterwards Mr. Escott, accompanied by Mr. R. A. Dundas (formerly M.P. for Edinburgh), and other gentlemen, arrived. Their reception was very different from that of the gallant Colonel. They were assailed from all sides with groans and yells, and when these failed in driving them from the hustings, cabbages, and the other vegetable missiles, which the market liberally provided, were showered down upon the devoted heads of the Tories with radical enthusiasm. All this was taken in good part by the candidate and his friends, and the roughness of their reception was much mitigated, until Captain Dundas unadvisedly stuck one of Mr. Escott's canvassing cards in his hat, when the pelting was recommenced with renewed force; nor was it abated until he took the card from his hat and flung it among the crowd. Sir John Hobhouse and his party arrived soon afterwards; but, as they kept in the back part of the hustings, their arrival was scarcely noticed.

A large party of half-drunken ruffians, who exhibited Mr. Escott's cards in their hats, and who, Colonel Evans said, were in Tory pay, endeavoured several times during the day to get up boxing matches, but without success. The rest of the immense assemblage were comparatively peaceable, excepting sometimes when the Tories tempted them to make displays of their archery.

At one o'clock Mr. Smedley appeared on the hustings as Deputy for Mr. Morris, the High Bailiff and Returning-officer.

Mr. SMEDLEY stated, that in consequence of the unfortunate and unavoidable absence of the High Bailiff of Westminster, the duty devolved upon him of presiding over the election, and he begged the patience of the meeting while he read the precept and the Bribery Act,

and had the oath to act impartially administered to him. After that was done, the electors would nominate the candidates, and the candidates would afterwards have an opportunity of making a declaration of their political sentiments; and he had to ask for both proposers and candidates an impartial, orderly, and good-humoured hearing. (Cheers). It was only by a patient hearing that proper explanations could be given, or reasons assigned by, or on behalf of, the candidates. The electors of Westminster had stood pre-eminent in the country for their good conduct on such occasions, and he exhorted them to do nothing by which they might endanger their good character at the present election.

The precept was then read, and the oath administered in the usual form.

During the above ceremony, a coalheaver mounted one of the upright posts at the end of the hustings nearest to Colonel Evans and his Committee, and waved one of the gallant Colonel's placard boards in a triumphant manner; he was instantly assailed with all descriptions of vegetables, by a set of fellows on Mr. Escott's side, but he bore it all quietly, until he was removed by order of the presiding officer.

Mr. DEVEAR then presented himself for the purpose of nominating Sir John Cam Hobhouse, but not a word could be heard from that gentleman. He was received with the strongest marks of disapprobation, and pelted with stale cabbages and other refuse of the market.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE attempted to address the meeting, but was received with equal expressions of disapprobation. In seconding the nomination, he felt considerable pride since the recent nomination of the hon. Baronet. They had before them a Conservative, whose principles he did not exactly understand, but who he knew to be the rejected candidate for Worcestershire. That gentleman came before them with the repeal of the house and window taxes in his mouth, but did any one suppose that anything like retrenchment was to be expected from a Tory? The other candidate was his hon. and gallant friend, Col. Evans, who had been before them on a former occasion; and it was for the electors to decide between two reformers, the right hon. Baronet and the gallant Colonel. (A cry of "We'll have the Colonel"). For his (Mr. Duncombe's) part, he had seen nothing in the right hon. Baronet's conduct which could induce him to say he deserved a forfeiture of their confidence. (Loud groans). They already knew his past conduct, and he (Mr. Duncombe) was confident that they would ever find the right hon. Baronet, as he had always been, the friend of retrenchment, and of a cheap and liberal Government. (Groans and cheering).

Dr. BANNERIDGE, in coming forward to nominate Colonel Evans, said the march of events had again brought together the electors of Westminster, for the purpose of choosing a

man who had not only the ability, but the moral courage and political integrity to speak the sentiments and the wishes, and defend the interests of that mighty and intellectual constituency in the Commons House of Parliament; and according to the manner in which they discharged that important duty, they would show to other constituencies, to the country at large, and to the Crown, whether they would, or they would not, henceforward be the contemptible tools of a party. (Cheers). When the Reform Bill was passed, and the representatives had been chosen under it were to speak the opinions of the people, their expectations were raised high—their hopes were most sanguine that there would be an immediate and sensible reduction of that load of taxation which cramped the energies of the country, and that wise and salutary laws, which should bring back happiness and prosperity to the people, should be passed. (Hear, hear). But what was their disappointment and vexation when they found their expectations answered by the atrocious Irish Coercive Bill only (great cheering), and the recent beautiful Budget. (Laughter, and cries of "Shame"). If they returned the right hon. Baronet again (cries of "No"), who had so recently refused or neglected to perform his duty to them, never let them again complain of taxation, for their inconsistency would be so disgraceful that they would merit all the burdens of taxation that could be devised. ("We won't, we won't"). There are many reasons which should weigh against the return of the right hon. Baronet. (A cry, "He has no honour"). Did they think that the army ought to be reduced? (Cries of "Yes"). Yet the right honourable Baronet brought forward his estimates for ten thousand more men than composed the army when the Duke of Wellington was at the head of the Government (Cries of "Shame, shame"). Did any of them think that the Constitution ought to be suspended in Ireland? (No, no). Yet the present Government, with whom the right hon. Baronet was identified, proposed a bill for that purpose, and dragon officers now took the place of enlightened and constitutional judges and juries. The right honourable Baronet did not raise his voice against that encroachment of our liberties, but he supported it. Did they think that sinecures of any kind ought to exist? (No, no). Yet, on Mr. Hume's motion for the abolition of military sinecures, the right honourable Baronet voted against it, and thereby declared that military sinecures should continue. What had been his conduct on the motion of Mr. Grote for Vote by Ballot? He (Dr. Bainbridge) had heard the right honourable Baronet over and over again, at various public meetings, declare that bribery and intimidation at elections could only be destroyed by that species of voting, yet he found the right honourable Baronet in the majority against Mr. Grote's motion. (Cheers and groans). Did the electors think that the odious assessed taxes ought to be repealed?

(Loud cheers, and cries of "Yes, yea"). With regard to that question he was at first rather disposed to render the right honourable Baronet his meed of approbation for consistency in resigning his office when he found that he could not support his colleagues; but when he found the right hon. Baronet again introduced to the electors in order to be carried on their shoulders back to office (cries of "No!" and yes!")—the miserable and contemptible ruse was apparent to the most obtuse mind, not blinded by prejudices. (Cheers). They could now account for the refusal of their two representatives to give pledges on the hustings, when they found how their promises had been forfeited. (Cheers). He (Dr. Bainbridge) had great pleasure in proposing to the electors a gentleman of tried principles and of sterling talent; one whom he had had the honour of proposing on a former occasion, and in whose behalf he was most happy to appear again. He was sure that he would sedulously perform his duty to them—would carry into the House of Commons their opinions—and convey to the Government, in a powerful manner, their inability to pay so large an amount of fiscal exaction; and, above all, their determination not to pay the abominable and infamous house and window taxes. (Great cheering; and a cry of, "Nor any other tax"). If they wished the return of the Tories to power, they would vote for Lawyer Escott; if they meant to remain as they were (cries of "We won't"), they would vote for Sir J. C. Hobhouse; but if they wished to have their rights and liberties protected, they would vote for the gallant Colonel. (Great cheering). He concluded by nominating Lieutenant-Colonel Evans, amidst loud applause.

Mr. SIMPSON then came forward to second the nomination of Colonel Evans. Upon the last occasion he had had the honour of addressing the electors of Westminster from those hustings, he then stated that no servant could serve two masters. (Hear, hear). He remembered that, upon that occasion, a little knot of persons on the hustings took the liberty of denying that fact. Now, he would put it to the electors whether Sir J. C. Hobhouse had shown himself capable of serving two masters? (Cries of No, no! nor one properly). Upon the last occasion there were only two candidates; on the present there were three. One a Tory (loud hisses), of whom we need not say more, than that the Tory party had created that debt of eight hundred millions which the labouring classes had at the present moment to work like slaves to pay the interest of. (Hisses and cheers). The right hon. Baronet who had been proposed was a Whig; and if the meeting wished to know the opinion which that oracle (Sir F. Burdett) held concerning Whigs and Tories, he would tell them. He had stated that the two factions of Whigs and Tories were thieves, between which the constitution had been crucified. (Cheers and hisses). He agreed with the hon. Baronet in that state-

ment, and thought no person would deny that between those factions the constitution had been crucified. There was another candidate, Colonel Evans, who was neither of the Whig nor Tory faction. (Loud cheering). He was the friend of the people; had no interest separate from that of the people (loud cheering); had no connexion with families receiving pensions, but was a man determined to abolish them (cheers); and to meet Ministers face to face, and tell them that his constituents were determined, not only to obtain the repeal of the house taxes, but the whole of the house and window duties, and that however glad he should be to see an income tax proposed, he should consider it necessary to have the army reduced for the purpose of alleviating the burdens of the people. What had the hon. Baronet done with that immense establishment while it was in his hands? Why, he had had the liberality to reduce 100 men and 59 horses. (A loud laugh). He (Mr. S.) should consider the electors no better than 59 asses if they put up with such conduct. Of the merits of Colonel Evans it was not requisite for him to say more. He would, however, before concluding, thank the Tory candidate for drawing off those votes which had placed the gallant Colonel at the bottom of the poll at the last election, and would conclude by seconding the nomination.

Dr. GOLDING came forward to nominate Mr. Escott. The shouts, hisses, groans, and uproar, which resounded from all parts of the meeting, defy description. It was utterly impossible to catch one whole sentence of what he said. As far as we could understand, he said that he hoped that for the future the vulgar distinction between Whig and Tory would cease. Mr. Escott belonged to the extreme of neither party.

Mr. R. A. DUNDAS, in seconding the nomination, met with a similarly boisterous reception. He hoped they would do him the honour to hear him with patience, while he addressed a few words to them, in favour of his hon. friend. (Groans). The electors of that city had met for the purpose of choosing their representative in Parliament, and there never was a period when they were more called upon to exercise that privilege with discretion than the present. He could assure them, that Mr. Escott was a gentleman of high principle (groans), who was ready to undertake the office (yells), and was well worthy of their confidence. (A quantity of various kinds of vegetables having assailed the person of the hon. Gentleman at this period, he was forced to retire).

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE then came forward in front of the hustings, and an immediate attack with cabbages and mud commenced, which, with a continued uproar, continued almost all the time the hon. Baronet continued on the hustings.

Colonel EVANS, after a short time, was allowed to beg a fair hearing for the honourable

Baronet. He said the object of their being there at that time was to hear why it was that the present vacancy had arisen. For God's sake, then, let them show themselves reasonable beings! It was most important that their late representative should be allowed to explain the cause of his late dereliction of duty.

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE again attempted to speak, but he was again received with as much uproar as before. The only two sentences he was allowed to say, were—Is it your pleasure to hear me? If so, I will address you. It is not me you disgrace, but yourselves.

Mr. WAXLEY said, he attended there to oppose the hon. Baronet, but he was anxious to do so by fair means, not by foul. He required Sir John to answer questions which he intended to propose to him, which would be lost if they would not hear him. They had shown their great good judgment in execrating what they conceived to be his treachery or trickery, but they ought not to pass a final sentence upon him without hearing him. If they would not hear him, he for one would not attack a man who had been so ill used.

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE again said—Is it your pleasure to hear me? If not, you disgrace yourselves, not me; I will make no more efforts.

The cabbages here came very thick upon him, when he said, he would not stand such treatment from persons who were not electors, any longer, and retired amidst much uproar.

Colonel EVANS then addressed the meeting. He said he was almost ashamed to ask a hearing from them, as they had refused to hear his opponent. He lamented, on account of the country, that they had done so, for he thought that the election did not involve the interests of the electors of Westminster alone, but also those of the whole country. Sir J. Hobhouse had come there to give some explanations which were important, and he regretted that the electors would not hear him. He (Col. Evans) had been on those hustings only a few months back, and had then troubled them with a very long speech, but he promised them, that on the present occasion, he would make but a very short one. Though, no doubt, the conduct of Sir J. Hobhouse had brought them together, still the one thing of paramount importance which really led to their meeting was the repeal of the house and window duties. Now on those questions an interview had been had with the Chancellor of the Exchequer only a few hours ago; he could not do better than comment a little upon the answers given to the deputation, who had asked whether a certain number of tradesmen, such as licensed victuallers, tailors, &c., were to have the advantage of the very small relief given to the tradesmen in these odious duties. The answer was, that neither of the trades or professions mentioned were to have the slightest exemption. What could be thought of that answer, when it was taken into consideration that the persons engaged in

those trades and employments in Westminster were more numerous than the inhabitants of a very large country town? (Cheers and groans). The Chancellor of the Exchequer reminded him of the tyrant Ferdinand of Spain, who once on a time published an amnesty to all the Radicals of that country, with the single exception of all those who had been opposed to his government. (Laughter). The noble Lord seemed to have copied him very closely in his plan of relief to the tradesmen. He might be considered as a very ignorant person, but he must acknowledge that he could comprehend neither the budgets of the Chancellor of the Exchequer nor the resignation of their late representative. (Hear and a laugh). They had then three candidates before them—he had a great respect for principle of any sort, and might be allowed to say, that his respect extended itself to those professed by his other opponent, Mr. Escott, who he believed relied upon his high Toryism—that was all open, but he must say, he could not find anything approaching to principle in the conduct of Sir John Hobhouse. The pretensions of the candidates had been characterized in a very respectable paper, which differed much from the principles which guided him, in the following manner:—“The electors had to choose between Hubhouse and meanness and treachery—Evans, an insane radicalism—and Escott, and enlightened philanthropy.” He should like to know what motion had he made, or measure he had supported, that entitled him to be considered as having acted from insane violence. What was there in his then conduct that made him look like a maniac? The only reason for such an imputation was, that on a late occasion, while the present Ministry were nearly out, and the Reform Bill of course almost lost, he had used very strong language in their favour, thinking it was the only way to meet such a crisis, as there then was, for he was firmly of opinion that had things not taken the turn they did, revolution would have been the consequence. The meeting might rest assured, that he would never again use strong language in favour of the same men. He desired them to state one principle which he now advocated, which had not been advocated formerly by Lord Althorpe, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir John Hobhouse, and many other friends of the present Whig Administration. To be sure some of them had gone further in their principles than he had ventured to do, but further he knew no difference. He coincided in opinion also with Mr. Grote, who at the last election had polled the highest number (2,000) of voters of all the candidates, for the representatives of the city of London; he also agreed with those of Sir H. Parnell. In fact, he held the very same opinions as most of the present Ministry before they were in office. An anonymous advertisement had been published that day, dated Richardson’s Hotel, which referred to a paper that had emanated from his committee. This paper

stated that there had been as yet no proof that the resignation of Sir J. C. Hobhouse had been accepted, and that by chance he might still be the secretary for Ireland. He (Col. Evans) did not deny that the right hon. Baronet had resigned, and he hoped, for the honour of public men, that it might be so; but he would ask, had there been any statement from Sir J. C. Hobhouse denying that his resignation was not yet accepted? (Hear). The advertisement in question said, that the paper contained a falsehood, as Sir John Hobhouse had distinctly stated that his resignation had been accepted. But he (Colonel Evans) would ask where? Why did not he remove all doubt, by declaring the real state of the fact? He knew something of Richardson’s Hotel, and he thought that the words so often applied to a celebrated pillar in the city were equally applicable to it:—

“Where London’s column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts its head—and lies.”
(Hear).

No fact was more notorious than that no such statement had been made. If there had been a name to the advertisement, he would have applied the epithet “knaves” to the person; but, as cowardice and knavery were generally allied, so it was in this case; for the writer had not dared to put his name to it. (Hear, hear). He would now come to a more important document. But he must first say that he was met, at six o’clock on Monday evening last, and told by a friend that Sir J. Hobhouse had resigned his situation and seat. But he thought his friend was trifling with him; for he could scarcely credit that such a circumstance should have occurred, until many other friends brought him the same version of the story; for, although he had heard of resignations of office by members, that they might do their duty to their constituents, he had never before heard of a resignation to avoid the performance of a duty. (Cheers). Next morning, however, came forth that to which he wished to direct the attention of the meeting—a short and pithy address, and a tender farewell from the honourable Baronet to his constituents. “Then,” said the gallant Colonel, “I thought there was a chance for me (a laugh); but, lo! within twenty-four hours the illustrious Mr. De Vear and other fast friends of Sir John set themselves hastily to work, in order to bring him in again, as if no tender farewell had been taken.” (Cheers). A meeting then took place, which was stated to be a meeting of the electors of Westminster, but which was not a meeting of electors, but was composed partly of some of the leading members of the Whig aristocracy, and reminded him of a recent attempt at Mary-bonne to put down the feeling of the people by the force of great names. It was stated at this meeting, that, if the electors of Westminster would come forward spontaneously, and restore Sir John to his seat, he would then, for-

sooth, do his duty. But it was also stated by some of his friends, that he was tired of public life, and that he was anxious to retire from the representation of Westminster (hear)—that he might have leisure to retire for a time into private life, and to travel for a few years. (Hear, hear). He (Colonel Evans) could not at first imagine what the meaning of all this was; but the whole was explained on the following Saturday. On the evening of that day a meeting was held at Richardson's, a report of which appeared in the *Observer* of the following morning, which undoubtedly they must all have seen. In case they had not however, seen it, it might be referred to by the electors who were not present on that occasion. It would be seen by that report that the constituency of Westminster did not come forward spontaneously at the call of the hon. Baronet's friends, and that it was stated by the right hon. Baronet's staunchest friends, that if they did not immediately exert themselves the election would be lost. (Hear, hear). What was the consequence? The consequence was, that notwithstanding the right honourable Baronet's anxiety for the delights of private life, and the relaxation of travel, he put forth what he called an explanatory address on Monday. (Hear, hear). The right hon. Baronet had said that he felt obliged to him (Colonel Evans) for endeavouring to obtain him a hearing from the electors; but he (Colonel Evans) suspected that in his heart he felt rather obliged to the electors for preventing him from offering any explanation; for the address put forth by him made confusion worse confounded. (Hear, hear). The address stated, "I resigned my seat, because I could not support the Ministers." That was a mistake, it should have been "his office." It must have been the mistake of a stupid printer's devil. (A laugh). It was a pity it should have been made, for it had caused much confusion. (Hear). He then says, "Had the simple question of the repeal of the house and window taxes been put before Parliament, I should without hesitation have voted in the affirmative." The simple question of the repeal of those taxes was put before Parliament. (Hear, hear). It was the amendment of Lord Althorp which he would not oppose (hear); and he therefore would not vote for the repeal of those taxes for which he had, in the previous evening, pledged himself to vote. (Cheers). He appeared to have weighed with himself to which party he should do his duty, and then, after some consideration, resolved, as he could not please both, to do his duty to neither. (Cheers). This conduct reminded him of the conduct of a debtor, who, being asked by his creditor to pay him his debts, said, "No, I shall pay you neither principal nor interest. It is my principle not to pay the interest, and it is my interest not to pay the principal." (A laugh). The right honourable Baronet then went on to say, that several calumnious persons had insinuated that he did

not mean to resign his secretaryship immediately; but he would inform them that he intended to do so immediately. Now he (Colonel Evans) did not know but that the hon. Baronet considered three weeks or a month immediate. He then said that he had been advised to go into the country to keep out of the way of the election; but the address was dated on the very same day, from Berkeley-square. (Hear, hear). He supposed, therefore, that the right honourable Baronet had remained there incog. He further says, "I was quite at liberty to return to office; but, had I done so, I should have told you of it." That might be true, but he did not add that he had left office, or that he should not return to it hereafter. (Hear, hear). The right honourable Baronet concluded by saying, "that he was totally unfettered by any engagements whatever." He (Colonel Evans) believed that to be a fact; for he had never seen conduct so unfettered by preamble as that of the right honourable Baronet during the past week. (Hear, hear, and a laugh). The whole was to him (Colonel Evans) an enigma, and he regretted sincerely that they had not allowed the right honourable Baronet to give the explanation, which, by-the-by, he seems not a little anxious to avoid. With regard to the other honourable candidate, he did not wish to say anything to deteriorate his merits in their eyes, but he could not help mentioning, that he had understood that he had stood lately for a county in the West of England, and there upheld the corn-laws, the tax upon bread, the landlords' taxes, &c. (Cheers). He concluded by saying, that if Sir J. Hobhouse would still give an explanation of his conduct which would be satisfactory to the electors, he (Colonel Evans) would retire from the contest. If such an explanation were given, he hoped that they would forget the right honourable Baronet's late extraordinary conduct and the folly of the Government. He felt convinced the electors of Westminster would maintain their former high character by their conduct upon that occasion. (Loud cheering).

Mr. ESCOTT, in coming forward to address the meeting, was immediately saluted with a discharge of cabbages, onions, and all kinds of filth, accompanied with an uproar which prevented the hon. Gentleman from proceeding.

While Mr. Escott was standing in front of the hustings, waiting till the storm should somewhat abate, Mr. E. J. STANLEY, M.P. for Cheshire, took that opportunity, as the gallant Colonel (Evans) had stated that Sir John Hobhouse had not yet resigned his office of Secretary of Ireland, of putting it to the gallant Colonel, as a man of honour, to say whether or not he believed Sir John Hobhouse had resigned, and that his resignation had been accepted?

Colonel EVANS: Gentlemen, a question has been put to me by a friend of Sir John Hobhouse, to know whether I, as a man of honour,

have any doubt as to the resignation, and the acceptance of that resignation, on the part of Sir John Cam Hobhouse? It is a very fair question to put to me, and as he happens to be an acquaintance of mine, and a member of the House of Commons, I firmly believe that he is perfectly convinced in his own mind that he has, or he would not have put the question to me. But with respect to myself, I have been so utterly confused, and so utterly unable to penetrate the mystery which hangs over this transaction, that I do declare, as a man of honour, I am unable to give a distinct answer as to my complete conviction one way or the other. (Loud cheering, and cries of bravo, bravo!)

Mr. ESCOTT again attempted to address those assembled. After stating that coming there as a candidate for the representation of that great city, he was desirous of stating the grounds on which he solicited their support, and what his objections were to the gentlemen who had appeared before them that day, and which he thought, under all the circumstances, they were not fit to represent the electors of Westminster in Parliament. (The cries of Off, off! Down, down! the shouting, the groaning, and yelling, became so overpowering, as completely to drown the candidate's voice, and he accordingly stopped.) This scene continued for upwards of half an hour. At length,

Mr. SMEDLEY, the Deputy Bailiff, put it to the meeting to say whether they would allow the proceedings to go on. If such conduct continued, he should be obliged to call in the civil force. This address, however, seemed to produce very little effect, the dirt, baskets, and pieces of tile, being poured in with increased violence. Mr. Macneil, the conservative candidate at the late Oxford election, endeavoured to obtain a hearing for Mr. Escott, but in vain. The riot continued to rage; the coalheavers for a short time obtained almost sole possession of the front of the hustings, distinguishing themselves by the number of the cabbages, basket-lids, mats, *makie*, &c., they threw at Mr. Escott and his friends, and evidently, by the ferocity of their conduct, keeping all the respectable part of the crowd round the hustings in a state of alarm. After some time Mr. Wakley stepped forward, and was received with loud cheers. He entreated them, as they valued the cause of Radical reform—as they valued their own independence and respectability—to give the honourable candidate a hearing, or otherwise they should be unable to compare his sentiments with those of his rival. When Mr. Macneil had concluded his address, he should have some questions to put to all the candidates.

Mr. ESCOTT then came forward. He knew that it had been said that he was unknown among the electors of Westminster, and that, therefore, he was an unfit person to come forward. It was true, he was not known among the electors, and he would ask how it was possible

he should be known if he were not heard. (Cheers and hisses) The electors of Westminster were called upon to decide the present contest, not by the promises which some men may have formerly given and basely broken (loud cheers), but by the public principle of those who put themselves forward, and upon those public principles it was to be a fair stand-up fight. (Cheers). He trusted that in the observations he should make he should pursue that gentlemanlike conduct which had been adopted by the gallant Colonel. (Cheers). The first thing he thought it right to consider with respect to standing for Westminster was, whether the two candidates in the field were such as, in his opinion, were best calculated to represent the electors in Parliament. (Cheers). With respect to Sir John Hobhouse (hisses), he must say but a few words, as he was absent. In his opinion, political honesty was above all consideration. (Great cheering). All party and politics, in his opinion, ought to be based on a fair conduct, such as would be approved of by fair and upright men. (Hear, hear, and cheering). Now, Sir John Hobhouse, though he may not be at the meeting at the present moment, had published a declaration in explanation of his former conduct. To that document he wished now to advert; and if Sir John Hobhouse could at any future time explain what he was now going to state, he would be the first to admit that he was in error, and that Sir John Hobhouse was right: He told the electors he had resigned his seat, because he could not support the Ministers: now he would tell that right hon. baronet, as the representative of the people, he was bound to retain that seat and oppose the Ministers. (Loud cheering). In his opinion of popular representation, the chief use of a House of Commons was to be a check upon a profligate government. (Cheers). Now he would say that the present Government was the most profligate that ever existed in this country. (Cheers, and cries of "No, no"). Sir J. Hobhouse, who had declared that he could not support Ministers, had, in his opinion, deserted his duty to the electors of Westminster by not retaining his seat and opposing them. (Hear, hear). The right hon. Baronet stated, as another reason, that he could not give a vote for the motion, which, though it was mixed up with the repeal of the house and window taxes, would, if carried, deprive the Minister of power; he had just before thought them unworthy of his support, and yet he wished not to drive them from power; he proceeded to say, that had the question been simply one for the repeal of those taxes, he should without hesitation have voted in the affirmative. His (Mr. Escott's) charge against the right honourable Baronet was, that the question was one, simply and solely, of repeal, as the electors would judge, for the motion was—"That it is expedient to grant relief to his Majesty's subjects, by repealing that portion of the assessed taxes charged on inhabited houses and on win-

dows." (Hear). Whether the right hon. Baronet had any mental reservation about uninhabited houses, he (Mr. Escott) could not say, but that was the simple motion, and yet the right honourable Baronet deserted his place in Parliament, and preferred serving the Ministers to serving his constituents. (Loud cries of "shame"). Now, a few words as to what that Government was for which the right honourable Baronet had deserted the electors rather than oppose it. That Government was popular some time ago, but popular because it held out promises which it had never since performed. (Cheers). It had promised to afford an extended protection to the liberties of the people, and to economise the public expenditure. The pledge which it gave to support the liberties of the people, had been redeemed by the most despotic law that was ever passed in this country, or that was ever introduced by the most Tory Government. How had it economised? Instead of doing so, it had from first to last added to the public expenditure; and when motions were brought forward to repeal distinct taxes, they were met by "Oh! you are too early; only wait till you see our excellent Budget; and then you will see what relief there will be from taxation. (Laughter). At last the Budget came, and the relief it afforded was about sixpence a hundred from ties, and that the exciseman was permitted to go round to the market town in an untaxed cart. (Laughter, and cheers). Other motions, for the reduction of taxes, had subsequently been brought forward; but then the people and their representatives were told, "Oh! you are too late—our Budget is propounded—don't disturb the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget—don't disturb that honest and honourable man, Lord Althorp—though, by-the-by, that honest and honourable man, Lord Althorp, was twice flatly contradicted in the course of last week. (Laughter.) Such conduct was, in his (Mr. Escott's) mind, so atrocious, and so unlike that which ought to be adopted by fair and upright men, that he believed the time was come when those who would do any good for the country should take the matter into their own hands, and seriously consider all interests, with a view of getting relief from so overwhelming distress. (Cheers). It would not do to be trifled with any longer. (Cheers). He believed that a great deception had been practised respecting the motion as to the repeal of the house and window taxes. (A cry, "Will you vote for it"). He believed that the house and window taxes must be repealed; for it would be trifling with the people to let the pledge that had already been given by the House of Commons, prevail against the general desire to bring it forward again. He was prepared to declare that, in his opinion, these taxes must be repealed; and he, for one, would aid in obtaining that end. (Loud cheers). There was another extraordinary vote given by the Reformed Parliament—he alluded to the bill for regulating the labour in factories. That bill,

he thought, was called for by every feeling of humanity, and yet it was rejected by a majority of one. (Here there was a great noise in the crowd, who were apparently getting impatient). He only wished to say a few more words, as an honourable Gentleman wished to put a few questions to him, which, if proper, he would answer. (Groans and hisses). The electors would have a fair opportunity of considering those answers. (Loud cheers). He would now tell them why he did not exactly approve of the political opinions of the honourable and gallant Colonel (Evans), and why he felt it his duty to come forward in opposition to so honest and independent a man. (Hear, hear). He thought the time had arrived when political agitation should cease, and when every means should be adopted to promote peaceful industry, social order and happiness; for political agitation had done its utmost to impede industry, and to work down the industrious classes. Whether the gallant Colonel entertained violent opinions, which were likely to impede such an useful work, he could not say, for he had not heard the gallant Colonel very clearly to day. The country had too long been disgusted with both parties; and they ought now to have a fair stand-up fight—not between Sir J. C. Hobhouse and the other candidates, because he had forfeited his engagement—but between the gallant Colonel and himself (Mr. E.) in aiding the country at the present emergency. (Loud applause). He was determined at all events to persevere with the contest to the last, and to give every elector who intended to honour him with a vote, a fair opportunity of recording it. (Cheers and hisses). The shortness of the period from the occurrence of the vacancy to the time of election, had prevented him from calling personally on the electors; but this he did not consider material, although customary. He would leave the meeting with the belief that he should have a majority of their suffrages, and a full determination, if successful in the contest, to do whatever was most likely to advance the interests of the country. (Much applause, mingled with hootings). He would repeat, that from what he had that day heard and seen, he was convinced he should be returned by a triumphant majority. (Applause and hootings).

Mr. WAKLEY called the attention of the meeting to what had been gained by silence; they had had a speech on his right hand and on his left, and the latter he should designate a basin of bubble and squeak. (Cheers). He intended to address the two candidates, and he hoped to obtain from them distinct answers to a few plain, honest, and straightforward questions. (Cheers). Without pledges he would not trust his own brother. (Cheers). The electors had had a practical commentary on the necessity of pledges; for when the necessity of the repeal of the house and window taxes were agitated a few weeks ago, Sir John Cam Hobhouse was applied to to express his

intentions on the subject, when he said "I will vote for their repeal." In 1819 he had declared at the election for the city of Westminster, that he would resign his seat whenever he was called upon to do so by a majority of his constituents. Here were two distinct pledges, and he would ask, had they been unnecessary for election? If after such conduct he was allowed to take refuge in the sea of parliamentary oil, wherein he slipped away from every grasp, it would be the electors who were the fools, and the hon. Baronet ought not to be blamed. (Cheers). He would now ask the gallant Colonel if he would vote for the repeal of the Septennial Act.

Colonel EVANS declared he would; and he subsequently declared, as the several questions were successively put by Mr. Wakley, that he would vote for the repeal of the house and window taxes, and the corn-laws, and in favour of vote by ballot; each of which announcements was received with great satisfaction.

Mr. WAKLEY acknowledged the candour of the gallant Officer. He had been averse to the returning of any officer of the army or navy to Parliament; but he put more than ordinary faith in the gallant Colonel, and should give him his firmest support. (Cheers). He believed him in politics to be honest, and in his profession to be a skilful man; and as the Tories had their Wellington, he did not see why the Radicals should not have theirs. (Cheers). He did not see why they should not have also a Radical general in Parliament. If Government went on in the present way, they might, before long, have some red-hot business to do on their own account. (Vehement cheering). He would also ask the gallant Officer if he would resign his seat if called upon to do so by a majority of his constituents?

Colonel EVANS said he had expressed his intention to do so at a meeting he attended last night, and would repeat his determination to the meeting. (Cheers).

Mr. WAKLEY then put the first of these questions to Mr. Escott.

Mr. Escott wished to put a question to the gallant Colonel—How he thought he could do his duty in a deliberative assembly after the pledges he had given? (Groans). He (Mr. Escott) had told them that on the house and window taxes he had made up his mind; but he would not tell them how he would vote upon the questions not yet discussed; but if he went into Parliament, he would exercise his best discretion. (Groans). The honourable member had said that he could not conceive how there could be political honesty without pledges; but he would ask whether there had been former instances of political falsehood where there had been pledges?

Colonel EVANS said that the hon. candidate had asked him whether he considered himself a free agent, and fit to go into a deliberate assembly, entered on as he was by pledges; but he (Col. Evans) had deprived himself of the

power of impugning the practice of pledges, because, in a printed address, he had given a pledge upon the subject of the house and window taxes. He could not, therefore, impugn the practice of pledges. If he (Colonel Evans) were to be asked whether, if the Russians were to take Constantinople, or if the French were to march an army to the Pyrenees, he would pledge himself to vote for war, he should say that he would not, the subject being mixed up with so many different circumstances as to require great consideration. But these now put to him were great questions, which had agitated the country for years; and without meaning any offence to the hon. candidate, he would say that any gentleman who had not made up his mind upon these questions was unfit to represent them. He must confess, however, that he did think that the hon. candidate had made up his mind, and that he could tell it if he liked.

Mr. WAKLEY said, that if the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Escott) had not made up his mind to vote for the repeal of the Septennial Act, he could not represent them, because they had made up their minds. "All those (continued he, addressing the crowd) who are for the repeal of the Septennial Act, hold up your hands (all). All who are for the repeal of the corn-laws, hold up your hands." He was not the man for them; he liked his candour, and he liked him for a Tory; but he remembered the conduct of the Tories—of the cut-throat, Castlereagh. (Cries of shame, shame). He did not mean to allude to the last act of that unfortunate man's life, but to his disposition to cut the throats of other people. He despised the whole of the Tory gang from the bottom of his heart. But never more would they have the opportunity of grinding the people to the earth. He had the authority of Sir John Cam Hobhouse himself for saying that the Whigs had done all they could to oust the Tories, merely for the purpose of serving themselves, and then betraying the interests of the people. (Loud cheers). But they should withhold their indignation and not look to the conduct of parties, but at the conduct of the man who had been their representative. He would bring to their notice a letter which had escaped from the pen of the right hon. Baronet on Wednesday morning last. The question of the house and window taxes having been brought before the House on Tuesday, one of their representatives had voted directly against them, and the other had resigned after having deserted his duty, in the fullest hope that they would send him back to deceive them again. (Cheers). Suppose the right hon. Baronet was about to wed a damsel, and when she was at the altar, he slipped a note into her hand, saying he was sorry, but he had found that there was something more to be done after, and as he was not in a condition to do it then, he would resign all pretensions to her. (Long and continued laughter). The right hon. Baronet had,

in effect, said, "I love you still, but there are others I love better." Great stress had been laid upon the fact of his giving up office, but he would ask, who was nurse to the Irish secretary? Why, Daniel O'Connell! But that same Daniel O'Connell had got an ugly way of making the bed with nettles. If Sir John had gone to Ireland, he would, in forty-eight hours, have been so hot, he would have thought himself in the East Indies, and so stung that he would have been put much in mind of mosquitoes. He had a large fortune, and was not in want of the five thousand pounds, so where was the great merit in his resignation of such an office. In his (Mr. Wakley's) opinion, he was most heartily glad to have had such an opportunity of getting quietly out of it. Sir John's own published former opinions were, that the people were entitled to full, fair, and free representation in Parliament. Now, what had the Reform Bill done in Westminster? Why, reduced the constituency from 14,000 to less than 9,000; and where was the name of Sir John in the list, on Mr. Grote's motion for the ballot? Why, in the majority against it. The reformed Parliament had done one good action by voting for the repeal of the malt tax, yet that vote they had rescinded in less than three days. Now, he would just give them a representation of what might have taken place in the Privy Council the morning after the vote with respect to the malt tax was come to. Lord Althorp comes in and says, "Here's a pretty kettle of fish we're in; we are taken by surprise, for these chaps have voted directly against us; what shall we do? We must have that vote rescinded, because it was for the benefit of the working people." Sir John then gets up, and says, "Oh, my Lord, it's very well for you to talk in that way, but I am pledged. (Loud laughter.) I'll tell you what, my Lord, if you determine on rescinding that vote, I must either throw up my secretaryship or resign my seat." "Well," (says Lord Althorp), "we can get somebody else to take your office, and if you resign your seat, we must look out for somebody to stand for Westminster." "But (says Mr. Hobhouse) look how I shall be disgraced." (Laughter). "Oh, never mind that (says Lord Althorp), we are all disgraced in turn, you know (continued laughter); but there is one thing, if we are disgraced, it is not without sauce, for we have got 6,000*l.* a year for it. (Laughter, and cheers.) Give up your secretaryship, and resign your seat, for you will soon get it again." "Very well, (says Hobhouse), don't you decide anything till I see you again." Away goes Hobhouse to Mr. De Vear, and having ascertained from that diligent and very active man that by a little trickery it would all succeed, Sir John posts off to my Lord Althorp, and says, "It will be all safe—De Vear promises I shall be elected. He says there is no doubt about it, and, therefore to-night I won't vote—I will cut my stick. (Great laughter.) To-

morrow I will write a little note, saying I have resigned my seat, because I could not fulfil my promises, and that I have also resigned the secretaryship for Ireland." (Laughter). He (Mr. Wakley) had once been a great supporter of Sir John's, but he was compelled to state, that he had forfeited all his confidence, and that he had committed a most disgraceful breach of trust. (Loud and continued cheers). He begged of the electors to consider the whole of England was looking with the most intense interest to what would be the result of this contest. Whig, Tory, and Radical, were now before them, and he begged of them to recollect what the conduct of the Tories had been from the first hour that they held the reins of Government. It was the people and not the Ministers, who succeeded in carrying the Reform Bill—it was the people who replaced the Ministers in their office to discharge a sacred duty, and would they be so forgetful of what was due to their children and their families, as in the hour of triumph, in the very moment of victory, to wisher the laurel on which they had so long delighted to look. (Cheers). He would call upon them not to be deceived in the reformed Parliament—not to be deceived by Factory Bills, for the House of Commons had actually sent a commission to inquire whether children could work four-and-twenty hours in four-and-twenty hours. (Laughter). If the expenditure was managed economically, the man who now worked twelve hours would only have to work four, but the aristocracy were everlastingly praising that which they never practised—he meant *labour*. (Loud cheering). Why, if labour was so very good for the poor, why the d—l was it not as good for the rich? (Loud cheering). In conclusion, he trusted that the electors of Westminster would prove themselves the friends of their country by electing Colonel Evans.

The deputy returning officer then called for a show of hands—and not a single hand was held up for Sir John Hobhouse—a complete forest appeared for Colonel Evans—and not more than twenty for Mr. E.-c.-t. The deputy returning officer then declared the show of hands to be in favour of Colonel Evans. A poll was demanded on the part of Sir John Hobhouse and Mr. E.-c.-t., which was appointed to commence to-morrow, at nine o'clock in the morning.

The assembled crowd then separated peacefully.

During the ceremony of the nomination, when Sir John Hobhouse quitted the hustings, he returned to his committee room surrounded by some of the most distinguished reformers in Westminster. Among them we particularly distinguished Thomas Duncombe, Edward Lytton Bulwer, Paul Methuen, Esq., Lord Ebrington, Mr. Carlton, Mr. Lumont, Mr. E. B. Clive, Mr. E. G. Stanley, &c. &c. On his arrival in the room, he was heartily greeted by his friends. He expressed in warm terms his regret that he had been prevented from

replying to the base accusations his opponents continued to make against him. He stated emphatically that he was most completely out of office, and had been so from his first announcement; that he had no intention to return to it; that he never would unless he was convinced, and his friends the electors also, that he could do more good to the public in the King's Government than out of it. (Cheers). He had intended always to vote against the continuance of the house and window taxes—it was well known to Ministers on his taking office—that was no secret. (Applause). He should most certainly have done so had it not been so mixed up with other matters as to place him in a more painful situation than any other public man. He knew he felt that he had taken the honest, the conscientious course. (Cheers). He hoped and trusted that the electors would do him justice, at least as to his motives; and then let the result be what it might (and he, for his part, did not doubt it), at least he was certain it would sooner or later be admitted that he deserved to share the confidence of those patriotic citizens with whom, under the banner of reform, he had continued to fight until they had planted it on the summit of the mount. (Great cheering).

Mr. Fearon, Lord Ebrington, and other gentlemen strongly deprecated the ungenerous conduct of part of the assemblage before the bustings, in refusing to hear a defence while they heard a charge. And a resolution was passed by acclamation, applauding Sir John Hobhouse's complaisance with the earnest solicitation of his friends in quitting the hustings on that occasion.

A resolution was also passed with great applause, to redouble their exertions to place Sir John Hobhouse triumphantly at the head of the poll, to which they now most confidently appeal.

Three cheers were given for their candidate, and the committee separated for an hour.

Close of the first day's poll :

Evans	1026
Hobhouse	779
Escott	494

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

(From Cobbett's Magazine)

(Continued from p. 181, No. 3.)

"Indeed, a camp meeting is an excellent place for all sorts of business. It is a point of union for all the loungers and young people; for those who have bargains to make or to conclude, and for the candidates who mean to 'elect-flourish' (a word which you have not

in French, but which you will be obliged to adopt whenever you have a government really free); every one minds his business, sleeps, eats, makes love, cheapens a horse, deprecates or exalts a candidate. The holy place is deserted; silence for the first time reigns around the pulpit; the full moon, though in her mid career, is veiled by a passing cloud, and everything seems to invite to repose and to a suspension of the labours of the day; when—a preacher who has remained alone kneeling within the pulpit, rises up slowly; inspiration begins to visit him; he begins a hymn at first with a very feeble voice, but which, *crescendo* by degrees, soon attains the melody of Stentor. Some pious souls retake their places upon the seats, other preachers join him, and curiosity soon reproduces an auditory. An enthusiastic and pathetic prayer follows: he engages the saints to pray for the conversion of the poor sinners who are in the midst of them; he presents to them the greatness of God's mercy, and the pains of hell; he exhorts them to lay aside false shame, and make a clear breast before their brethren. Five or six persons rise up, and advance slowly towards the *sanctum sanctorum*. At the sight of so many converts, the possessed saint becomes doubly heated: he deputes two saints to pray with each of them. The new convert kneeling upon the straw, sighs, accuses himself, sobs, and cries; whilst on each side a saint, kneeling beside him, vociferates in his ear a description, after his manner, of the glory of God, and the wickedness of Satan. These eighteen or twenty persons, men and women, in the pen, make a clutter that may be heard for some miles; everybody bawls, sings, prays, cries, preaches, together. . . . The owls, attracted by the odour of the kitchens, answer them from the tops of the trees, and fly away from this noise, which they cannot emulate. A young girl in the meantime had wandered in the woods longer with her lover than she supposed; time passes

"swiftly in the company of a beloved object, perhaps for the first time, and in the spring of life, dreaming of ages of happiness in a cherished union, tasting perhaps its reality in passionate declarations ; . . . suddenly she is recalled to her senses by this clutter, her spirits still agitated, her soul in a strange state of emotion, her nerves stunned and shaken. She approaches, is troubled, fright seizes her ; at first she believes herself damned — then converted—she enters within the sacred enclosure, there she is soon stunned and seized with hysteric convulsions ; she cries out, weeps, sobs, rolls herself on the straw in a frightful delirium. The assistants, the preachers, and the saints, redouble their vociferations, the people cry Amen ! The clutter and tumult increase : a conversion so sincere, so exemplary, must not be hidden by the shades of night ; torches of pitch-pine, gathered from the neighbourhood, are soon brought, and cast a vivid light upon this scene of horror. The mother, the sisters, of the young girl, run thither on hearing the noise ; but instead of helping her, admire the mercy of God, who is pleased to call her among his saints. They join their voices to those of the people, and do not convey her into their cabin until she has become quite insensible. The following day she believes herself to be a saint, and no more subject to sin, whatever she may do. Further, she will give her experience, as it is called, for the edification of the community, and relates in public, by what winding paths the Lord has been pleased to conduct her to himself, and exhorts others to follow her example. And such is the power of imitation on the nerves, that it rarely happens that a conversion of this sort takes place without some other persons falling into hysterics also. Frequently, twenty persons, of every age, sex, and colour, roll themselves together pell-mell upon the straw, with haggard eyes and foaming mouths, in the midst of the saints, who pray, sing, sob, and cry with joy, to see so signal a triumph ob-

tained over Satan. Methodism equalizes everything ; so that you may see an old negress preaching to her master, a negro praying by his young mistress. You think I am joking, that I am speaking to you of the farces of Saint Medard, which made so much noise in the time of Voltaire ; but what will you say when you know that, among a people eminently reasonable, this sect is the most diffused, and reckons three times as many members as any other ? It augments every day, and will, probably, in a few years, be the only religion among the ignorant classes of the people."

The story seems marvellous. It tallies, however, so well with what we have witnessed in America, that we can see nothing in it to disbelieve M. MURAT's last fact ; and the anticipations accompanying it, are curious, as showing how little the "*liberals*" have been able to effect in shortening the ears of the Americans. "Ignorant ?" And which is the *knowing* nation ? Why, the English, no doubt ; who have not only got an "Every man his own Grazier," an "Every man his own Farrier," an "Every man his own Lawyer," and an "Every man his own Physician," but who now only wait for the MS. from the Useful Knowledge Society, to have a neat little manual of improved mysteries under the title of "*Every man his own Doctor of Divinity*." And truly a great desideratum, which was all at once to open the eyes of a whole nation to a clear sight into a science that the most clever and deeply learned have confessed their inability to explain.

"Thirty years ago," says M. MURAT, "Thomas Paine was all but stoned for advocating doctrines which are now propagated by five or six papers in the United States. There is certainly an improvement." We really do not understand whether M. MURAT is serious or joking in calling this an *improvement*. It is certain that the author of the "*Age of Reason*" was buried in America, like a dog in the corner of a field, no church or Quaker congregation being willing to let him be interred in their burying-ground. And though M. MURAT speaks

of improvement at this time, we remember hearing it asserted by American lawyers, no longer ago than the year 1821, that the publication of such books as PAINÉ's was against the common law of America. An American judge having seen PALMER's "*Principles of Nature*" exposed for sale, told the bookseller that he was liable to a criminal prosecution; whence the question arose; and the opinion of the lawyers was on the ground that such works were *contra bonos mores*, as the law terms it, that is, tending to do injury to the morals of the people. The prosecutions of this kind which, up to nearly the present day, have taken place in England, have not been dictated by political wisdom, anxious for the good of public morality. They have been government acts of vengeance upon the attackers of its corruptions. If PAINÉ was answered by Bishop WATSON, the discussions should have dropped there; that would have been the best policy. But the Bishop, unfortunately, did not fight PAINÉ with the infidel's own weapons; was not satisfied to stop at the first page of his book, which any merely reasonable man might have done in refuting him; but he seems rather to have recognised PAINÉ as a brother professor of theology, actually complimenting him, as he does, upon the "*sublime ideas*" contained in his book. And what has been the result of the law proceedings against CARLILE and other publishers of the book? If the intended object were to create disgust against the works they published, how far have the prosecutions succeeded? Have they not merely placed PAINÉ's *Age of Reason*, &c. on a footing along with the writings of VOLTAIRE and other infidels, whose books, impugning Christianity, have all along been left wide open for every man, woman, and child, to read?

Connected with church reform, come the objections to taking oaths, and the emancipation of the Jews, who have been so much persecuted as to be amongst the richest people in the country! In the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 21. of March, there is the following report of a proceeding in the House of Commons.

"Mr. GROES presented a petition

"from a number of persons, called "*Separatists*, stating that they entertained a *religious scruple* on the subject of oaths, and praying to be put on the same footing in that respect as Quakers. The hon. Gentleman expressed his satisfaction that the hon. Member for Cambridge was about to introduce a bill to relieve all sects from the *inabilities* under which they at present laboured from similar scruples.

"Mr. O'CONNELL supported the prayer of the petition, and said he knew of an actual denial of justice arising from the *conscientious* refusal of an individual to take an oath. In an important case, an insurance office actually lost a large sum of money, for want of the evidence of a man who could not be induced to take an oath. That fact alone showed that the abstract principle on which oaths were insisted upon was erroneous, and ought to be relinquished.

"Mr. MURRAY supported the petition.

"Mr. HUME said he hoped the day would arrive when the legislature would wipe off the stain of *illiberality* by which persons who, from *religious scruples*, declined to take an oath, were refused the exercise of some of the most valuable civil rights. It was hard that a man's morality should be impeached simply because he was *conscientious*. As the law stood, a man who was conscientious declined to take an oath, and that man's evidence was rejected, while a man who was not conscientious, took an oath without hesitation, and his evidence was accepted.

"Sir F. BURDETT also supported the prayer of the petition."

(To be continued.)

FIELD SEEDS.

TO BE HAD AT BOLT-COURT,
FLEET-STREET.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any

quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 8d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SHARMAN, J., Birmingham, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BADGER, E., Merthyr Tydvil, Glamorgan-shire, currier.

CATES, E., Brydges-street, Covent-garden, hotel-keeper.

JOHNSON, G. B., High-street, Wapping, corn-merchant.

MASSEY, P., Loughsight, Lancashire, coach-proprietor.

MOORS, W., Ludworth, Derbyshire, cotton-manufacturer.

PEACOCK, H., Leather-lane, dealer in potatoes.

PELHAM, J. C., Shad-Thames, Horslydown, wharfinger.

ROBINSON, J., Cockermouth, Cumberland, woollen-manufacturers.

STUBLEY, W. G., Castle-street, Southwark, hat-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

BOND, P., Worcester, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ATWOOD, W., Lewes, Sussex, watch-maker.

BRIDGE, W., jun., and **J. Staudring,** Manchester, timber-merchants.

DICKINSON, W., Ewer-street, Southwark, hair-manufacturer.

JONES, R., Bridge-street, Southwark, hat-leather-cutter.

LEE, W., Custom-house, commission-agent.

MARSTON, J., Market-Rasen, Lincolnshire, surgeon.

MARTIN, S. and J., Cheltenham and Bath, silversmiths.

RADCLIFFE, J., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

ROBERTS, E., Tyn-y-Coed, Carnarvonshire, pig-drover.

ROUTLEDGE, T., Shrewsbury, Shropshire, scrivener.

SAUNDERS, J., Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, nurseryman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BURNS, J. and Co., Inverkeithing, Fifeshire, chymists.

STRACHAN, J., Inverkeithing, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 6.—The supplies of Wheat from Kent were very limited, and from Essex and Suffolk, though still moderate, were rather larger than last week. The millers in the early part of the morning took off some of the best parcels of Wheat at the currency of last Monday, whilst cold and inferior samples met with little attention. Towards the close, however, of the market the demand fell off, and, except the finest lots, all descriptions might have been purchased on lower terms, and the general aspect of the trade dull. Old Wheats sustained no alteration in value, and for bonded descriptions the inquiry was very limited.

The weather having set in extremely warm has induced most of the principal maltsters to draw their business to a conclusion. Bright malting parcels of Barley were, in consequence, 1s. cheaper, and stained and second descriptions, extremely dull at this declining distilling and grinding descriptions sustained the same reduction, with a dull sale.

The Malt trade very heavy, and all inferior qualities nearly unsalable.

Oats experienced a fair demand, and maintained the currency of this day week.

Beans were in request, and realized more money than last Monday.

The stock of Peas being extremely limited and the supplies short, prices were maintained, and maple obtained rather more money.

Flour extremely dull at former prices.

P.S.—We have just learned that Beaumont and Berry, the millers, have failed to a great extent, and the Flour trade was additionally dull.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
Boilers	36s. to —s.
Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
Feed	14s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 36s. to 38s. per cwt.	
Sides, new ... 36s. to 38s.	
Pork, India, new ... 115s. to —s.	
Mess, new ... 65s. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 61s. to 68s. per cwt.	
Carlow ... 62s. to 70s.	
Cork ... 63s. to 70s.	
Limerick ... —s. to —s.	
Waterford ... 48s. to 58s.	
Dublin ... 50s. to 54s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 72s.	
Gloucester, Double ... 50s. to 56s.	
Gloucester, Single ... 46s. to 50s.	
Edam ... 40s. to 50s.	
Gouda ... 40s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 44s. to 54s.	

SMITHFIELD.—May 6.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs, was moderately good; the supply of fat Calves and Porkers rather limited. The trade was, with each kind of meat, unusually dull, at exceedingly little, if any, variation from Friday's quotations.

About three-eighths of the Beasts were Scots and Norfolk home-breds, principally the former; about two-eighths short-horns; one-eighth Devons; and an eighth Welsh runs, chiefly, (say about 1,900 of them) from Norfolk, with a few from Suffolk, Cambridge-shire, Essex, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and our western and mid-land districts; about 60 Herefords, as many Irish, and about 40 Sussex beasts; a few Buffheads, &c. from various quarters; and about 100 Town's-end Cows.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Norfolks, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, horned Dorsets, &c. About one-fifth of the Lambs appeared to be new Leicesters, of the different crosses, and the remaining three-fifths, for the most part, about equal numbers of Dorsets, and West Sussex South Downs.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 10.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, with the prices rather lower than on Monday.

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Cons. Ann. } 87½ 87½ 87½ — 87 87.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 17. May, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,

THE discussion on my motion relative to Sir ROBERT PEEL, came on last night between six and seven o'clock; and it ended about half-past eleven, divisions and all; these divisions will be mentioned by-and-by more particularly. You know how many times both myself and my colleague have explained to you the monstrous injuries inflicted upon all the industrious classes by "*Peel's Bill*." It was our duty to bring this matter before the House in some shape or another; because there are many young men now, who have seen their fathers, their mothers, and themselves, reduced in life; and who have not the most distant notion of the cause of the change. It was still more necessary to discharge this duty, in order to make it generally known that the present distress, embarrassments, and dangers, have arisen from this source, in a very great measure; and a really virtuous and sensible set of the servants of the King would have applauded us for doing this; because, by proving that the evils had arisen from these blunders in law-making, we prove, that they have not arisen from any defect in the ancient and settled laws and constitution of the country. You will see, however, that this set of servants of the King took quite a contrary course, and thought it their duty to show their most bitter hostility to this effort on the part of me and your other member.

As to the dismissal of Sir Robert Peel from the Privy Council, the thing was not worth a straw with regard to its consequences; but, this was the most rational way of proceeding; it was the way to ascertain whether he, who was the principal agent in the making of the mischievous acts, was able to defend those acts, or to offer an apology for them. It was the way also to excite the greatest degree of interest on the subject, and to call forth the greatest degree of attention to it; and, therefore, this course was adopted. Others might have been chosen as the objects of our complaint; but, we chose he who was looked upon as the strongest man amongst all the blunderers. We were well aware, too, that both the parties would most furiously join to defend him, and by no means to spare us; and this was another reason for our making this selection, which we had a perfect right to do.

I shall now give you, as nearly as I can, an account of the speeches, which we made upon this occasion, and of Sir ROBERT PEEL's answer, if answer it can be called, introducing, as I go along, first, the RESOLUTION which I moved, and afterwards a document or two, of which justice to the working people demands a promulgation. I do not pretend to give those speeches verbatim, or anything like it; but I will give them with a little more accuracy than it is possible that they can have appeared in the daily papers: for, though the accuracy of the reporters is a thing quite astonishing, it is perfectly impossible that they, upon subjects of this sort, can avoid committing errors.

MY SPEECH.

Mr. Speaker, in rising to make the motion of which I have given notice, I will trouble the House with neither apologies nor professions: I make the motion because I have a right to do it, and because I choose to exercise that

right; and, with regard to my motives, I leave them to be gathered from the tenor and the tendency of the resolution which I am about to propose. It appears to me that the best and most convenient way of proceeding will be, first, to read the resolution throughout; because honourable Members will thereby be put in full possession, not only of what I am about to propose to the House to adopt, but of the grounds of the proposition which I have to make; and, when in possession of these, they will be the better able to judge of the soundness or unsoundness of those arguments which it will be my duty to produce in support of the resolution itself. *[I then read the resolution as follows, and I here number the paragraphs for the purpose of rendering reference more easy.]*

RESOLVED: 1. That, according to the laws and customs of this kingdom, the King, our Sovereign Lord, can do no wrong to the whole, to any part, or to any one, of his subjects; that, however, effectually to guard against wrong being, in his Majesty's name and under his authority, done to his subjects with impunity, the same laws and customs, which have, as our birth-right, descended to us from our just and wise forefathers, make all and every one, acting in that name and under that authority, fully and really responsible to the good people of this kingdom, for every wrong done unto them by any and every person invested with such authority, and that in virtue of such responsibility, the wrong-doing party is subject to such censures, pains, and penalties, as in virtue of the said laws and customs, the several tribunals of the kingdom have, in all ages, been wont to inflict; that, if this responsibility were not real and practical, we should be living under not only a despotism, but an avowed despotism, for the King being incapable of wrong-doing, and his servants being responsible merely in name and form, and not in practice, they

also could do no wrong, and then the people of this renowned kingdom, the cradle of true liberty, would be the most wretched slaves ever yet heard of under the sun; that, in cases where the wrong-doing is committed by inferior functionaries, or is, in its effects, confined to individuals, or to small numbers of sufferers, the ordinary courts of justice have usually been deemed competent to afford redress to the injured; but that, when the wrong is the act of a Minister of State, sworn to advise the King for the good of his people, when that Minister of State receives as a reward for his fidelity and skill large sums of the people's money, and when the wrong by him done is, in its effects, so deeply and so generally mischievous, as to send ruin and misery to sweep over the kingdom like the pestilence, then there is, for the purpose of yielding justice to the suffering millions, no power competent but that which is possessed by their faithful representatives assembled in this House.

2. That, in the year 1819, there had long been and then was, in virtue of divers acts of Parliament theretofore passed, a paper-money in circulation throughout this kingdom, which paper-money was, in effect, a legal tender in payment of all private debts, as well as in the payment of taxes; that this paper-money, descending so low as to notes of one pound, had been the almost only circulating money of the country, from the month of February, 1797, that is to say, for the space of twenty-one years; that this paper-money soon became depreciated to so great an extent, that the prices of commodities had, during the said twenty-one years, risen, on an average of years and of commodities, to about double the amount of the prices at which the same commodities were usually sold before the issue of the said legal-tender paper-money; that the depreciation of the money

was so notorious and so amply avowed in Parliament, that divers acts were passed, during the said twenty-one years, to raise the allowances to the royal family, the salaries of the judges, of the police-magistrates, of the army, of the navy, and of almost every one in public employ, for the purpose of counteracting the effect of this very great depreciation; that, during the said twenty-one years next preceding 1819, all mortgages, rent-charges, leases, settlements, annuities, bonds, and other contracts for time, together with all wills and testaments, had been agreed on, settled, and made, on the basis of this depreciated money; and that, during the said twenty-one years, about *five hundred millions of the public debt* had been contracted in the said depreciated paper-money; that, therefore, to pass an act compelling the debtor parties to make good these contracts for time, to the very letter, in sterling gold, must be, in fact, an act of confiscation against, and a sentence of ruin pronounced upon, these parties; while, with regard to the people at large, such act must, in reality, nearly double the amount of the public debt, nearly double the amount of all the above-mentioned augmented salaries and public pay, and, of course, nearly double the real amount of the taxes.

3. That, notwithstanding these premises and conclusions, so indubitably true, and so clear to the understanding of every man of common sense, the Right Honourable Robert Peel, then one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, did, in the said year 1819, bring into the then House of Commons, and procure to be passed by that House, a Bill to put an end to the legal-tender paper-money, which Bill, unaccompanied as it was with any measure for the revision and rectifying of private contracts, and for the adjustment of public engagements, was a Bill inevitably

tending to produce that injustice, that confiscation, and that ruin, hereinbefore described.

4. That, this Act, which received the royal assent on the 2. July, 1819, though it provided for what was called the gradual resumption of gold-payments, began at once to plunge the whole community into pecuniary confusion; that the prices of all commodities, and of all property, moveable or immoveable, began instantly to fall prodigiously in price; that mortgaged estates were, in thousands upon thousands of instances, taken from the owners and sold, in many cases, for less than the amount of the mortgages; that, in other cases, fixed charges upon estates swallowed up the whole of the rental; while, with regard to leases, bonds, annuities, and other contracts for time, and, above all things, with regard to property dropping in to be disposed of by will, the demon of injustice seemed to have been, by this destructive act, let loose upon the kingdom, setting landlords and tenants, creditors and debtors, brothers and sisters, parents and children, to tear each other to pieces, bringing down hundreds of thousands of families from a state of competence and ease, and many from a state of opulence, to a state of utter ruin and beggary, while all those who were living on the taxes, and who were, in fact, receiving double pay, were rolling in wealth, and lording it over the rest of the community; and that, of all these dreadful effects of such a measure, the said Right Honourable Robert Peel had been duly warned even before he brought in the said fatal bill.

5. That, by the said act, gold payments were to be completely resumed, and the one-pound notes were to be wholly abolished, in the month of May, 1823; but, that so terrible were the effects of the aforesaid act, such were the ruin and misery that it had produced, that, on the 22. July, 1822, another bill was, by

the then advisers of his Majesty (of whom the said Right Honourable Robert Peel was one) brought into the then House of Commons, and was afterwards passed into a law, postponing the abolition of the one-pound notes for eleven years longer; that an important part of the act of 1819 was thus repealed; that an acknowledgment was thus virtually made by an act of the House itself; that it had, principally by the said Right Honourable Robert Peel, been induced to act unwisely, and to do great wrong to the people by the said act of 1819.

6. That, if the act of 1822 had been wise, if it had put a stop to the wrong done and still doing by the act of 1819, it came very tardily, it waited till prodigious ruin had been effected; but, that this act of 1822, while it postponed the abolition of the one-pound notes for eleven years, left the gold payment part of the act of 1819 in full force: so that, while the issuers of paper-money were thus invited and encouraged to inundate the country with one-pound notes, they and the holders of their notes were left exposed to constant, and, first or last, certain ruin; that this ruin (of which the said Right Honourable Robert Peel and his colleagues were duly warned) was not slow in making its appearance; that, towards the close of the year 1825, the bubble, thus created by the law itself, began to burst, and that, before the end of January, 1826, a hundred banks had stopped, not having gold wherewith to pay their notes, the whole kingdom being thereby plunged into alarm and confusion, thousands upon thousands of families (descending to the very artisans and labourers) being brought down to beggary; and, such being the state into which the country had been brought, that the Ministers themselves declared, in Parliament, that, at one time, the country had actually been within forty-eight

hours of barter, that is to say, destitute of all measure of value, and in a state of utter confusion and anarchy.

7. That, with all this sad experience of the effects of his measures, the said Right Hon. Robert Peel (still one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and then become one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State) gave his sanction to a Bill (which became an act on the 22. March, 1826) for again abolishing the one-pound notes at the end of three years, notwithstanding the postponement of such abolition, provided for in the act of 1822; that, by this act of 1826, the nation was again plunged back into the low prices, and, in effect, double taxes, produced by the unjust act of 1819; that the ruin and misery of all the industrious classes, and the wealth and luxury of those who live on the taxes, have gone on increasing from that day to this; and that, at this moment, there appears to be no human being able to discover any quiet way of extricating the kingdom from its present state of unparalleled difficulty and danger.
8. That, contemplating these mighty calamities, thus heaped on his Majesty's industrious and dutiful people, and further contemplating the probable danger therefrom to be apprehended to the safety of his Majesty's authority and throne, and clearly tracing a great part of these to the want of knowledge in the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, this House, reserving to itself the right of adopting further and other proceedings in the premises, deems itself bound, in duty to his Majesty and from an anxious regard to the well-being of his people, not to leave them again exposed to calamities and dangers proceeding from the same source; and that, therefore, this House will present a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss the Right

Honourable Sir Robert Peel from his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

[The Speaker wished to ascertain from the honourable Member for Oldham, if he had read the paper as a part of his speech; or, whether he considered it in the light of a motion. Because, if a part of his speech, it was unusual in that House to read a speech; and if it were a motion, the hon. Member would address the House, perhaps, in order to show how it could be regularly received. I said, that it was a *resolution*; that it began with the word "resolved" and then went on without any interruption to the end. Mr. Speaker said that it would be extremely inconvenient to place on the journals elaborate arguments or pamphlets. I said, that though the resolution was certainly long, I had seen much longer moved in that House, and placed on the journals. The House, however, might dispose of the paper as they thought fit; but, in the meanwhile, I would proceed to show that the resolution was founded in justice and in reason. My friends of Oldham, you will see, by-and-by, the curious manner in which the House disposed of this paper, which, by-the-by, will be, by the time that you will receive this, in all the reading places from Aberdeen to the Isle of Wight. I shall now proceed with my speech].

Much has been said about ministerial responsibility; but, for my part, I have never seen any thing like real responsibility demanded of any Minister. Responsibility does not mean being laughed at, or scolded, by the members of this House. It means liability to *punishment* of some sort; and the least of those punishments is that of being publicly censured or reprov'd by some public authority. In common life it means liability to suffer in person or in purse; and, not to use the word ignorance as applicable to the right hon. Bart., men are made to suffer, and justly made to suffer, for injuries arising from their want of knowledge in matters which they undertake to perform. If, for instance, a person profess to be a surgeon, and you experience injury from his want of knowledge of his profession, you

have your action of damages against him; though it may clearly appear that his intention was good. It is not of bad intention that I accuse the hon. Bart., for I know nothing about his intentions; but, bad intention is not necessary to be proved in the case of the surgeon: it is only necessary to show that he has done injury from want of knowledge in his profession. Just so ought it to be in the present case: the censure of this House ought to be inflicted, not only on account of the wrong that has been done; but also, in order to prevent like wrong being done in future from a similar cause.

I am sorry that the First Lord of the Admiralty is not now in his place; because I counted on his zealous and able support upon this occasion. That right hon. Gentleman; in his place in Parliament, in 1829, frankly confessed, that he had been led astray in the case of the bill of 1819, by the doctrines of Mr. Ricardo; that he repented him of what he had done in supporting that bill; and that that bill was making us pay in gold a debt contracted in a depreciated paper. The hon. Member for Knarborough told us the other night, that Mr. Ricardo had lived to repent of his error. I hope that his repentance was deep and sincere; for, as a political sin, his was the greatest ever committed by mortal man. An hon. Baronet (Member for Kent) made grievous complaints the other night about the distress of the landed interest; but that hon. Baronet had supported the measure which had caused that distress, not seeing that it would convey the lands from the then proprietors to the hands of the Jews and usurers.

I now proceed to show how the bill has worked in ruining landlords and farmers, and in the starving of labourers. First, I shall state how it reduced the price of wheat.

Price of wheat for the twenty-one years preceding 1819—11s. 8d. a bushel.

1818—9 7½

1819—8 7½

1820—7 6½

1821—6 7

1822—5 1½

But wheat is the thing that falls slowest; it is absolutely an immediate necessary of life, that the owner is able to keep up its price longer than any other article of farm produce. The price of cattle of all sorts fell much more in proportion than wheat did in price. But, let us take the article of English wool, of which the following has been the progress downwards in price.

South Down Wool,	s. d.
from 1797 to 1819	2 11½ per lb.
— 1819 to 1826	0 11
— 1826 to 1838	0 9

What, then, must the effects of this bill have been upon the farmer, the landlord, and the labourer? In many parts of the country the amount of the wool used to be sufficient to pay the rent of the farm. How are farmers to pay their rent now, and without that rent, how are the landlords to pay the interest of the mortgage on their estates? The consequences have been such that the land has passed away from its owners in innumerable cases; and, though I verily believe there are many landlords in the House who have lost more than the half of their estates by this bill, yet I also believe, though they know that every word of this resolution is true, not one of them will vote for it.

Not only has agriculture suffered by these proceedings; manufactures have suffered the same fate. Let us take iron, for instance.

Irish (British Pig)	£. s. d.
from 1797 to 1819	8 0 0 per ton.
— 1819 to 1826	5 0 0
— 1826 to 1833	3 15 0

The iron-master had the same rent to pay: if he had mortgages, the same amount of interest; and every one must see, that such a process must bring him down to ruin; and this is what ought to have been foreseen by the right hon. Bart. Nor were the effects confined to the King's European dominions. I was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman (the Secretary for the Colonies) assert, the other night, that the pecuniary distress of the West Indians had arisen from their having produced too much sugar of late years; that it

was over production, and not the agitation of the slave-question. If the right hon. Gentleman were to go to Preston, he would find that the greater part of those naughty pretty girls, whom he and I so well remember, are now, for the greater part, become wives; and he would find them, in too many cases, obliged to drink their tea without sugar: let him go and tell them, that the West Indians bring too much sugar to England, and that that is the cause of their ruin. I was in hopes, that this strange notion was buried in the grave with the late Lord Liverpool, who, at the very moment when hundreds and thousands of the Irish were starving; at that very moment, when we were called upon to subscribe to send them oatmeal and potatoes, declared, in the most positive manner, that the distress arose from the over-production of food in both countries. Before the right hon. Gentleman again ascribes distress to over-production, I beseech him to attend to the progress of prices in coffee and sugar, from the time of passing the fatal bill of 1819; which prices are as follows:

Coffee, from 1797 to 1819	147s. per cwt.
— 1819 to 1826	90s.
— 1826 to 1833	53s.
Sugar, — 1797 to 1819	82s.
— 1819 to 1826	26s.
— 1826 to 1833	22s.

There have been failures of late to the amount of ten millions in India. People wonder what is come over the East Indies: thousands upon thousands of East Indian families are in a state of the deepest distress. Indigo and saltpetre are the two great articles of produce in the East Indies. The progress of the prices of these downwards, in consequence of the bill of 1819, will account for the ruin and bankruptcies in that country.

	s. d.
Indigo, from 1797 to 1819	7 3. per lb.
— 1819 to 1826	5 11
— 1826 to 1833	4 11
Present price	4 3½

N.B. None of low quality now produced, as there was ten years ago.

	per cwt.
Saltpetre, from . 1797 to 1819	65s.
1819 to 1826	23s.
1826 to 1833	28s.

Such are amongst the consequences of this first-mentioned bill; and for these consequences the right hon. Baronet is answerable. Others were to blame as much or more than he; Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Ricardo; but it was the right hon. Baronet who brought in the bill, and what is more, he is now here himself. Had he been nothing more than a mere member of Parliament, that would have been another thing; but he was the author of the bill by which this great and mighty mischief was done. He was, too, a Privy Councillor at the time. What mere members of Parliament said upon the subject amounted to nothing. The hon. Member for Hertfordshire, for instance, said, upon the introduction of the bill, that, "if ever there was a moment of his (Mr. Peel's) life, in which he was most unquestionably and most eminently entitled to the gratitude of his country, it was the present one." One of three courses must be taken by the right hon. Baronet: he must contend, that it was right to do all this enormous mischief; that it was right to bring down to ruin so many hundreds of thousands of families; or that he is not answerable for it seeing that it was done by the Parliament; or that no such consequences were produced by the bill. The first two he will surely reject; and as to the latter, I shall be very curious to hear what facts and what arguments he has to bring forward to produce conviction in the mind of this House. Want of foresight would be the best defence; and then he would have to account for his conduct in rejecting the warnings repeatedly given him by the hon. Member for Whitehaven and the hon. Member for Birmingham, also by the present right hon. Secretary-at-War, and by the Bank Directors themselves. The best way of proceeding, however, would be to imitate the right hon. Bart the First Lord of the Admiralty, confess his error, as he himself had most laudably done in

the case of Catholic emancipation, and other cases, especially that striking case, the voting for the resolution of Mr. Vansittart in 1811, declaring a one-pound note and a shilling to be equal in value to a guinea in gold. Having so laudably and so successfully recanted upon these occasions, why not do the same now; and, instead of being angry at this motion being made, call upon the House to adopt it, and vote for it himself? This would be the best way; and to something very much like this, he must come, at last, whatever may be the decision of to-night.

But it is not the bill of 1819 alone of which this resolution speaks. There is the bill of 1822 to be answered for. In 1822 the Government, of which the right hon. Baronet was a member, introduced a bill for the purpose of lowering the value of money and raising the price of commodities. Every one knows what had followed from the passing of that bill. The noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Althorp) stated the other night, when opposing the motion of the honourable Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Attwood), that he should not deem himself an honest man if he voted for that motion. Now I ask the noble Lord in what the measure ascribed to the hon. Member for Whitehaven differed from that which passed in 1822? The two measures were precisely the same in principle. But there was something flagitious in the conduct of the Government in 1822 with respect to the country bankers. They were then invited to London; they were urged to put out their one pound notes; they were given to understand that they were to be allowed to issue those notes for 11 years; but when the proceedings then adopted had placed the country in a more dangerous state, when Ministers were compelled to come down to that House and confess that they had brought the country to within 48 hours of a state of barter, the pledge given to the country bankers was broken, and Parliament passed the act of 1826; which I have always declared, and still declare, was the most unjust measure ever adopted by any assembly in the

world, except the acts passed against those who petitioned that House for Parliamentary reform. (Hear, hear). The compact, the solemn compact, entered into with the country bankers was, that they should issue their one-pound notes for 11 years; but in 1826 the right hon. Baronet came down to that House and advised it to put an end to the issue of country one-pound notes. The measure of 1826 brought down 100 country bankers to actual bankruptcy, and it half ruined at least 500 more. After this they may talk as they will of the faith of Parliament and national faith. Why was not faith kept, I ask, with the country bankers? (Hear). But this was not the worst breach of faith. The great breach of faith was the return to low prices under the continuance of high taxes. I believe, that the right hon. Bart. was ignorant of the effects which his measure would produce; but, as the plea of ignorance would not save a mischief-doing surgeon, why is it to save a mischief-doing minister? In the resolution, however, I have not made use of the word ignorance; but of the phrase, "*want of knowledge*;" and that is, of course, confined to knowledge applicable to the great matters in question. As to other matters, I pretend not that he is destitute of a want of knowledge. In all other sciences he may, for aught I know, excel all the rest of mankind. In one science, that of *prosody*, for instance, it appears that he greatly excels; for, I understand, that, the other night, after I had left the House, he told the House, that I ought to have pronounced the word *rescind* with *i short* instead of *i long*. I most willingly acknowledge the right hon. Baronet's superior knowledge in this science; but it is not with regard to the measure of sounds of letters that I accuse the right hon. Baronet with a want of knowledge; it is of the *measure of value*, of which I accuse him of that want; and of *that* want, there is not a man who hears me, who is not convinced in his heart that he ought to be accused.

[At this moment Sir J. Graham re-

turned, and took his seat on the Treasury Bench].

I am glad to perceive that the First Lord of the Admiralty has returned; for now I am sure that I shall have one vote, at any rate. The right hon. Baronet, in a very elaborate performance, had insisted upon the justice of taking thirty per cent. from the interest of the fundholders; and he justified the proposition upon the ground, that the bill of 1819 had given to the fundholders thirty per cent. more than they ought to receive. He had voted for the bill of 1819, misled by the high authority, of Oracle Ricardo; he had made the *amende honorable*; but, to make it complete, he must vote for this resolution. There is another person, too, who must not be forgotten upon this occasion; namely, the present First Lord of the Treasury, who had declared in his place in Parliament, twenty times over, that all the great difficulties of the country arose from the bill of 1819 having compelled the people to pay in sterling gold a debt contracted in depreciated paper. Well, the noble Lord has now the power to cause justice to be done; and why does he not cause justice to be done?

It has been said by the right hon. Baronet himself, that there had been great distress as to the changes in the value of the money before 1819; and who has ever denied it? The Secretary for the Colonies has said, with an air of triumph, against the poor West Indians, that their distress was stated to exist so far back as 1804. The right hon. Secretary was then a very little boy; if he had been a man then, he would have known that that distress arose from a cause precisely similar to that which is now in operation. The peace of Amiens had been made; and the Bank of England had, agreeably to the then law, been preparing for a return to cash payments. There was always a state of uncertainty, during peace, as to the time when the Bank would be called upon to pay in gold; and, of course, [there were frequent fluctuations in the value of money; but

this was all well known in 1819; the right hon. Baronet had had the experience of all this; and, therefore, these were so many beacons for him to shun, instead of examples for him to follow. In 1810 and 1811, in the midst of war and of loans, it was proposed by Mr. Huskisson and a committee of that House, that the Bank should be compelled to pay in gold at the end of two years. Out of Bedlam such a proposition never was made before; yet, even the authors of that proposition, have in this House, been extolled to the skies. The next defence is, as I gather from the debate on the proposition of the honourable Member for Whitehaven; that it was necessary to do *something* in 1819; that it was necessary no longer to suffer the currency of the country to be in its then degraded and uncertain state. Whoever denied that? Not I, at any rate. Every man that I conversed with at the time wished for a return to the ancient standard of value. But, does it follow that it was necessary that it should be done in that unjust and wicked or foolish manner in which it was done? If there be a mortification in a man's foot, which, if left alone, will certainly kill him in time, does it follow that it is right to cut off his head, in order to put a stop to the effects of mortification? And, did no one point out the proper and just thing to do? Was there nothing pointed out but the lowering of the standard or a depreciated paper-money? Had the right honourable Baronet no choice, except that which lay between the little shilling and the worthless rags? Oh yes! there was something else pointed out to him; and that, too, by parties to whom he ought to have listened with the greatest attention. In the year 1817 about a million and a half of Englishmen and Scotchmen petitioned the then House of Commons for a parliamentary reform. But those reformers were not such fools as to want a reform that was to bring them no good. They petitioned to be relieved from their burdens; for a lowering of salaries and public pay in proportion to the then rise in the value of money; they petitioned for a reduc-

tion of the interest of the debt, proportioned to the recent rise in the value of money; they petitioned against being compelled to pay in sterling gold a debt which had been contracted in depreciated paper: they complained as the First Lord of the Admiralty and the present Prime Minister have complained, of being compelled to pay, in a high currency, debts contracted in a low currency. In justice to those men; in justice to those reformers, chiefly belonging to the working classes, I must beg the House to suffer me to read a small part of one of their petitions, sent from Hampshire on the 10. of February, 1817.

With regard to salaries paid out of the public money, your petitioners beg leave humbly to observe, that they have only to refer to your honourable House to your own Journals, and to the Statute Book for the space of the last twenty years, in order to afford your honourable House ample conviction of the fact that the salaries of the judges have been doubled, that the salaries of the police justices have been greatly augmented, and that a like augmentation has taken place in almost all other salaries, and in the pay and allowances of an enormous military staff establishment, and that all these augmentations have been adopted upon the express ground of the augmentation which had taken place in the price of wages, in the price of all articles of dress, in the rents of houses and land, and in the prices of all the necessaries of life; and therefore, now, that it is notorious that these latter have all been diminished in the degree of nearly one half, your petitioners will not insult your honourable House by appearing to suppose that you will refuse their humble request, that the above said salaries and pay may be immediately reduced in the same degree.

And, as to the interest on the annuities constituting the funded debt, your petitioners agreeing in opinion with a noble Earl of the other House of Parliament, that the currency of the country has been changed, that the taxes, which were imposed in a currency of

low value, are now collected in a currency of high value, beg leave to observe also, that the far greater part of the debt, which was contracted in a low currency, is now paid an interest for, by the people, in a high currency. Therefore, your petitioners most humbly pray that the rate of interest on the funded debt may be immediately reduced, in such a degree that the fruit of the whole productive labour of the country may no longer be swallowed up by the dealers in funds, or, to adopt the words of a petition, received by the House of Commons from the town of Leicester, at the time of the South-Sea bubble, your petitioners most humbly implore your honourable House, "that the last drop of the nation's blood may not be poured out to be licked up by the cannibals of 'Change Alley.'"

And, sir, what was the answer that these sensible and industrious men received? There came petitions from one million five hundred thousand of them; and one single answer was given to them all; and that answer was, an act of Parliament, passed by the then House of Commons and the then House of Lords, to put them into dungeons at the pleasure of two Secretaries of State; into any dungeons in the kingdom, without their being informed of what they were put into dungeons for; and for keeping them in those dungeons as long as the Ministers should please. Ah, sir, that is not forgotten by those men and by their children; and happy would this House be if it could be carried back to 1817, in order that it might follow the advice of those men, instead of inflicting unjust punishment upon them! The Parliament that inflicted that punishment, is, I thank God, never to return; and it is for the present Parliament, which is, really and truly, the work of their efforts, to do justice to those of them who are now alive, and to the memory of those of them who are dead.

Before I conclude, I must notice the effects of the bill of 1819 upon the condition of the working people throughout the kingdom. Had the evils of

this bill flown over *their heads*, left them unharmed, I should have given myself very little trouble about its other consequences, and should certainly not have troubled the House with the resolution now before it; but, having witnessed the ruin and misery brought upon *them*, and having once heard the right hon. Bart. assert that his bill had mended their lot by making provisions cheaper, I cannot refrain from describing the consequences of this bill to them; so mischievous have those consequences been, that, in my estimation, they surpass, and far surpass, all its other evil consequences put together. When the right hon. Baronet was speaking upon this subject, he forgot that lowering of wages could take place as well as lowering of prices; and I will now show him, by a document as authentic as any that can exist in the world, that his bill, while it was producing all the other evils which I have attempted to describe, was absolutely working the destruction, either of the bodies, or the morals, of the labourers in agriculture. The document to which I refer, is, "*a new regulation of allowance to the poor*," dated from the *grand jury chamber, Winchester, 31. August, 1832*; and issued by the authority of Sir Thomas Baring, two other lay-magistrates, and five other magistrates being highly benefited clergymen. It is signed by Mr. Woodham of Winchester, their clerk. From this document, which I carefully put upon record at the time, and which I will take care shall now reach every part of this kingdom, it appears, that these magistrates "recommended the officers of every parish to offer *three* shillings a week from Michaelmas to Lady Day to every *unmarried man*, and four shillings a week from Lady Day to Michaelmas, so that he may be engaged to work the whole year; and any unmarried man refusing that offer shall not be entitled to any relief."

[I must do the House the justice to say that, in general, it discovered a very proper feeling at hearing this read].

This "*new regulation*" was adopted in consequence of the act of 1819; and, those regulations continued up to

the fall of 1830, when they produced their natural effects; and, though acts of violence and revenge are in very few cases ever to be defended; and though I, by no means, defend those acts to which I now allude, let me ask the members of this House to look at those regulations; to look at the hale young man condemned to labour throughout the whole year for three-and-sixpence a week, without food, without drink, without lodging, without anything but the bare three-and-sixpence. A hundred and thirty-five labourers (most of them amongst the best of the county) *transported*, and most of them for life, leaving behind them seventy-nine wives, and upwards of two hundred fatherless children: these, in Hampshire alone, we are to look at as amongst the consequences of the right hon. Baronet's bill of 1819. I call not upon the House to ascribe any portion of this shocking result to the right hon. Baronet's intention; for it is impossible that he ever could have dreamed that such dreadful consequences could have proceeded from that bill: what I ascribe to him is a want of that sort of knowledge which he ought to have possessed before he attempted to bring forward that measure. If, in sitting down, sir, I cannot boast of the forbearance of the House towards me, I have no wish to complain of the contrary. I have simply done my duty, in bringing before the House a subject of greater importance than any other that can be named. I have done it in a manner conformable with the practice of Parliament; and I now leave it to the House to dispose of the resolution in any manner that it pleases.

The following is a copy of the publication of the Hampshire Magistrates.

New Regulation of Allowance to the Poor.

At a meeting of the magistrates acting in and for the division of Fawley, in the county of Southampton, at their petty sessions, held at the Grand Jury Chamber, Winchester, the 31. of August, 1822.

Present—The Rev. Edmund Poultes. (chairman), the Hon. and Rev. Augustus George Legge, Sir Thomas Baring, Bart., the Rev. William Hill Newbould, D. D. William Nevill and Geo. Lovell, Esqrs. the Rev. F. W. Swanton, and the Rev. Robert Wright, eight of his Majesty's justices of the peace;

And a large and respectable number of the yeomanry residing within the division, who were requested by the magistrates to attend on this occasion.

The magistrates having taken into their consideration the allowances usually made by this Bench to paupers applying for relief, and the diminished price of every article of life, resolved unanimously,

That in future the magistrates, acting at this Bench, in making their orders, either collectively or individually; for the maintenance and relief of such paupers, will not exceed the following allowances:

When the family shall consist of a man and his wife, with one or two children; or a man with two or three children; or a woman with two or three children—To each of them the price of a gallon loaf, of the best wheaten bread, and 4d. each over per week.

When the family shall consist of a man and his wife, with three or four children; or a man with four or five children; or a woman with four or five children—To each of them the price of a gallon loaf, of the best wheaten bread, and 3d. each over per week.

When the family shall consist of a man and his wife, with five or more children; or a man with six or more children; or a woman with six or more children—To each of them the price of a gallon loaf of the best wheaten bread, and 2d. each over per week.

And whereas a practice has been prevalent amongst the labouring classes to absent themselves during a part of the year when their services are most required, and to return after the harvest, and become a burden to their respective parishes, the justices recom-

ment to the officers of every parish, when the family shall consist of *a man and his wife, or a man with one child*, to offer to each such man, *4s. per week from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and 5s. per week from Lady Day to Michaelmas*, so that he might be engaged to *serve the whole year*; and any man refusing that offer shall *not be entitled to any relief*. If no such offer be made, or no sufficient employment can be found whereby any such man can maintain himself and his wife or child, the allowance is *to be 3s. 6d. per week, and no more*.

To every unmarried man, the justices recommend the officers of every parish to offer *3s. per week from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and 4s. per week from Lady Day to Michaelmas*, so that he may be engaged to *serve the whole year*; and *any unmarried man refusing that offer shall not be entitled to any relief*. If no such offer be made, or *no sufficient employment can be found, whereby any such unmarried man can maintain himself*, he shall be allowed *2s. 6d. per week, and no more*.

To a woman with one child, *3s. 6d. per week, and no more*.

To every single woman, *2s. 6d. per week, and no more*.

And the justices *do declare*, That all paupers maintained and relieved by their parishes, and able to work, shall, for the allowances to be made to them, be *compelled to perform such proper work* as the parish officers shall direct or require of them; and it is earnestly recommended to the parish officers to provide as far as possible employment for all such paupers; and if they neglect or refuse to perform the work found for them, they *will be punished as the law directs*.

Ordered, that the foregoing resolutions be inserted in the Hampshire County Newspaper.

T. WOODHAM,
Clerk to the Magistrates.

MR. FIELDEN'S SPEECH.

Mr. FIELDEN, in rising to second the motion of his hon. Colleague, begged to claim the indulgence of the House while he stated to them his reasons for doing so. He was actuated by no feelings of personal hostility to the right hon. Baronet, who was the subject of the motion, but felt compelled from a sense of duty to adopt the course he had done. Whatever were the opinions of this House on the bill of 1819, and the subsequent measures connected with it since, the prevailing opinion out of doors was, that it had produced misery and suffering such as were never before inflicted on any people so industrious and productive as were the people of England. His hon. Colleague had stated, that the taxes had been doubled since the bill was adopted, and he (Mr. Fielden) hoped the House would have patience with him while he showed them that the scale of taxes imposed on him, and the class of manufacturers to whom he belonged, had been trebled since the year 1815—the close of the war. He had a right to complain of this. A responsibility for having done this injustice rested somewhere; and, believing, as he did, that it had been caused by what was called a return to cash payments and a contraction of the currency, without any measure being adopted to reduce the taxes to the alteration made in the value of money by the bill of the right hon. Bart. He complained of the operations of that bill; and as the right hon. Gentleman had in this session set up a justification of his bill, and said he could not shrink from the responsibility, and is still opposed to

that adjustment which should have accompanied it in 1819, he had a right to complain of him. He had heard that the right hon. Baronet's father had warned him of the consequences of that bill, and had stated to him, that if it were passed, it would double the value of his funded property, but somebody would lose it: whether the right hon. Baronet had such a warning or not, he could not say, but such, he would endeavour to show to the House, had been its effects. He would suppose a case, that a parent, at the close of the wars, had two sons, A and B, to whom he bequeathed the sum of 1,000*l.* each, to be vested in the hands of trustees until they came of age, with a direction that A's 1,000*l.* should be invested in the Three per Cent. Consols, which at 57*l.* 10*s.*, the price of that day, would purchase 1,740*l.*, and that B's 1,000*l.* should be invested in land. The present price of Three per Cent. was 87*l.* 10*s.*, and this would give for A 1,522*l.* 10*s.* The 1,000*l.* of B's, invested in land, was not now worth more than 750*l.*, so that the principal belonging to A was more than double the principal belonging to B. The interest the trustees of A received, from the time of the investment to the present period, amounted to 939*l.*, while the interest upon B's investment would

not be more than 540*l.*, so that the trustee of A now was in possession of 2,462*l.* 2*s.*, while the trustee of B had only 1,290*l.* Now, neither of these children nor these trustees had done any act to produce these results; but A was now possessed of double the property of B. Were changes like this, arising from the alteration in the value of money, to be overlooked? Was it just? Was it reasonable? He would then proceed to show what had been the effects of the alteration in the value of money as measured in the manufactures which he (Mr. Fielden) produced; and the intrinsic value of which is the same now as in 1815, notwithstanding such alteration. He should here have the support of the hon. member for Essex; who, on a former night declared, that money, which was the mere measure of commodities, did not alter their value. To illustrate what he had to show to the House, he would claim their indulgence, while he read to them a table, showing the prices of cotton, and of articles manufactured from it from 1815 to the end of 1832. The table contained 12 columns, and he would first read what those columns contain:—

[Here the hon. member read his table, which, with the references to columns, we here insert].

REFERENCES TO THE TABLE.

No. 1. Shows the number of pounds weight of cotton required to make a piece of third 74*s.* calico.

2. The average price of cotton per pound.

3. The average cost of cotton for one piece.

4. The average price of such calico in the Manchester market.

5. The average sum the manufacturer had for labour, expenses and profit, in every year from 1815 to 1832 inclusive.

6. The average sum for labour, expenses, and profit, for three periods of six years each.

7. The sum less per cent for labour, expenses and profit, in each of the six years than in the year 1815, the close of the war.

8. The number of pieces of said calicoes which 60*l.* would purchase the fundholder in 1815.

9. The number of pieces the fundholder was entitled to receive annually, at the rate of 5 pieces per cent.

10. The number of pieces the manufacturer has had to pay annually.

11. The excess of pieces over and above 5 per cent. he has had to pay in the respective years.

12. The simple interest on such excess from the year in which the manufacturer had to pay it to the end of the year 1832.

YEAR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1815	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 0	18 0	11 0	8 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{2}{3}$	31 $\frac{1}{3}$	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
1816	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 0	9 4 $\frac{1}{2}$			3 $\frac{1}{3}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1817	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	20	7 2	15 3	8 1			3 $\frac{1}{3}$	4	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1818	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	20	7 2	16 0	8 10			3 $\frac{1}{3}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1819	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 10	13 0	9 2			3 $\frac{1}{3}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1820	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	12	4 3	11 6	7 3	6 2	44		3 $\frac{1}{3}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1
1821	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	9 $\frac{7}{16}$	3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 6	7 1 $\frac{1}{2}$				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1822	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 11	10 0	7 1				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1823	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	8 $\frac{7}{16}$	2 11	9 6	6 7				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1824	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	8 $\frac{1}{16}$	3 0	9 0	6 0				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1825	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 9	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$		3 $\frac{1}{3}$	6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1826	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 5	7 2	4 9				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1827	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 3	6 5	4 2				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1828	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 3	4 0 $\frac{1}{2}$				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
1829	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	2 0	5 7	3 7				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1830	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 3	3 10 $\frac{1}{2}$				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	2 0	5 9	3 9				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1832	4 $\frac{3}{10}$	6 $\frac{3}{8}$	2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 6	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$				3 $\frac{1}{3}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Interest 18 years 3 $\frac{1}{2}$								66 $\frac{2}{3}$	60	124	64	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
								60		13 $\frac{1}{2}$	Interest on excess.	
								126		137 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ balance due to Manufacturers, Jan. 1, 1833.	
										126		

Here he had shown that the class of manufacturers to which he belonged had, at the end of 1832, not only paid both interest and principal, if the account between them and the national creditor had been kept in those manufactures; but that they had overpaid the account by 11 pieces and 2-3ds of a piece. But how do the manufacturers now stand with regard to the national creditors? They are told that they now owe not 66 2-3d pieces for every 60/., as they did in 1815, but that they now owe 213 pieces for every 60/. Notwithstanding this he declared that, if they be fairly dealt with, they should be considered as having paid off the whole of the debt. (Hear, hear). Here is crying injustice,

and for which somebody ought to be responsible. He would ask, is it right or equitable that his class should be thus dealt with. The manufactures that he had been speaking of are wove upon hand-looms, and during this period the hand-loom weaver has had his wages reduced from 4s. 6d. to 1s. 3d., and looking further back the result would be worse still. He would now read to the House what had been the effect upon those engaged in manufacturing upon power-looms, and with the most improved machinery during the same period; similar results will be manifest. [Here the hon. Member read three tables, which we insert].

72s. Calico made by Power-Loom.

Year.	lbs. of Cotton for one piece.	Price of Cotton per lb.	Cost of Cotton for one piece.	Value of one piece.	Sum for Labour, Expenses, and Profit.	Less per Cent. than in 1815.
1815.....	5½	19½ ^d	8 8 ^s	27 0 ^d	18 4 ^s	
1824.....	5½	8½ ^d	3 9 ^s	13 6 ^d	9 9 ^s	46½
1831.....	5½	5½ ^d	2 6 ^s	8 3 ^d	5 9 ^s	68½
1832.....	5½	6½ ^d	2 10 ^s	8 3 ^d	5 5 ^s	70½

Half-Ell Velveteens, 20 lbs. Weight.

Year.	lbs. of Cotton for one piece.	Price of Cotton per lb.	Cost of Cotton for one piece.	Value of one piece.	Sum for Labour, Expenses, and Profit.	Less per Cent. than in 1815.
1815.....	21½	19½ ^d	34 8 ^s	100 0 ^d	65 4 ^s	
1824.....	21½	8½ ^d	15 7 ^s	51 8 ^d	36 1 ^s	44½
1831.....	21½	5½ ^d	10 0 ^s	33 4 ^d	23 4 ^s	64½
1832.....	21½	6½ ^d	11 4 ^s	30 0 ^d	18 8 ^s	71½

30 Hanks Water Twist.

Year.	Cotton required for 1 lb. Twist.	Price of Cotton per lb.	Cost of Cotton for 1 lb. Twist.	Value of 1 lb. of Twist.	Sum for Labour, Expenses, and Profit.	Less per Cent. than in 1815.
1815.....	1½	19½ ^d	1 10¼ ^s	3 3 ^d	1 4¾ ^s	
1824.....	1½	8½ ^d	0 9¾ ^s	1 8 ^d	0 10¼ ^s	38½
1831.....	1½	5½ ^d	0 6½ ^s	1 0 ^d	0 5½ ^s	67
1832.....	1½	6½ ^d	0 7¼ ^s	1 0½ ^d	0 5¼ ^s	63½

Now, it would appear that great injustice has been done to manufacturers in the cotton trade, and we are not arrived at a safe currency. We have still a paper money, consisting of five-pound notes, ten-pound notes and upwards, and what assurance had he, if the right hon. Baronet be continued one of his Majesty's Privy Council, that a further depreciation of the paper money

may not be resorted to? He therefore thought, on this ground, he was justified in supporting the motion of his hon. Colleague. It may be said that these manufactures can be made cheaper—that cotton is cheaper. The right hon. Baronet asked, the other night, how it was that cotton had fallen in price. He would tell the right hon. Baronet what perhaps might be worth knowing, that

a standard of value has been observed which his bill, bad as it was, had not the power to change, and that cotton was not cheaper. The manufacturers purchase their cotton from the Americans, and they now give them as many prices of the goods (contained in the first table) for the same number of pounds of cotton as they did in 1815, notwithstanding the price of cotton here had varied from 19½d. to 5½d. per pound, as measured in the money market of this country. For the cotton that would make 70 pieces they gave 24½ pieces in 1815; for the same in 1824 they gave 23½; in 1831, 22½; and in 1832, 26; and the average of the eighteen years has been 23½ pieces, for the cotton that was required to produce 70 pieces. But it is said that we have had improvements in machinery, and that we can produce goods cheaper. Admitting that it is so, what right has the fundholder to share with us in the fruits of our ingenuity, and increased labour? He has none. If the debt had been fairly contracted, which it was not, he had no right to any greater quantity of our productions than he could purchase at the time with the money he lent. But he denied the right of Parliament to impose this debt upon the people, and saddle posterity with the payment of it. But, even if they had the right, Parliament is not justified in attempting to cause it to be paid in money of a higher denomination of value than that in which it was borrowed. The war could not have been carried on without a depreciation in the standard of value, for they could not have raised the supplies within the year, and therefore it was unjust to resort to a depreciation of the standard of value without accompanying it with a corresponding reduction of taxation. It is said we are in an average state of prosperity. He did not know how hon. Gentlemen made their comparisons. He had shown that we every year go on getting less and less for labour, expenses, and profits, for the manufactures we produce. It has also been boasted that the hands employed in mills are well off. (Hear, hear). The honourable Member for Buckinghamshire (he be-

lieved) said the other night that the hands employed in the cotton-mills near Manchester, could get, on an average, ten shillings per week. If this be so, let us compare that with the average for the same description of hands in America, who get 14s. 11d. on an average for the same sort of work! Why is this mighty difference? Besides, the difference is not only in amount of money, for the American hands can purchase double the quantity of provisions that the same money would purchase in England.

An hon. Member, we believe Mr. Egerton, rose to order, and complained that the hon. Member's speech had reference to a scale of prices unconnected with the motion.

Mr. FIELDEN resumed. He hoped honourable members would let him proceed to the end of what he had to offer. He rebuked them for the impatience of argument betrayed by them. He assured them he would not be put down by noise and clamour. He was sent there to represent the labouring and manufacturing classes, who expected their case would be attended to in a reformed Parliament differently from the manner in which it was now received. He and they had hoped that he was sent to a deliberative assembly to discuss and determine for the people's good; but, when he went back to his constituents and told them that when he recapitulated the fatal effects of the right honourable Baronet's measures, and the instances in which their interests were sacrificed, to their utter ruin, he was only laughed at by hon. Members, could they think that such conduct would give satisfaction? Such conduct was very unbecoming, and ought not to be practised in this House. The best way to cause him to sit down would be to listen to him patiently until he had concluded what he had to say. He had other matter to state to the House as a reason for the vote he should give on this question. In 1829, during a period of severe distress, he and a number of other manufacturers met at Burnley, to represent the distress that prevailed in that district to the right hon. Baronet,

then Secretary for the Home Department, and he would read the memorial which was sent up on that occasion to their county Member, Lord Stanley, and the answer of the right hon. Baronet. But before doing so, he would just observe, that this distress was so great in the manufacturing districts, that the boroughreeve of the loyal town of Manchester, for the first time in his (Mr. F.'s) experience, called a public meeting in that town to petition Parliament to memorialize the King upon the subject:—

“To the Right Honourable Robert Peel, his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department.

“Showeth,—That your petitioners, deeply impressed with a sense of the increasing distress of the manufacturing and labouring population within the hundred of Blackburn (which hundred contains, according to the last census, 148,704 individuals), have taken measures for the assembling of a few of the cotton manufacturers of that district, preparatory to which they had caused to be made accurate surveys of the poor in about half a dozen townships in which they might expect immediate co-operation in their object, and that such surveys being completed, they had intended to have prosecuted the inquiry upon a more extensive scale. But your petitioners being now assembled at the Bull Inn in Burnley, on the first day of May, 1829, and being furnished with the several returns from townships hereafter alluded to, feel themselves so alarmed with the result, that they are impelled at once to submit it to you without losing the time which must be consumed in obtaining more numerous returns.

“That they feel themselves the more justified in this course, because they believe that the few returns already furnished, will exhibit a tolerably correct view of the general state of the trade, and of the population throughout the whole district.

“That the result of these returns shows that, in the seven townships of Colne, Foulbridge, Tramden, Marsden, Barrowford, Higham, Goldshard, and

Roughler, containing, in the whole, a population of 19,869 individuals, there are 5,137 persons (approaching to one-third of the whole), whose weekly income, arising from labour, varying from 18d. to 2s., presents an average weekly income per head of 19d.; and there are 1,743 persons (being one-eleventh part of the whole, whose weekly income, from the like source, varying from 2s. to 2s. 6d., presents an average weekly income per head of 2s. 3d.; thus showing that better than one-half of the whole population do not earn, on an average, more than 15½d. per head per week, from which there are considerable outgoings, leaving a clear income applicable for food, clothing, and rent, and other necessities, of less than 2d. a-head per day. That, notwithstanding this small pittance in the full income of so large a population, it may be safely stated that they are, at least at present, in full employment; but your petitioners are afraid that such full employment cannot long be continued, as even, according to the present state of wages, the manufacturers cannot dispose of their commodities at a remunerating price.

“That the property within the above township liable to the poor-rate is so overwhelmed with public charges that it does not at present afford more assistance in the shape of parochial relief than about 12d. per head per week in addition to the earnings—thus showing that, even including parochial relief, the weekly income of more than one-half of the population does not exceed, on an average, 17½d. per head per week.

“That your petitioners ascribe this miserable state of the poor to the present very low state of wages, which are already under the lowest state which they fell to in the distressed times of 1825-26, whilst the price of provisions in general is considerably higher than at that period.

“That your petitioners do not venture to give any opinion on the cause producing this low state of wages, nor to suggest any remedies for the same; but they content themselves with this simple statement of facts, to which they

respectfully, but earnestly, entreat your immediate attention.

(Signed) "JAMES GRIMSHAW,
Chairman of the meeting.
WILLIAM HARGREAVES,
JOHN FIELDEN,
NICHOLAS ENGLAND,
THOMAS KAYE,
BENG. HARGREAVES,
WM. BOLTON,
LORD MASSEY,
WM. CORLASS,
JOHN ROBERTS."

In reply to this very reasonable and moderate request, the memorialists received the following answer, in a letter addressed to Lord Stanley:

"Whitehall, May 13, 1829.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 9th instant, and of the memorial which accompanied it, setting forth the extreme distress of the labouring classes in the neighbourhood of Colne and Burnley.

"On the first indication of disturbance in the county of Lancaster, I took immediate measures for the reinforcement of the troops in the northern district, with the view of affording to the civil power every assistance in the protection of life and property—and I earnestly hope that through the active measures of the magistracy and the commander of the forces in the district, the public peace will be preserved.

"I need scarcely assure your Lordship that his Majesty's Government deeply regret that state of suffering and privation, to which alone any disposition to acts of insubordination and outrage appear to be ascribed.

"When the distress is general, as is described to be in the memorial which you have transmitted to me, it is very difficult to divine any measure by which its immediate relief, or even the mitigation of it, in any material degree, can be effected. But I beg your Lordship to inform the memorialists, that I shall not fail to bring the representation which they have transmitted to me, through your Lordship, under the consideration of his Majesty's Government. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your

Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

ROBERT PEEL."

The House would see that the memorialists gave no opinion as to the cause or remedy for the distress complained of; but contented themselves with simply stating the fact, that a large proportion of the work-people in Blackburn had less than 16*d.* a week for subsistence; and he thought that such distress should have led to an inquiry into the cause of it; but it did not, and the answer was so unsatisfactory that the memorialists, seeing that there was a notice of a motion by Sir R. Vyvyan for the 20. of the same month, for inquiry into the cause of the distress of the country, they sent up a representation to that gentleman of the distress that they had ascertained and reported to the right hon. Baronet, and they soon after received a reply from Sir R. Vyvyan, that on the day the motion was to come on, there were not forty members in the House, and consequently the inquiry was then got rid of! The right hon. Baronet refused to inquire into the distress, but soldiers were sent by him into the neighbourhood where it prevailed, who consumed the food which was so much wanted by the labouring people. The right hon. Baronet would not, in 1829, inquire into the distress, and he has, in this session, refused to give his assent to inquiry into the distress when proposed by the hon. Member for Whitehaven and the hon. Member for Birmingham, and these were additional reasons with him (Mr. F.) for giving his support to the motion of his hon. Colleague.

An hon. Member appealed to the chair whether the hon. Gentleman ought to be allowed to consume the time of the House by digressing into subjects totally irrelevant to that before it.

Mr. FIELDEN resumed his speech and continued at great length to discuss the state of the poor and the rates of wages, but in a voice inaudible in the gallery.

I intended to insert the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL. But, I have not

new room, without taking out matter which was already composed; and, if I were to do that, I should not have time for the printing. I have put off publishing the *Register* until to-morrow for the purpose of getting my speech and that of Mr. FIELDEN published in it this week. But, I will publish the whole of the report of Sir ROBERT PEEL's speech (as given in the *Morning Herald*), next week; and, then, I will publish the whole of the three speeches, including the resolution, in a separate form, and sell the publication for *two-pence*. But, I will first insert Sir Robert Peel's speech in the *Register*. As I could not obtain a hearing in reply to the most monstrous calumnies poured out against me by this polite gentleman, I shall comment upon his speech when I insert it. If I had been heard in reply, I would have published it without saying a word about it. His speech was no answer to me; no defence of the bill of 1819, or of either of the other two bills. It contained not even an attempt to controvert my statement of facts, or of my arguments on those facts. There never was a charge that remained so completely without an answer. I shall call the little publication, "*PEEL IN A PASSION*;" for in so raging a passion, I never saw a man before, since I was born. It was even ludicrous. The division was thus:

For the motion..... 6

Against it.....298

Including the tellers, I suppose it was 300.

The names of the six: Messrs. Cobbett, John Fielden, Thomas Attwood, Patrick Lalor, John O'Connell, and James Roe. There were some interesting matters at the close, of which I shall give an account next week. They are very important, as letting the people see what this reformed Parliament really is. There were four more in the minority than I expected. I really never expected anybody to vote for my motion but Mr. Fielden and myself; and that would have been quite enough to satisfy me.

HUDDERSFIELD VOLUNTEERS-

CURIOUS occurrence! Upon going into a committee of supply on the army estimates, on Friday, the 10. May, the Secretary-at-War moved "that a sum "not exceeding 103,318*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* be "granted to his Majesty for defraying "the charge of volunteer corps in the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and "Ireland, for the year, from the 1. day "of April, 1833, to the 31. day of "March, 1834, both days inclusive." And, in moving this item, the right hon. Secretary let slip the fact, that *two thousand* pounds of this 103 thousand were designed for the raising of a new corps of volunteers at the town of Huddersfield in Yorkshire. The question was asked, "What was the necessity for a corps of volunteers at Huddersfield?" and the Secretary, Mr. ELLICE, rose and said that he had found the resolution as he had moved it ready prepared in the office of the Secretary-at-War, when he took to that office; this was his reason for moving it. This called up Captain FENTON, who declared (from one of the side galleries) that he knew of no such intention. There was not at present any corps either of cavalry or infantry at Huddersfield. He had commanded a yeomanry corps in that district from 1829 to 1831, which had not cost the Government one farthing. If there was an intention of raising a corps of yeomanry at Huddersfield, he would say that there was not a place in England where such a corps would be more useful. In the last winter the conduct of some of the operatives was calculated to excite the most unpleasant feelings. Mr. ELLICE said, that he should not object to strike the two thousand pounds out after the explanation given by the hon. Member for Huddersfield; and that, if the resolution should be carried, he should have no objection still to strike it out. The House divided upon Mr. HUME's motion for a reduction upon the whole amount of the estimates, and this part as well as the rest, was carried by the Ministers. After the division, Mr. JOHN FIELDEN wished to know whether the right honourable Secretary would

reduce the estimate by the sum of 2,000*l.* granted for a new corps of volunteers at Huddersfield. He was convinced that no such force was necessary. True it was, that there was much distress in that neighbourhood, but there was no disposition to violence or acts of outrage. People, though suffering severely, were very peaceable, and, if such a force were raised, it would give rise to great dissatisfaction. He hoped, therefore, the right hon. Secretary would subtract that sum from the amount of the estimates, according to the promise he had made before the division took place. He wished to be informed, too, who had made the application for such a force, and he should consider it his duty to move for the correspondence with the Home Department, unless such an explanation was given. Such a species of force he considered dangerous, and had very strong objections to any such being raised; and it should not be forgotten what had taken place at Manchester in 1819, when a corps of yeomanry was brought into action against the populace. The people in that district, too, would have the strongest objections to such a species of force, having fresh in their recollection the deeds that took place at Manchester. Mr. ELLICE said that, if the circumstance was not sufficiently explained to the hon. Member for Oldham, he should have no objection to strike out that part of the vote which related to Huddersfield, on bringing up the report. Captain FENTON objected to the sum being subtracted from the estimates. Such a force, he thought, would be required for that neighbourhood in consequence of what took place during the winter, and to provide against such occurrences in future. The application for this force had originated at a meeting held in the town, who made a representation to Government of the necessity for it. Mr. FIELDEN wished to ask the hon. Member for Huddersfield whether the meeting of which he had just spoken was a public one, or called by the public authorities. Captain FENTON said it was *a meeting*.

On the supply resolutions being reported on Monday, Mr. FIELDEN rose, and was attempting to address the Speaker on the 2,000*l.* in the army estimates for a new volunteer corps at Huddersfield, when Mr. ELLICE interrupted him, and told him across the table, that he should take off the 2,000*l.* when he came to the resolution; and it now stands in the votes as follows: "The sixth resolution (volunteer corps) "being read a second time; amendment proposed, by leaving out "103,318*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*, and inserting "101,318*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* instead thereof: "amendment agreed to: resolution, as "amended, agreed to."

Intelligence of this matter was promptly sent to Huddersfield, and the stir that it created may be judged of from the following. The first is the placard which was immediately put out, and the next is the string of resolutions that was adopted by a very numerous meeting, which dispersed, after concluding the business of the day, by voting thanks to Mr. FIELDEN for his attention to the interests of the town of Huddersfield, and by giving three loud cheers for that gentleman, and as many groans for the sitting member, Captain FENTON. Among the *fancy work* of modern legislators is the getting up of new sorts of guards, corps, and so forth, to keep down the people, and all to be paid *by the people*. English soldiers, now-a-days, are collectors of tithes and taxes, overlookers of factories and mills, guards champêtre, too, not unfrequently; and, besides all this, they are the guards of houses and castles of unpopular men! Mr. FIELDEN's pertinent question, "Who wants this corps, who asks for this corps?" put the Secretary-at-War to his trumps; and I should like very much that the poor fellows of Huddersfield who would have to bear the taxes for supporting this corps, should know at whose request they were about to have a little standing army in their town, and what were the reasons given by those who made the application.

PLACARD.

£2,000!!

*Proposed in the Army Estimates,
FOR RAISING*

VOLUNTEERS AT HUDDERSFIELD!

An important communication has been received, *from a Member of Parliament*, stating, that the sum of TWO THOUSAND POUNDS was proposed, on Friday last, for raising a Corps of VOLUNTEERS at Huddersfield; and that it was affirmed, in the House of Commons, to have been applied for by a *Meeting held at that place.*

Notice is hereby given, that

A PUBLIC MEETING

Of the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Huddersfield will be held in the Market-place, in the Evening of this day, at Six o'Clock; when further particulars respecting the said Communication will be read, and such Measures adopted as the Meeting may deem prudent.

WM. STOCKS, jun., Constable.

*Huddersfield, Monday
Morning, May 13, 1833.*

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That this meeting has learned with equal surprise and regret, that an item has appeared in the army estimates, of 2,000*l.*, for the support of a Volunteer Corps, to be raised at Huddersfield.
2. That this meeting is not aware of any public meeting being held in this town, to take into consideration any application to Government for any Volunteer Corps, or money to support such a corps.
3. That this meeting is most decidedly of opinion that any Corps of Volunteers or Yeomanry Cavalry is not necessary to keep the peace of this town and neighbourhood.
4. That a petition to the Commons House of Parliament, be immediately forwarded, requesting the vote for 2,000*l.* for raising a Volunteer Corps at Huddersfield, be withdrawn.

5. That the cordial thanks of this meeting be given to John Fielden, Esq., M.P., for the prompt manner he has opposed this grant, and that he be most respectfully requested to present the petition.

WILLIAM STOCKS, jun.,
Chairman.

SOUTHWARK MEETING.

REPEAL OF THE HOUSE AND WINDOW TAXES.

(From the Morning Herald, 15. May).

Two requisitions having been forwarded to the High Bailiff of Southwark (JOHN HOLMES, Esq.), requesting him to call a meeting, one of them signed by 218 names, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the repeal of the house and window taxes, and the other, signed by 59 names, for the repeal of those taxes, and to consider the conduct of one of their representatives (William Brougham, Esq.), in voting against Sir John Key's motion, to-day was fixed upon for that purpose.

Mr. Sheriff HUMPHREY was received with loud cheers.

At one o'clock the HIGH BAILIFF took the chair, when the requisitions were read. That having been done, he said—In compliance with the requisitions which you have just heard read, I have appointed the present time for holding a meeting to take into consideration the respective subjects which are mentioned in them. I have had so much experience of the excellent conduct of the inhabitants of this borough, upon all occasions, that I feel it is unnecessary to request a candid and impartial hearing for every individual who may address you, or a careful avoidance of any matters that are not fairly and reasonably connected with the object of the meeting. I have no doubt that whatever is done will be done forcibly, but at the same time temperately, and that we shall find, when the meeting has come to a close, that both you and I have been enabled to discharge our duty. I have given notice of this

meeting to both your representatives ; one of them is present, and I have received a letter from the other, which you will now hear read :—

“ Mount-street, Saturday, May 11.

“ Sir,—I have received your letter, stating that you have appointed a public meeting of the electors of the borough of Southwark, to be held on Monday, the 13th inst. to consider the propriety of presenting a petition to the House of Commons, praying for a total repeal of the house and window taxes, and for the establishment of an equitable property tax. Upon this subject I continue to hold the same opinion which I have always expressed, and, therefore, if the meeting you have called recommend such a petition to be presented to Parliament, I beg to assure them that it shall have my cordial support.”

(Hisses).

“ If this alone had been the object of the meeting, it would, undoubtedly, have been my bounden duty, as one of the representatives for the borough of Southwark, to attend, in order that I might know the sentiments of my constituents upon a question so important to their interests. But when I find that my own conduct, relative to a single vote given by me in Parliament, is also to be considered as mixed up with that question, I feel myself justified in stating respectfully, yet at the same time most firmly, that I cannot be present at such a discussion, without surrendering my usefulness as a Member of Parliament, and my independence as a public man, at once, and for ever.” (Hisses and groans).

“ It is proposed to consider my vote upon Sir John Key’s motion, with a view to make me resign my seat in Parliament, if the opinion of the meeting should be against me.

“ Were I to make myself a party to any such discussion, I should be admitting a principle, which I, for one, will never recognise—a principle which would at once destroy my free agency as a member of the Legislature; which would convert me from a

representative to a delegate; from a representative sent to Parliament unpledged and unfettered, into a mere passive agent, looking to the direction, and accountable to the will, of any section of his constituency.

“ In absenting myself from this meeting, I only wish to mark my dissent from a principle, in my opinion, utterly destructive of the usefulness of a deliberative assembly, and altogether inconsistent with right notions of representative government.

“ It has been most painful to me to learn that a vote of mine, or any part of my conduct, has dissatisfied any of my friends in Southwark. I gave that vote according to the best of my judgment, and whatever blame for doing so may be fixed upon me at a moment of excitement like the present, sure I am the time will come when justice will be done to the purity of my motives, and to the integrity of my vote.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient and obliged servant,

“ W. BROUGHAM.”

The HIGH BAILIFF then suggested that it would be better to take first into consideration the requisition for the repeal of the house and window taxes.

Mr. B. WOOD was received with loud cheers. It was with great regret he felt there was any necessity for the present meeting, because he knew that it was the distress which pervaded the middling classes which had called them together. He regretted also the necessity for calling this meeting; but it would show to the administration of the country, which had been raised and supported by the people, that there did exist great distress, which that administration, from their experience since they had been in office, ought themselves to have found out. That great distress did exist throughout the whole of the country, but particularly in London and its neighbourhood, every one present must admit. Those taxes, respecting which they had met, more oppressed the inhabitants of towns than those of the country. The amount of property assessed, and on which the house duty was charged

throughout the United Kingdom, exceeded by a small sum eleven millions; out of that sum 5,900,000*l.* belonged to London and its neighbourhood. (Shame, shame). He had seen it stated in a very popular work (the *Edinburgh Review*) that "it was of very little importance whether the house and window taxes existed or not, because if they were taken off, the landlords would immediately add to their rents." That and every other argument which had been gone into by the reviewer against the repeal of the house and window taxes, had been used on a late occasion in the House of Commons. What had the Government to do between landlord and tenant? It was very much like the argument of the directors of the East India Company, during the recent discussion respecting their charter. Those directors appeared, for a time, entirely to have lost sight of their own interests, and they only required to show to the Government that the duty on tea could not be so easily collected if the trade to China were thrown open. Mr. Grant very pithily replied, that they had better mind their own business, and that Government would find a mode of collecting the duty. So he (Mr. W.) said to the gentlemen who used the arguments respecting landlord and tenant. It was the duty of Government to see that every class labouring under distress was relieved to the utmost of their power, and that if the house and window taxes be found so oppressive, they should be removed. Another important objection was the inequality of those taxes, and he was surprised that any man of common sense could argue that they bore with any degree of equality upon the various classes of the community. (Hear). He would give an instance of their operation. The Marquis of Westminster had expended a million of money in building Eaton Hall, and yet it was only rated at 350*l.* (Cries of Shame, shame). Those who argued against the repeal of those taxes, went so far as to say, not only that it was fully rated, but that it ought scarcely to be rated for anything, because, if the noble Marquis should go abroad nobody would be found

to take it. He (Mr. Wood) contended that it ought to be rated according to what it cost. Every tradesman who built a house for himself was rated at an annual value, according to the original cost. The noble Marquis, however, paid but 42*l.* 10*s.* per annum, while many tradesmen paid the same sum for a house not a hundredth part the size. As for the juggle which had taken place respecting the malt tax, he contended that the motion had been fairly carried, and ought to have been put into immediate operation; but although the people had worked with the Ministers, supposing them to be reformers, they now discovered in their conduct a great deal of Tory trickery. With regard again to the Marquis of Westminster's palace, they would find by calculation, that although he paid but 42*l.* 10*s.* for house and window taxes, if the same sum was expended in building 500 houses at 2,000*l.* each, they would have to pay to those taxes, no less than 9,066*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (Cries of Shame, shame). He had, therefore, shown that while the property of the wealthy was protected against taxation, a gross injustice was committed towards the middling and industrious classes. (Hear, hear). It was a burden that must soon be removed, but while the people were so anxious for their repeal, he entreated them to resort to only prudent, but at the same time, firm measures. He hoped, that from pursuing a steady and lawful course, they would not only have those taxes repealed, but a great many others, and that a property tax would be substituted to make up the deficiency. (Cheers). He concluded by moving the first resolution.

"1. That the trading classes, who principally pay the house and window taxes, imposed as war taxes, are unable any longer to continue their payment; and that such taxes ought, in the opinion of this meeting, to be instantly and totally repealed, as being unjust, partial, and oppressive, as appears from the following simple fact, among many others:—That the Marquis of Westminster, having expended about one million on Eaton Hall, in the

" county of Chester, is rated at only
 " 300*l.* per annum, and chargeable
 " thereupon with the annual payment
 " of 42*l.* 10*s.*, whilst any person ex-
 " pending the like sum on 500 houses
 " in London at 2,000*l.* each, would be,
 " allowing for ground rent, assessed at
 " the yearly sum of 64,000*l.* and would,
 " therefore, be chargeable with the an-
 " nual sum of 9,066*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*"

Mr. PAUL came forward to second the resolution, amidst loud cries of "Adjourn," and "No, no." After the able statements made by the gentleman who had proposed the resolution, he should not intrude long upon the meeting. That gentleman had stated the inequality of taxation that existed in the country, how the middling and lower classes had had the burdens of the state thrown on them for a series of years, and how those who had great property had contrived still to retain those burdens. For what, he would ask, had the people been so anxious to obtain reform? Why, in order to reform abuses, and this abuse appeared to him to be the first that ought to have been reformed. The people had been for years labouring under these oppressive burdens, and the time was now come when they should no longer exist, for the people had sent forth their word that they would no longer bear them, or pay such odious imposts. (Loud and long-continued cheering). He had heard a great deal about public faith. Now, he would ask, was it public faith to keep these taxes upon the shoulders of the people, when different administrations had promised that three years after the peace they should be taken off? In the county of Radnor there was not a house rated beyond 20*l.* per annum; yet in that county there were numberless gentlemen's seats, parks, and all that could tend to the luxuries of life. But in London there was hardly a person who had a house over his head who was not obliged to pay 20*l.* per annum in these taxes. Would the people allow such things as those to exist? For himself, he could hardly speak with coolness on the subject when he looked on its iniquity. (Loud cheers). But the people were told

that Government could not take off these taxes. Not take them off! If they would only reduce half the pensions, though they should reduce the house and window taxes, they would have a large surplus remaining. The Duke of Bedford paid 400*l.* for a house, for which he ought to pay at least 3,000*l.* But that noble Duke was a legislator, and the Legislature had shown that it would legislate with a vengeance for the people. If the Duke of Buckingham had been rated as he should have been, he would have owed the country upwards of 15,000*l.* as would the noble Lord to whom he had before adverted. But worst of all, those on whom the burdens of the state fell the heaviest were the least protected. But the house and window duties were no longer a question with him. (Cheers). If the collector came to him what would be his answer? Why, there they are, my chairs and tables, take them. (Tremendous cheering). Was he to understand from those cheers that they would follow his example? (Cries of yes, yes, from all quarters). He was glad to hear them say so. He trusted the people would adopt every legal means in their power to get rid of those odious taxes, and would impress upon their different representatives that they were placed in the House of Commons like foremen of grand juries, and were bound to express the opinions of their constituents. The worthy Gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. ARROWSMITH rose to propose a verbal amendment, amid loud cries of adjourn.

The HIGH BAILIFF, after endeavouring for some time to obtain silence, stated, that the meeting had been appointed by him to be held in the Town-Hall, at the request of the deputation. They had now gone through nearly half the business, and he felt confident, if they would only be quiet, that every thing would be conducted quietly. (Cries of Adjourn again resounded from all parts of the room).

Mr. ARROWSMITH, amidst much confusion, moved the following amendment to the first resolution, "Provided

"the repeal can be effected without a commutation of taxes."

This amendment met with most decided marks of disapprobation, and ultimately Mr. Arrowsmith withdrew it.

At this period cries of "Adjourn, adjourn, outside, outside," were increased tenfold, and

The HIGH BAILIFF finding it utterly impossible that the meeting could proceed in the Town-Hall, adjourned it to the front, where several wagons were hastily put together for a hustings.

The HIGH BAILIFF then put the first resolution, and declared it to be carried unanimously, amid loud cheering.

Mr. THOMAS, in proposing the second resolution, entered at length into the oppressive nature of the house and window taxes, and concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"2. That this meeting is of opinion that the wealthy ought to be taxed in proportion to their means; and that if, after the abolition of all useless and sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and after every possible reduction in the expenditure of the Government shall have been made, any deficiency shall be found in the revenue of the country, a fairly imposed tax upon property ought to be adopted, in preference to the assessed taxes, which so heavily embarras and oppress the industrious and commercial classes."

Mr. PERCIVAL seconded the resolution.

Mr. ARROWSMITH addressed the meeting amid some confusion, and concluded by proposing the following amendment:—

"That the present impoverished condition of the people, so far as the same has arisen from taxation, both general and local, can be ameliorated and improved only by a reduction, and not by a commutation of taxation; and that whatever disappointment may be experienced at the financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in not announcing the total abolition of the assessed taxes to the extent, at least, of the duties on houses and windows, yet in another

"respect it has been highly satisfactory, inasmuch as the reductions proposed have been without any measure for a commutation."

No person appearing to second this amendment, it of course fell to the ground, after a few observations from, we believe, Mr. Ellis against it. The original resolution was then put by the High Bailiff, and declared to be carried unanimously.

Mr. FROCHETT then proposed the following resolution:—

"3. That a petition, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be presented to the House of Commons."

Mr. LOCKE having seconded it, it was declared to be carried unanimously.

Mr. HOBBS proposed the next resolution, which being seconded, was also carried amidst loud cheers. The resolution was as follows:—

"4. That Mr. Sheriff Humphrey be respectfully requested to present the petition to the House of Commons, and to support the prayer thereof; and that Major Beauclerk be also requested to support such petition."

Mr. Sheriff HUMPHREY came forward to address the meeting, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering. He declared that since he had had the honour of filling the important post to which they had called him, he had deemed it to be his duty to obey the call of his constituents. He should, with great pleasure, perform the duty which they now assigned to him, of presenting their petition for the repeal of the house and window duties; and he should give the prayer of that petition his most strenuous and hearty support, feeling convinced that they were most oppressive in their operation. (Loud cheers).

The whole of the resolutions connected with the first requisition having been disposed of, the meeting then proceeded to the discussion of the subject connected with the second—namely, the conduct of W. Brougham, Esq., one of the representatives for Southwark, in having voted against Sir John Key's motion for the repeal of the house and window duties.

Mr. ELLIS having prefaced his reso-

lution with some comments upon the course which had been pursued by Mr. Brougham, notwithstanding the declaration of that hon. and learned Gentleman, that the house and window taxes ought to be repealed, moved a resolution to the effect, that he had, by his vote against Sir John Key's motion, forfeited the confidence of his constituents, and that a requisition should be forwarded to him, calling upon him to resign the trust he now held, into their hands. (Cheers).

Mr. THOMAS seconded his resolution.

Mr. ARROWSMITH reprobated the course that was now about to be pursued as unconstitutional, and, amid much confusion, moved the following amendment:—

"That, whatever difference of opinion may exist in the constituency of Southwark, with respect to the vote given by Mr. Brougham on the motion made for the repeal of the house and window duties, yet to call upon that Gentleman to vacate his seat in consequence, is to assume a power inconsistent with law, and repugnant to the principles of the constitution, and, by adopting a principle subversive of all order in society, will, in practice, establish a precedent inimical to public liberty, dangerous to internal peace, and injurious to the best interests of the country."

This amendment met with the most decided opposition of the meeting, and, like the previous amendment proposed by the same speaker, fell to the ground.

Thanks were then voted to Mr. Sheriff Humphery and to the High Bailiff, and both gentlemen having returned thanks, the meeting separated in the most peaceable manner.

BRUTAL ATTACK UPON THE PEOPLE AT SPA-FIELDS MEETING, BY THE POLICE.

(From the Second Edition of the "True Sun" of 13. instant).

We have already given an account of the "precautionary" measures adopted by the

Government, in reference to the meetings at Spa-fields. By one o'clock there were about 1,500 persons assembled on the waste piece of ground lying between Gray's-inn-lane and the western side of Coldbath-fields Prison. The numbers continued to increase until near three o'clock, at which time there were, probably, 3,000 persons assembled. At a few minutes before three a van drew up, in which were six or seven members of the Committee of the Union of the Working Classes; but after remaining for a few moments, it moved on down Calthorpe-street, into Gray's-inn-lane. A few minutes afterwards Messrs. Mee and Lee, two of the Committee, were seen to mount the railway enclosing the ground, and immediately opposite to the end of Calthorpe-street. Mr. Lee moved that Mr. Mee should be considered as chairman. This was assented to by acclamations, and Mr. Mee proceeded to address the meeting.

He said they were assembled upon the present occasion, to consider the conduct of the Government, and to pass a resolution or two, declaratory of the grievances of the working classes. He was gratified to have the honour to address so numerous and respectable an assembly; respectable, not because they possessed coronets and splendid equipages, or enjoyed pensions bestowed upon them by the Government; but respectable, because they were industrious and peaceable men, producing all the wealth of society, and desirous only to enjoy a fair and equitable share of it themselves. He cautioned them against any attempts that might be made to induce a breach of the peace. He had been told, and believed, that Government spies were amongst them, and that could portend no good. He therefore besought them to be on their guard, and to maintain the most perfect order.

At this moment a cry of "Police! Police!" was raised, and in a few moments a large body of the police, eight or ten deep, took up their station across the west-end of Calthorpe-street, while another numerous body stationed themselves across the south end of the street, running at right-angles along its east end. The only way of retreat left for the people, therefore, was along a narrow street running to the north of the Calthorpe estate and across the waste ground in front of the prison wall, to cross which, however, they had to get under or over a breast paling, by which it was surrounded—a thing scarcely possible, considering the dense mass which they formed. Their retreat being thus, in fact, almost wholly cut off, the body of police that had been stationed across the end of Calthorpe-street (the whole of them being armed with heavy staves) moved into the street, with a quick step. The crowd of persons at this time filled the street nearly one-third down, and as the police moved towards them, the people fell back on each side, and made a passage for them to advance, and large numbers who had the means of retreat decamped. The body of police moved forward without any interruption, and within

being assailed (as is often the case), with a single expression of disapprobation. When they had reached nearly to the end of the street, the people having been placed much closer together, found it more difficult to fall back, and make a passage for their advance, and as soon as they found it difficult to proceed they commenced a most brutal and ferocious attack with the weapons with which they were armed. They struck in every direction, and men, women, and children were indiscriminately aimed at. All who could do so fled, panic-stricken, but a large number were struck to the ground, sometimes by two or three policemen, and in several instances we saw persons struck by the ferocious and brutal villainies as they lay on the ground. The sight was appalling, and from several of the balconies and windows which overlooked it, there were loud and impassioned cries of "Shame, shame." The crowd immediately connected with the proceedings of the Union having been thus dispersed, the policemen looked around them for the stragglers, or those who had been attracted by mere curiosity. In several instances two or three policemen seized a person standing quietly at a door by the collar, and upon his remonstrating on such treatment, he was felled to the ground by their blows. One of these ruffians assailed a respectable female, who was quietly looking on. He gave her two or three violent thrusts with his staff, and, but for the indignant cries of a number of gentlemen in a balcony at the corner of Calthorpe-street, he would, without doubt, have struck her down. A baker, who was delivering bread at different houses in the street, received four severe cuts on the head; and a large number were carried or led off to the neighbouring surgeons to have their wounds dressed. Since writing the above account, we have ascertained that a policeman, named Culley, of the C division, was stabbed to the heart, and fell dead instantly. His brother, also a policeman in the same division, was likewise stabbed, and it is supposed by the same man, but not mortally. Sergeant Brook was also stabbed in the breast, and a number of others partially wounded. Mr. Baker, the superintendent of the C division, had early lost his life. A man named Fursley, who it is supposed murdered the unfortunate policeman, made a thrust at his breast with a dagger, but his arm was arrested by two privates named Ossett and Merchant. Fursley was taken into custody, and carried into a stable, where a number of other prisoners were, and in the straw near where he was standing was found a dirk, with three edges to it, and a remarkably sharp point, about a foot in length, and which the surgeons are of opinion was the weapon used in stabbing Culley, and also the other policeman. Besides which there was a horse-pistol loaded to the muzzle with powder and ball. There are about twenty-five prisoners in custody, amongst whom is Lee, who proposed Mee to take the chair. The latter has at present es-

caped. There were several small truncheons taken from the prisoners, loaded with lead, of a most formidable description, besides pieces of iron with sharp points, secured in wooden handles. Lord Melbourne and all the metropolitan magistrates were present, and had taken their station in a room of the House of Correction which commanded a view of the scene of riot.

The whole of the prisoners were removed, securely bound, to various station-houses, until they could be examined.

ADDRESS TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON THE PLAN OF EMANCIPATION TO BE PROPOSED BY GOVERNMENT.

Anti-Slavery Society's Office, Aldermanbury, May 13, 1833.

(On the 18. of April, 1833, a delegation of 339 individuals, from large associated bodies in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, waited on his Majesty's Ministers, and presented to them a set of resolutions and a memorial on the subject of colonial slavery, from which we extract the following explicit declaration of their sentiments:—"As the negro race have already suffered the grossest injustice, from detention in a state of slavery, we declare our decided disapprobation of any plan whereby they, *by their labour or otherwise, may be compelled to pay, in whole or in part, for their emancipation,* which we deem to be their right, by the law of God, and by the clearest principles of justice. For such a state of society" (as exists in our slave colonies) "we are firmly convinced that there is but one remedy—we mean the total extinction of slavery;" and "if Christianity is to be maintained and promoted, slavery must cease. We entreat his Majesty's Ministers not to contemplate any imperfect measure of emancipation. We are deeply convinced that the negro must be fully restored to his rights, and that *no scheme of emancipation which would leave him half a slave and half a freeman,* would tend materially either to his own benefit, or to the tranquillity of the colonies. We respectfully insist on the necessity of a full and absolute change from the

irresponsible rule of the slave-holder to the responsible authority of a lawful government; from a state of society in which the labour is compelled by the whip, to one in which it shall have its appropriate stimulus of adequate wages. A British public, forming its decision on the eternal principles of justice and religion, is unalterably fixed in its judgment, that the slaves in our colonies have an indefeasible right to their freedom without delay, and that this is the only safe and satisfactory ground of legislation on the subject." In conclusion they added, "We feel bound publicly and emphatically to declare, that while slavery obtains under any form, however modified or however sanctioned, we will never relax from our efforts nor swerve from our purpose, but will exert all the influence which we may collectively or individually possess, to effect by all legitimate means an immediate and entire abolition."

In reply to the memorial which contained these clear and unambiguous declarations, Viscount Althorp and Mr. Stanley, though they declined to enter into the details of the measure which his Majesty's Ministers were about to lay before Parliament, yet expressed their hope that that measure might prove both safe and satisfactory. These words were naturally hailed by the delegates as an assurance in which they might implicitly confide, that the contemplated plan would accord, in its general principles, or at least would not be very widely at variance, with the views of the memorialists. Their mortification, therefore, must be extreme to witness the appearance in the public prints on the evening of the 11. instant, of the following document there exhibited as an authentic outline of the plan of emancipation which Government intends tomorrow, the 14. instant, to propose for the adoption of Parliament.

PLAN OF SLAVE EMANCIPATION.

1. That every slave, upon the passing of this act, should be at liberty to claim, before the protector of slaves, custos of

the parish, or such other officer as shall be named by his Majesty for that purpose, to be registered as an apprenticed labourer.

II. That the terms of such apprenticeship should be—

1st. That the power of corporeal punishment should be altogether taken from the master, and transferred to the magistrate.

2nd. That in consideration of food and clothing, and such allowances as are now made by law to the slave, the labourer should work for his master three-fourths of his time, leaving it to be settled by contract, whether for three-fourths of the week or of each day. That by a day is here understood only ten hours, seven and a half of which are to be for the master, as above, in consideration of food, clothing, and lodging, and that all the time above such hours is not to be affected by these regulations. That such apprentices shall immediately enjoy all rights and privileges of freemen; shall be capable of giving evidence in all courts, criminal as well as civil, and as well against their employers as against any other persons; of serving upon juries, and in the militia; of attending whatever place of worship or teacher of religion they please; and shall have and enjoy all other rights and privileges whatsoever of British subjects.

3rd. That the labourer should have a right to claim employment of his master for the remaining one-fourth of his time, according to a fixed scale of wages.

4th. That during such one-fourth of his time the labourer should be at liberty to employ himself elsewhere.

5th. That the master should fix a price upon the labourer at the time of his apprenticeship.

6th. That the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, that for the whole of his spare time, if given to the master, the negro should receive 1-12th of his price annually; and in proportion for each lesser term.

7th. That every negro, on becoming an apprentice, shall be entitled to a money-payment weekly, in lieu of food

and clothing, should he prefer it; the amount to be fixed by a magistrate with reference to the actual cost of the legal provision.

8th. That every apprenticed labourer be bound to pay a portion, to be fixed, of his wages, half-yearly, to an officer to be appointed by his Majesty.

9th. That in default of such payment the master be liable, and, in return, may exact an equivalent amount of labour, without payment, in the succeeding half-year.

10th. That every apprenticed negro, on payment of the price fixed by his master, or such portion of it as may from time to time remain due, be absolutely free.

11th. That every such apprentice may borrow the sum so required, and bind himself, by contract, before a magistrate, for a limited period as an apprenticed labourer to the lender.

111. That a loan to the amount of 15,000,000*l.* sterling be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, on such security as may be approved by commissioners appointed by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

IV. That such loan be distributed among the different colonies, in a ratio compounded of the number of slaves and the amount of exports.

V. That the half-yearly payments hereinbefore authorised to be made by the apprenticed negroes, be taken in liquidation of so much of the debt contracted by the planter to the public.

VI. That all children who, at the time of the passing of this act, shall be under the age of six years be free, and be maintained by their respective parents.

VII. That in failure of such maintenance they be deemed apprentices to the master of the parents (without receiving wages), the males till the age of 24, the females to the age of 20, at which periods respectively they and their children, if any, shall be absolutely free.

VIII. That this act shall not prevent his Majesty from assenting to such acts as may be passed by the colonial legis-

latures for the promotion of industry, or the prevention of vagrancy, applicable to all classes of the community. And that respectable persons wholly unconnected with the colonies, shall be sent out to act as district magistrates and other officers, for the protection of the negroes and preservation of the peace.

IX. That upon the recommendation of the local legislatures, his Majesty will be prepared to recommend to Parliament, out of the revenues of this country, to grant such aid as may be deemed necessary for the due support of the administration of justice, of an efficient police establishment, and of a general system of religious and moral education.

X. And that with this view effectual protection shall be given to all teachers of religion of whatever persuasion.

It is difficult to conceive on what ground Lord Althorp and Mr. Stanley, immediately after listening to the language of the memorial cited above, should indulge the hope that its framers could regard such a plan with satisfaction, diametrically opposed, as it is in some respects, to their solemnly and deliberately avowed principles.

The memorial of the delegates, and the plan of the Government being now placed in juxta-position, it is unnecessary, and from the shortness of the time allowed for discussion, it is obviously impossible, to enter at length into the various points, either of divergence, or of direct contrariety, which may exist between them. It must suffice on this occasion briefly to advert to the most material of them.

1. Throughout the whole plan the unrighteous principle seems to be recognised, that man may justly and legally be dealt with as the property, the chattel of his fellow man.

2. The radical injustice is also involved in it of compelling the slave to pay the price of his enfranchisement. This indeed, is the grand vice of the whole scheme, the removal of which would of itself obviate many of its other defects and anomalies, and especially that system of apprenticeship,

whether of the young or old, which experience has proved alike unprofitable to the employer and demoralizing to the labourer.

3. This complicated and pernicious system of long apprenticeships is but a clumsy substitute for the simple expedient of giving to the labourer adequate wages in return for effective labour; an expedient of which the uniform efficacy is established by the universal and unvarying experience of mankind in every age, and which is obviously far better suited to the intelligence and habits of the negro labourer, and far more adapted to promote the interests of the capitalists, than any scheme of apprenticeship can possibly be made. It seems unreasonable to assume, as this plan does, that the negro can be adequately affected by the operation of the complex and remotely prospective benefits to be thus attained, and yet that he should not feel the direct and immediate force of the more comprehensible stimulus of adequate wages. A proneness to idleness and inaction would be the almost infallible result of the former, and of the latter growing habits of industry and persevering exertion.

4. Under the proposed plan the real stimulus to labour would still continue to be the brutal, degrading, and demoralizing application of corporeal punishment, instead of the potent influence of the stimulants of want and wages, the non-fulfilment of contracts for labour being liable to the only legitimate penalties of fine, imprisonment, and, if need be, penal labour. At the same time it is most fully and gladly admitted, that the transfer of the power of corporeal punishment from the irresponsible and interested master, to the independent, disinterested, and responsible magistrate, is an immeasurable improvement on the present system.

5. No precise time is fixed by this plan for the final cessation of slavery, which may still be prolonged under its provisions for twelve years, and even for a still more distant period. And yet that condition having been recognised as a crime by the Government and the Parliament, and the nation at large, is it

fit that that crime should be indefinitely and unnecessarily protracted, and for the sordid purpose of exacting from the negro the price of his liberation, in order that we may, in fact, be repaid the penalty of our own guilt?

6. The course proposed to be pursued with respect to the fathers and mothers of families, whose whole time is already appropriated either to the master's service or to their own redemption; namely, that of compelling them to maintain their infant children, at the hazard of seeing them, after having been declared absolutely free, doomed, for a long term of fourteen or eighteen years to a second servitude, seems not only impolitic, but cruel and unjust, and calculated by its operation to unfit the young for future freedom. The alterations already proposed of freeing the parents from the necessity of toiling for their own redemption, and of paying them adequate wages for their effective labour, would wholly obviate this dire necessity.

7. The total inadequacy of the means provided for the sustentation of the labourer, and his infant family, will be best understood by those who are acquainted with the miserable insufficiency of the legal provisions of the existing Colonial Slave Codes, for the food, clothing, and lodging of the slaves.

8. The reference to the colonial assemblies of measures for promoting industry, preventing vagrancy, &c., after the experience they have afforded of their total incapacity to legislate beneficially for their bondsmen, might be spared; but that measures for the due administration of justice, and for a general system of religion and moral education, should in any measure be connected with, or made to depend upon, their recommendation, is still more objectionable. Will it be endured for one moment by the Christian people of this land, including not only the members of the established church, but of the various bodies of Dissenters and Methodists, that those should be specially intrusted with the high and sacred functions here assigned to them, whose hostility to religion is avowed and un-

torious—by whom so many of the houses of God have been uprooted from their foundations—the faithful ministers of his Gospel outraged, persecuted, and exiled—and their followers among the slaves, lacerated, tortured, and slain?

9. The plan now considered appears, moreover, to be confined in its operation to the slaves of the western hemisphere, but it is clear that it ought to be extended to the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, Ceylon, and India, and in short, without any exception, to every part of the globe subject to the dominion of the British Crown.

These hints must suffice for the present to bring before the eyes of the legislature the defects of the proposed plan, for some parts of it are unexceptionable, in the hope that they may induce the Government to introduce the alterations and amendments, which may serve to obviate those defects. Of this they may rest assured, that the British public is fully alive to the importance of the questions at issue, and expects that each of its representatives will do his duty on this solemn and supremely important occasion.

By Order of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society,

THOMAS PRINGLE,
Secretary.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

LEE, A., Surrey-street, Strand, music-seller.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

ATHOW, C. T., Wood-street, Cheapside, whole ale haberdasher.

SIMPSON, J. M., Frating, Essex, cattle-jobber.

BANKRUPTS.

BARTON, W., St. Saviour's Churchyard, Southwark, cabinet-maker.

COLEMAN, S., Tottenham, Middlesex, florist and nurserywoman.

DAVIES, A., Tipton, Staffordshire, iron-founder and engine-manufacturer.

DUNN, J. C., Chatteris, Cambridgeshire, common-brewer.

HEYWOOD, J. S. and W. C. Harrison, Nelson-street, Greenwich, grocers.

HUNTER, G., Bury-street, St. James's, wine-merchant.

QUARTERMAN, J., Wanstead, Essex, coach-builder.

RYLAND, G., Birmingham, drysalter.

SCHOLEFIELD, S., Oldham and Heywood, Lancashire, grocer.

SHILSTON, J. and W., Plymouth, ship-builders.

SPAFFORD, S., Salford, corn miller and drug-grinder.

STOCKER, S., Bristol, victualler.

THIRKELL, W., Canal Brewery, Neate-street, Surrey, brewer.

TOLLEY, W., Richmond, Surrey, saddler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BLACK or PATON, J., Paisley, cloth-merchant.

GARDNER, J., Edinburgh, apothecary.

MUNRO, H., Strumness, ship-agent.

TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

GREIG, A. M., Crewkerne, Somersetshire, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

MELLOR, J., Manchester, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

CARR, W., Bartholomew-place, Bartholomew-close, timber-merchant.

COTTON, R. and J. Keam, Oreston, Devonshire, quarrymen.

DREW, J., Manchester, auctioneer, and Dinting, Derbyshire, calico-printer.

GREENACRE, J., Old Kent-road, Southwark, grocer.

GROCKOCK, J., Powis-street, Woolwich, currier.

VERRINDER, B., Davies-street, Berkeley-square, coal-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BOYD, J., Leith, merchant.

ROSS, A. and Co., Cowgate, Edinburgh, grocers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 13.—The receipts of Wheat this morning from Kent and Suffolk were very limited, but from Essex we had a fair supply. At the opening of the market, the Government contract for 2,200 qrs. of red Wheat, 800 qrs. of white do, and 500 qrs. of Peas, being publicly announced, tended to render the trade rather firm, and holders commenced by demanding higher prices, which, however, not being acceded to, the latter samples experienced a very languid

sale at last Monday's currency, and the secondary and inferior parcels were perfectly nominal in value; and to have effected sales lower prices must have been submitted to.

The fulfilment of half the contract not taking place until the 31st of May, and the remainder on the 15th of June, will afford factors time for the purchase of the required amount. Old Wheat sustained no variation in price, and for bonded qualities we heard of no inquiry.

The best descriptions of Barley continued extremely dull at 28s. to 31s.; distilling qualities were in limited request at 24s. to 25s. but for grinding there was little or no demand.

Nothing doing in Malt.

Oats continuing in short supply caused good fresh Corn to be salable at last Monday's quotations.

Beans coming more freely to hand were very dull sale, on scarcely so good terms as the previous week.

Very few Peas offering, and prices maintained.

The Flour trade continues extremely heavy at former quotations.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	22s. to 31s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	14s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 34s. to 36s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 38s. to 40s.
Pork, India, new ... 112s. to 115s.
— Mess, new ... 60s. to 63s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... 60s. to 62s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 60s. to 70s.
— Cork ... 64s. to 68s.
— Limerick ... —s. to —s.
— Waterford ... 48s. to 54s.
— Dublin ... 46s. to 50s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 40s. to 66s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 46s. to 58s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 40s. to 46s.
— Edam ... 40s. to 50s.
— Gouda ... 40s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ... 44s. to 54s.

SMITHFIELD.—May 13.

This day's supply of each kind of fat stock was limited, but trade was, throughout, very dull. With Beef and Lamb at an advance, Mutton at a depression, of from 2d to 4d per stone; with Veal and Pork at Friday's quotations.

About a moiety of the Beasts appeared to be Scots, intermixed with perhaps about 200

Norfolk home-breds, about a fourth short-horns, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts, chiefly (say about 1,600 of them) from Norfolk; with about 150 of the Scots by steam-vessels, from Scotland; a few of the different breeds above-mentioned, and about 40 Herefords from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and our western and midland districts; about 50 Sussex Beasts, a few Irish Steers, Cows, Heifers, Staffords, &c.; and about 60 Town's-end Cows.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of one of the former to three of the latter; about a fifth South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds; with a few pens of horned Norfolks and Dorsets, old Leicesters and Lincolns, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. About four-fifths of the Lambs appeared to be in equal numbers of new Leicesters and Dorsets; the remaining fifth chiefly West Sussex South Downs. The Sheep were nearly all out of their wool, whence the depression in their price is chiefly owing to the alteration, caused by their being shorn, in the value of their skin.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 10.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	87½	87½	87½	—	87	87

Was Published on the 1. of May,

Price Two Shillings,

CORBETT'S MAGAZINE; a Monthly Review of Politics, History, Science, Literature, Arts, &c. &c. The Contents of the Number are as follows:—The Drama and Dramatic Literature.—Scenes in the Sister Island.—Law of Arrest for Debt.—Paulina's Letters to her Kinsfolk.—Fine Arts.—The Forfeit Pledge.—The Ballot in America.—Lines by a Lady.—My Old Regiment.—The Queen of Night.—The British Museum.—Emigration.—Ode to the People of France.—The Jews.—Evepts of the Month.—Critical Notices.—Literary Intelligence.—Theatres.—The Suffolk-street Gallery.—Melling's Exhibition of Statuary.—Panorama of the Siege of Antwerp, and Stirling Castle.—Colosseum.—National Gallery of Practical Science.—The Markets.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Westminster, 21. May, 1833.

In the last *Register*, at page 421, I told you, that I would, in this *Register*, insert the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL in answer to me on the 16th instant. I now insert it from the *Morning Herald* newspaper; and I shall add a duplicate report, taken from the *Times* newspaper, of the close of the speech, in order that there may be no possible ground of complaint of unfairness, on my part, in giving this account; and, when I have so inserted it, I shall make the observations upon this speech; the few and short observations which I should have made, if the uproar had not been such as the two newspapers above mentioned very accurately describe it to have been. Such interruptions never put me out of temper; and, in fact, they do no harm to the good cause; for, the reader always concludes, that the party who prevents the reply being heard, is afraid of the effects of that reply; and, he gives to the person who would have made the reply, full credit for being perfectly ready to do that which would have given him a complete triumph. This is always the case when foul means are made use of to prevent a man from answering. I shall now insert the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL as reported in the papers that I have before mentioned.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH.

Sir R. PEEL rose amidst the loudest, and perhaps, most general cheering we have witnessed for some years on a Member rising to exculpate himself. *There were several distinct rounds*, before he was permitted to address the House. The right hon. Baronet said that out of the respect which he entertained for the House before which, as before a tribunal, he was now arraigned he should treat the charge as if it was brought against him by a man of *great weight and influence*, who felt that he was acting according to his conscientious conviction, and stimulated by an imperative sense of duty, to attempt to visit upon him the highest possible penalty which could be inflicted on a man so honoured as to be admitted to his Majesty's councils. That the hon. Member, however, should have attempted to pass so severe a censure on him was the more singular, if not altogether unjust, as the hon. Member had not long since acknowledged that on a comparison of what he (Sir R. Peel) had done, with what had been *done by others*, in reference to the currency of the country, he (Sir Robert), *was an angel of spotless purity*. What justice, he would ask, would there be in attempting thus to punish him for that which, in strictness, was, or ought to be, *laid to the charge of Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Huskisson, and others of that day*; but he possibly thought that as they were no more, it would be as just that he should arraign him, because he saw in his place in that House one who had *co-operated* in some degree in the measures of those distinguished men alluded to. Perhaps he thought it was just also to allow himself thus to have arraigned him on such *vague grounds*, whilst the accusation was suffered to hang over his head now for *two months*. (Hear). The sentence he demanded of the House was, that he should be, for these misdeeds relative to the currency, and notwithstanding the

length of time that had since transpired, dismissed from the councils of his Sovereign, not, as the hon. Member himself admitted, because of any venal or corrupt motive or object he (Sir R. Peel) had in view, but because he had been chargeable with ignorance. When the hon. Member had been so elaborate in getting up his charges, it was singular and unusual, to say no more, that he should not have had the *fairness to acquaint the accused person* what were the contents of the bill of indictment, and that it should be only now that he was acquainted with the case he was called upon to disprove. He was arraigned by the hon. Member for what it was alleged he had done as a minister in the instances so often alluded to of 1819, 1822, and 1826, and the other hon. Member, his colleague, had said, "I will vote against the right hon. Baronet, on account of the answer which he addressed to the memorial of a set of persons collected, forsooth, at the Bull Inn at Berslem." And then he had proceeded to read a letter, written, as he contended, to a noble Lord (Stanley) as Lord-Lieutenant of the county, and not as an answer to the memorial. This was the offence then. He had stated truths which they did not want to hear. Indeed they were not addressed to the persons signing this famed memorial, and it would be rather singular if it were found, on reference to the very letter in question, that it was in reply to a letter from that noble Lord, in his official character, and had been so transmitted to him, to display the wish of Government, and the necessity there was to do every thing possible, at that time, to preserve the peace of the county. He believed such would turn out to be the fact, on inquiry, and if so, what sort of justice was that which introduced the one letter without alluding even to the other to which it was a reply? (Hear, hear). The whole question, and the whole speech, with that of the hon. Seconder, with his twelve columns of prices and wages of labour, was, whether the *House should recode from the measures it had adopted on the currency, after grave deliberation, and*

an experience of some years. If so, then why did not the hon. Member bring the subject forward fairly and manfully, and not confine his motion to a *pitiful and sneaking attack* on an individual? (Loud cheers). This would do more to settle that important question, and calm the public anxiety in this respect, by another deliberate decision of the House, than all that could be effected in this indirect way, by the production of *garbled papers*, or of *tables of prices* and columns of wages of labour, with which it had little to do. But the whole charge betrayed *such total ignorance*, and was such a complete *tissue of folly*, that it was not calculated to create in him *any real concern*. The resolution began by stating, "That, according to the laws and customs of this kingdom, the King, our Sovereign Lord, can do no wrong to the whole, to any part, or to any one, of his subjects: that, however, effectually to guard against wrong being in his Majesty's name, and under his authority, done to his subjects with impunity, the same laws and customs which have, as our birth-right, descended to us from our just and wise forefathers, make all and every one, acting in that name and under that authority, fully and really responsible to the good people of this kingdom for every wrong done unto them by any and every person invested with such authority, and that, in virtue of such responsibility, the wrong-doing party is subject to such censures, pains, and penalties, as, in virtue of the said laws and customs, the several tribunals of the kingdom have, in all ages, been wont to inflict; that if this responsibility were not real and practical, we should be living under not only a despotism, but an avowed despotism, for the King, being incapable of wrongdoing, and his servants being responsible merely in name and form, and not in practice, they also can do no wrong, and then the people of this renowned kingdom, the cradle of true liberty, would be the most wretched slaves ever yet heard of under the sun; that, in cases where the wrong-

"doing is committed by inferior functionaries, or is, in its effects, confined to individuals, or to small numbers of sufferers, the ordinary courts of justice have usually been deemed competent to afford redress to the injured; but that, when the wrong is the act of a minister of state, sworn to advise the King for the good of his people, when that minister of state receives as a reward for his fidelity and skill large sums of the people's money."

The aggravation, the House would observe, of this heinous offence, lay in the person thus described being a minister of state, in the receipt of the public money. Now, be it observed, that in 1819, he was not a minister of state, and, more unhappily for the hon. Member, he was not receiving a farthing of public money. The hon. Member's motion seemed to have for its object the prevention of 5*l.* and 10*l.* notes from being put out of circulation, or as he termed it, being destroyed. If there had been any consistency in the matter, the motion should have been, as he (Sir Robert) was nothing but a plain member of Parliament, taking the chair in the committee on the currency question, that he should be amenable to Parliament, where he had offended, and be expelled from the House. (Hear). As he had not been charged with any personally corrupt or improper motives for his conduct, he should confine himself strictly to his defence from that with which he was charged, namely, the charge of having deluded that House by a speech which he had made as chairman of that committee. That he should have deluded by a speech that House, which had before it the report of their own committee, in accordance with the bill then introduced, was rather too much to listen to with gravity. (Hear). But the accuser forgot, in his haste to draw up the charge, that the House of Lords, which never could have heard this speech, concurred in the measure without any opposition. It was convenient to the honourable Member's argument he should assume that he (Sir Robert) had brought in the three different bills of 1819, 1823, and 1826. With the

two latter he had nothing to do; though he certainly, as the organ of the committee, introduced the first bill, though not then a minister of the crown. (Hear). The bill of 1819 passed the House without a division; that of 1823 was, as the hon. Member admitted, a repeal of the former bill, and was therefore arraigned as a gross inconsistency by the hon. Member. He could imagine, perhaps, a being so eminently gifted, so clear in forming an opinion, that he was above all chance of ever being deceived or falling into error, and would admit that such a person might challenge to himself the privilege of making use of this infallibility of his as an *argumentum ad hominem* against this change of opinion in him. But he could not but express his surprise when he found he was taunted by the hon. Member, for inconsistency, in advocating a measure of redress for an *admitted unforeseen evil* arising out of, or from, a previous measure of the legislature. If he saw it was proper to make such a concession of a former opinion he was prepared to do it again. (Hear). It was too much for poor, short-sighted, circumscribed, erring human beings as we were, to presume to say we ever saw all the possible consequences of a great measure, and were prepared never to retract an opinion once given. (Cheers). He quoted an opinion delivered by Mr. Huskisson in the debate in 1822, that the bill, instead of being against, was exactly in accordance with, the report of the committee of 1819, and that, in fact, in the committee, he had wished to introduce a clause expressly providing for a case not unlikely to occur, and that such a clause could not possibly be materially injurious if accompanied by a restriction of an issue of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes, payable in gold on demand. For himself, he (Sir R. Peel) had thought that they could not admit the circulation of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes without banishing at length the gold out of circulation, and narrowing the basis of the adjustment of the national standard of value. Those three acts passed, and what was the sense of the House upon them? In the year 1819 there had been

no division whatever upon the subject. Upon the bill of 1822 there had been some little discussion, and one division took place. The bill was opposed on the second reading, and on the division *four gentlemen only* voted against it. (Cheers). Upon the bill of 1826 there had been several discussions, and several divisions also upon the details. But upon the division which took place on the third reading, the numbers were—for the third reading, 108; against it, *only nine* (cheers); so that, upon the whole of the divisions which had taken place during all the discussions on the three bills, *only thirteen members* of the House could be found to vote against them. (Loud cheers). And yet he was to be held responsible for what was thus sanctioned by the *House itself*! (Hear, hear). The thing was too absurd for argument. (Cheers). If, however, he had any private account to settle with the hon. Gentleman, he should do so shortly, and in a currency which should certainly not be depreciated. (Loud cheering). The next charge of the hon. Member was, that this was an act of gross folly committed by him (Sir R. Peel) against the solemn warnings which had been given him by those who foresaw the consequences of the measure. Thus he was charged—first with the impolicy of passing such an act, and then for neglecting the warnings which had been given him. The hon. Member certainly did not put himself forward as the person who had given those warnings, but it was *easily* to *perceive* to whose foresight he alluded. The *object* of the present motion was that of *extolling the hon. Gentleman's own powers of foresight and discrimination*, as much as that of *lowering him* (Sir R. Peel), who had been guilty of the crime of not taking the warnings which had *thus been given*. (Hear, hear). How stout the case? In 1819 he (Sir R. Peel) had been invited upon a committee to consider the best course to be adopted with respect to the currency. Four courses were suggested, one of which was ultimately adopted. The first course proposed was that of agreeing with Mr. Western that

paper-money might be kept up at its then height, so as to insure war prices and payments according to the existing standard. The second course suggested was that of an actual depreciation of the standard; that paper should be convertible, but that the ounce of gold should represent the 5*l.* or 5*l.* 10*s.* instead of 3*l.* 17*s.* The third was the plan adopted, that of reverting to the old standard. The hon. Member, in alluding to the consequences, *said that he foretold all this*, and that, *therefore, he must be exalted, while he* (Sir R. Peel) *ought to be debased*. (Hear, hear). Now he (Sir R. Peel) would not only vindicate his own conduct—that he had done already—(cheers), but he would also destroy the hon. Member's character as a prophet. (Loud cheering). The hon. Member charged all these misfortunes which had been referred to as the result of the bill of 1819; but surely the hon. Gentleman's memory had failed him, or how, he would ask, could he reconcile the present indictment against him (Sir R. Peel) with his answer to the plan of Mr. Western? [The right hon. Baronet here read extracts from the *Register*, containing the answer to Mr. Western, from which it appeared, that the hon. Member at that period contended that the distress of the country *was not attributable to the bill of 1819*, and that it was not in the power of Government *to uphold the paper system*]. (The reading of these extracts was loudly cheered by the House). Here, continued the right hon. Baronet, the hon. Member showed that Government had not the power to uphold the base paper system. The hon. Member also said, that the country was then on the eve of a rebellion, and that it was not the Six Acts that quelled the people, but *low prices*, the result of Peel's Bill. (Much cheering). And he further contended, that the whole system might be at any time puffed out. And the hon. Member did himself try to puff it out; for he had recommended the forging and distribution of Bank paper. (Immense cheering). When men who have talent and influence recommend the adoption of such a course, was it not too

much that those same men should turn round and threaten him (Sir R. Peel), in that House, with indictments such as the one then before the House? (Cheers). There was a great deal of acute reasoning in the hon. Member's letter to Mr. Western. In fact there was no defence of the bill of 1819 like it. (Cheers and laughter). He stated in that letter, that the *paper system had run its infernal race* (hear, hear); and in the words of Lord Grenville, "It was a bubble, and the bubble had burst." (Cheers). There was yet another proposition, to the effect, that the ounce of gold should be coined into 5*l.* instead of 3*l.* 17*s.* Of all the indignation, and of all the execrations which the hon. Member poured forth against Mr. Western and his plan, they were all absolutely nothing in comparison with the tide of execration which he poured forth on the author of this plan. That person happened to be a Birmingham man. (A laugh). The hon. Member made him a peer, and called him Lord Littleshilling. (Great laughter). So absurd did he conceive his proposition to be, that he would not reason with him, but whenever he met with it would say, this was a proposition of Lord Littleshilling's. (Renewed laughter). The man, however, whom the hon. Member had held to be wiser than others, was Lord Folkestone. In addressing that noble Lord, however, he says: "Your Lordship's project will not succeed: you borrowed from me" (loud laughter) a sound principle or two, but your application of them is entirely your own, and it is childish beyond description." (Laughter). The hon. Gentleman contended at that time that the ancient standard of the country ought to be resumed, and that Parliament ought to reduce forcibly the interest of the debt. He alluded to the writings of the hon. Member because he considered him as a public man, and responsible in that House for the statements he uttered out of it. (Mr. Cobbett—"Oh, no!") Oh, yes! (Immense cheering). No man had a right to exercise an influence over the public mind without making himself thus far responsible. (Cheers). The hon. Mem-

ber had contended that there should be a refusal to pay, at all events, the whole of the national debt. He maintained that too much was paid to the public creditor. Now, in reply, he (Sir R. Peel) would say, that during all the discussions in Parliament, *no one member had come forward with any such proposition*; so that the hon. Member was, like the phoenix of Cowley,

"A vast species alone."

The honourable Member, in another part of his answer to Mr. Western, says, "When you cry out about spoliation you seem to forget those people who *might cry out very justly against the act of 1797.*" Where, he would ask, was the consistency between this and the present motion of the hon. Member? He would now come to what the hon. Member had said about the condition of the labouring classes. The honourable Gentleman read a resolution, agreed to by the magistrates of Hampshire, on this subject; but he ought to have contrasted their condition at present with their condition in the year 1819. Their condition in 1819, as described by the honourable Gentleman himself, was such, that the country had arrived at the point where the poor-rates amounted to 8,000,000*l.*, where the labourers were dripping in rags, dragging carts full of gravel, and where winter subscriptions became indispensable to save them from utter annihilation. The honourable Member had also contended that the reason the people of Preston could not procure sugar, was not because of the over-production of sugar, but because of the under-production of money. The difference between himself and the hon. Gentleman in reality amounted to this, that, in resuming the ancient standard, the hon. Gentleman was of opinion that pensions and debts also should be forthwith reduced. He (Sir Robert Peel) would only say that during all the discussions upon the subject, *no member of Parliament* had the courage, or rather he would say, the *dishonesty*, to propose the reduction of the debt; and yet the hon. Gentleman would attach the whole responsibility to him, and have him re-

moved from the Privy Council. (Hear, hear). He would rather, however, be dismissed from the Privy Council, than have been the introducer of any proposition *so dishonest*, towards the public creditor. If the words he had quoted from the hon. Gentleman, were correct, there was scarcely a shadow of difference between them. With respect to the reduction of sinecures, many of them had been reduced. He admitted that it was right to reduce them as far as possible, but to expect relief to the country from their reduction was sheer nonsense—it would be like a drop of water in the ocean. Still he was ready to reduce all the establishments of the country, not to the standard of any given time, but according to the test of the necessities of the public service and security. The hon. Member had referred to the state of Lancashire to being particularly deserving of attention. He (Sir R. Peel) begged to state, that in 1825 he had sent a gentleman to Blackburn, and to other places in that county, to collect information, and with private instructions to relieve distress if he should find it requisite to do so, but to say nothing about it; for all individual efforts would have been paralysed should it become known that an agent of Government was sent to relieve the distressed operatives of the county. He only stated this to show that there was no want of sympathy on his part for the distress of the people, and he denied that in the letter alluded to by the hon. Member, there was a single expression which could imply a want of proper feeling on his part towards their unhappy situation. (Cheers). What could he say in such a letter but that the communication had been received, and should receive the consideration of Government? and yet for this he was to be dismissed from the Privy Council as an example to all public men. (Cheer). What was the real object of the hon. Gentleman in bringing forward this motion for his (Sir Robert Peel's) dismissal? a motion which he would do him the justice of supposing he had no expectation of being able to carry. (Hear, hear). It was

true he had said that he expected a large majority on the division; (a laugh); but without any disrespect to the honourable Gentleman, he must say that the hon. Gentleman did not really expect any thing of the kind. (Laughter and cheers). So absurd was the motion that the hon. Member could never expect to carry it after the answer he had received, when first he gave notice of bringing it forward, in the burst of incredulous laughter which escaped from all sides of the House—(loud cheers), and which would have penetrated a *skin less pervious than that of the hon. Member*. (Cheers and laughter). He well knew that the House was too just and too wise to select one man to bear the punishment which *ought to fall on a whole Parliament*, out of which only 13 men could be found dissentient to the measure complained of. (Hear, hear). No false delicacy, however, should prevent him from stating the real and *unadorned* object of the present motion. (Much cheers). If he (Sir R. Peel) had taken any other course than that which he had adopted, could he thereby have escaped the indignation and execration of the hon. Gentleman? If he had agreed with his lamented relative, with whom he had differed upon this subject;—if he had bowed to parental opinions—which opinions he should always respect, because they had been held by his lamented relative—still should he not have escaped the lash of the hon. Gentleman. (Hear, hear). He had found amongst the writings of the hon. Gentleman, a letter addressed to Sir Robert Peel, Bart, and *cotton-weaver*. (Hear, hear). There was nothing in all the range of scurrility which disgusted him so much as the attempt to depreciate men because they had raised themselves by their own industry and perseverance. (Loud and continued cheering). When the hon. Member wanted to get into Parliament he did not *disdain the aid of a cotton-weaver*. (Renewed cheering). There was no man—there was no set of men—bound by such deference to mere rank as those who set themselves up for *liberals*. (Tremendous cheering). They all wrote as if they were Courte-

neys or Montmorencies. (Cheers, and laughter). But no; if, indeed, they had pertained to that illustrious blood, they would have been too generous to grudge to others the avenues to public fame and honour which should be open at all times to industry and talent. (Cheers). He knew not in what it was that such feelings could originate, unless, indeed, those persons possessed an inherent *vulgarity of mind* (tremendous cheering, which lasted for a considerable time), which led them in this age, and with these principles, to taunt a man because he had raised himself in society by the exertions of his *honest* industry. (Continued cheering from all parts of the House). So far from conveying feelings of shame to his breast, though he respected hereditary honours, yet he felt equal respect for those new families who had raised themselves into notice by their industry and talents. (Much cheering). He had the misfortune to differ with his father upon this subject. The question came to this—if he agreed with the hon. Gentleman, should he *escape the present motion*? He was at no loss to see the tendency of it, for though it was brought forward on public grounds, it had a *latent private object*. (Cheers). In a long letter addressed to Sir Robert Peel, in 1819, the hon. Gentleman went on to say, "Now, Sir Robert, I care little whether you reflect or not, I know well what is coming; and if I put your name at the head of this letter, it is not to reason with you, but to *point you out*." Here the words, "*point him out*," were printed in italics. Now what could be his object in this? Most certainly *not a good one*. What could be his object at present? Assuredly it was *not one which had the welfare of the people in view*. He (Sir R. Peel) sincerely believed that he *speculated on public confusion*. (Immense cheering from both sides of the House). The intent and object of the motion was to point him (Sir R. Peel) out. (Immense cheers). He did not make this charge upon any light grounds; he did not make it in consequence of the letter written by the hon. Gentleman in 1819. He saw that

within the very last month, the hon. Gentleman had publicly avowed certain doctrines which he could not now deny, and with which he now charged him; doctrines of the most disorganising and destructive tendency. (The right hon. Baronet here read an extract from *Cobbett's Register*, dated the 6. April, 1833, in which it was recommended to the people to form defensive associations. They were desired to obtain information respecting all those who paid taxes, to ascertain the name and residence of all landowners, when each came to his estate, and how, whether by heirship or purchase, and what was at the present time its probable value). From this, continued the right hon. Baronet, the House would see, that a man who talked of liberty, and the rights of the people, was the first to recommend to the people a system of the most abominable tyranny that had ever existed. This extract as read in continuation, recommended that there should be a printed pedigree of all the great landholders, and also a statement, showing the amount of public money received by them, together with the cause that produced the number of paupers found in the neighbourhood of each individual of those to whom the recommendation was addressed. It concluded with these words: "For so we may all know each other well. This is the sort of commission that is wanted, and I would call it the *reckoning commission*, for we should make up our accounts. When we all know each other well, we can arrange quickly, and come to an equitable adjustment. He (Sir Robert Peel) would ask, where would be the courage, where the justice, where the equity, of urging men on to that state of desperation which must necessarily result from the adoption of such counsel? It was quite evident that the hon. Gentleman had no other object in the course he now pursued than that which led him in 1819, not only to reason with, but *point out*, Sir Robert Peel. But surely, for his own part, he might fairly expect to escape from being *pointed out* by him, if he would look for justice at his hands.

The hon. Gentleman could have none of those motives for attacking him which made him attack others. He (Sir R. Peel) had never lent him his confidence; from him (Sir R. Peel) he had never received an obligation. (Repeated cheers). One of his views might be, perhaps, *to induce an indication of fear on the part of his intended victims*; but he would tell the gentlemen of England that their only security was boldly to face and defy his insidious efforts. God forbid that his *speculation on the prospect of confusion* should ever be realized. (Great cheering). He felt convinced that whatever political differences might exist between *public men*, that all those who were possessed of property would unite in defending it. (Great cheers). To pursue a different course would not only be in itself the greatest calamity that could befall the country, but a calamity of two-fold aggravation, as accompanied with the *disgrace of living under the intimidation of such instruments as those made use of by the hon. Gentleman* who brought the present motion before the House. (Long and loud cheering). "Believing," concluded the right hon. Baronet, "when I read these comments, that I am *selected* perhaps, for the *purpose of producing some abatement in our opposition to intimidation*, or some *submission to those who threaten us*, never will I have to reproach myself with furthering either object by showing any symptoms of intimidation or submission." The right hon. Baronet then sat down amidst cheers, which lasted for several minutes.

[Thus stands the speech of PEEL as given in the MORNING HERALD, which is a very full report; but the reporter left out a bombastical poetical quotation, which the Times reporter inserted, and which I will insert here; so that I may leave no ground whatever for a charge of having omitted any part of this speech.]

Close of Sir Robert Peel's speech as given in the Times newspaper:

One of those motives or objects might be to produce some indications of fear on the part of the intended victims; but he told the gen-

tlemen of England that their best security was in boldly facing and defying these insidious efforts. (Cheers). God forbid that the hon. member's speculations on the prospect of "public confusion" should be realized. He laboured under no apprehension that they would. He felt confident, whatever might be the political differences that divided public men, that all who were possessed of property would unite in its defence and put down such attempts. (Great cheering). Not only would it be the greatest calamity, but a calamity ten-fold greater than had ever happened to this country, because accompanied by the greatest disgrace, to live under the domination of such instruments as these. (General and long-continued cheering).

"Come the eleventh plague, rather than this should be;

"Come sink us rather in the sea.

"Come rather pestilence, and reap us down;

"Come God's sword rather than our own.

"Let rather Roman come again,

"Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane;

"In all the bonds we ever bore,

"We grieved, we sighed, we wept; we never blushed before."

But (continued the right hon. Baronet) blush we shall, and must, if we submit to this domination; and I for one, believing as I do, when I read these comments of the hon. Member and consider his present motion, that I have been selected as an object of attack either for the purpose of producing some abatement of resistance to intimidation, or with a view to induce submission to those who threaten us, —I, for one, never shall have to reproach myself with having furthered the ulterior objects of the party in question, by showing any symptoms of intimidation or submission. (General cheering, which continued for several minutes).

Mr. CORBETT, in rising to reply, was received with the strongest manifestations of disapprobation from both sides of the House. The hon. Member said that more calumnious insinuations and more groundless charges than those brought against him on the present occasion had never been heard within the walls of Parliament. (Shouts of dissent). If order was not observed while vindicating himself, he would move the adjournment of the House. (Oh, oh, oh). If the House felt mortified in hearing him, they ought to feel still more mortification at having swallowed their own words on the 30. of April, in reference to the malt tax. If they did not listen to him while he answered the speech of the right hon. Baronet, they would stand before the world in a light which

he would not attempt to describe. (Here the shouting increased to the utmost pitch of vehemence). If this interruption was continued, he must pronounce this to be the most unjust assembly ever known. Nine-tenths of the right hon. Baronet's defence consisted of extracts read from books which were written by him (Mr. Cobbett), and the rest was made up of *vulgar abuse*. (Here there were cries of interruption which nothing could exceed).

Mr. Cobbett's attempt at reply as given in the *Times* newspaper.

Mr. COBBETT rose to reply amidst groans and murmurs from all parts of the House, during the continuance of which, throughout the hon. Member's address, little or nothing of what he said could be heard in the gallery. He observed that the House had listened to most calumnious insinuations. (Peals of groans). If he could not obtain a hearing he should move an adjournment. (Laughter and groans repeated). The House might feel mortification in hearing him, but it ought to have experienced greater mortification in eating its own words on the malt tax. (Oh, oh!) If the House would not hear him in reply to some parts of the speech of the right hon. Baronet, it would stand in a light which he did not wish to describe. (Murmurs, groans, and hootings). If he experienced interruptions such as these, he must describe the House as the most unjust assembly in the world. (Oh, oh, oh!) The right hon. Baronet's speech contained no defence of his currency measures, it was made up, nine-tenths of it, of garbled extracts, unfairly taken from his (Mr. Cobbett's) books, and of vulgar abuse. (Groans, and loud cries of Order.)

[Before I proceed to give my answer to the speech of PEARL, I will insert an account of the remainder of the proceedings, which were (with one little correction to be made) as follows]:

The SPEAKER interposed to order, and said the hon. Member had uttered language which no gentleman was entitled to use, and for which he was bound to apologize.

Mr. COBBETT: Sir, I most readily apologize to the House. (Groans). If the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would only take off the malt tax, the house and window taxes, and the taxes on soap, he might set at nought all speculation in public confusion. (Continued groans). But, Sir, I would much rather see public confusion than see the people trampled upon and knocked on the head, as they have been within the last few days.

Here the hon. Member abruptly resumed his seat, finding it impossible to proceed any further.

At this moment Sir ROBERT PEARL left the House, and on advancing towards the door was loudly cheered.

Several hon. Members next endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but none of them could succeed, so great was the impatience for the question.

The House then divided, and the numbers were,

For the motion 6
Against it 298

The announcement of the numbers was received with three distinct rounds of cheers.

As we entered the gallery, we found the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER addressing the House, as follows: I am *not aware of any precedent* for the course which I am now about to call upon the House to pursue. But never in my memory, or within my knowledge, has a personal attack been made within these walls upon such grounds, or supported like the present. I feel, therefore, that it is unnecessary to detain the House, being confident that the feelings of every hon. Gentleman will respond with my own, and agree to this proposition, "That the resolutions which have been moved be *not entered* on the minutes." (Great cheering).

The SPEAKER put the question, "That the proceedings be *expunged*."

Mr. COBBETT: The noble Lord had moved that the resolution be *not entered* on the minutes of the proceedings of the House. That, however, was not the way in which the Speaker had put the question.

The SPEAKER: I will explain why I put the question in the terms in which I did. The minutes of the proceedings are going on during the debate, and the motion of the noble Lord being that the motion of the hon. Member should *not be continued* on the proceedings, the only way to effect that object was to expunge it. (Hear).

Mr. COBBETT: *Expunging* a resolution, and *not putting it on the proceedings*, are two different things. The noble Lord's motion is, "that it be *not entered* on the minutes;" and that is the proper motion to be put from the chair.

The SPEAKER: I am unfortunate in not making myself understood. There is nothing which any member moves in this House which (whatever may be the opinion of the House) does not, the moment it is moved and second-

ed, go upon the clerk's books. The question for the House to decide—what it owes to itself and to the public—is to consider whether, according to the merits and justice of the case, it will suffer it to remain on the books. (Hear, hear).

Mr. COBBETT: But, still, *that is not the motion now before the House.* The motion for *expunging* is not the motion of the noble Lord; but, in reality, the motion of Mr. Speaker. I observed, at the outset, that I supposed that a motion would be made to expunge these proceedings, but if they be *not entered* on the minutes of the House, that is quite a novel proceeding. Many things have already been done by this Parliament to overset former usages. (Question, question). If the cries of question are continued I shall move the adjournment of the House. (A laugh). If the House, by an order, prevent this resolution from being entered on the minutes, then there are but two things remaining for Ministers to do—first, to let no man speak in this House without their permission, and next to move that the gallery be closed. (A laugh).

Mr. LALOR hoped that the House would indulge him whilst he stated his reasons for having been one of the very small minority on this question. He was not actuated by any personal hostility to the hon. Baronet. It was on public grounds only that he had ventured to be one of the minority.

The hon. Member was here called to order by an hon. Member whose name we did not hear.

Mr. LALOR thought he was speaking to the question, and proceeded to state that he considered the conduct of the right hon. Baronet injurious to the interests of the public.

Mr. J. FIELDEN was wholly indifferent as to what the House might do, but he would state as his *opinion*, that it would *not be wise*, on the part of the Government, to press the motion.

The Speaker then put the question, “that the proceedings on this resolution be *expunged from the minutes.*”

The House then divided—

For the motion 295

Against it 6

The little error in this report was this. It would appear from the report, that the Speaker called me to order, and that I apologized for having described Sir ROBERT PEEL's speech as made up of “*vulgar abuse*”; but, I said of “*vulgar abuse and falsehood.*” This last word, however true my assertion might be, is, I believe, one that is not allowed to be made use of in a similar manner. Besides, nothing so easy as to apologize; and nothing so stupid as not to do it, if the Speaker desire you to do it. It is

sheer had temper alone that can induce a man to get into petty squabbles of this sort. With this trifling exception, the whole of the account is perfectly correct; and it is extremely well worthy of the attention of the whole country, and particularly of our constituents of OLDHAM. From it they will be able to judge what it is that we have to contend with. I will make no remark upon this strange proceeding of Lord ALTHORP, other than this, that it puzzles one to death to imagine what *end* he could think would be answered by it; what *object* he could possibly have in view. The resolution had been read to the House. The speech by which it had been supported had been heard by the House; he must have been sure that the contents of a paper so interesting to the whole country, could not possibly be kept from the eyes of the whole nation; he had heard the defence of the right hon. Baronet: he had heard that the resolution remained absolutely without a word in the way of answer; he must have perceived that the resolution remained an acknowledged truth, from the beginning to the end, as far as facts and reasoning were concerned; what, then, in God's name, could induce him to do what he did, while he acknowledged, too, that that which he did WAS WITHOUT A PRECEDENT! What was the inevitable conclusion that the nation and the world must draw from this proceeding? The usual course would have been to suffer the whole proceeding, resolution and all, to go upon the minutes of the House, where it would have been found recorded, that only *six* members voted for the resolution, while *two hundred and ninety-eight* voted against it; and then to give notice of a motion for expunging the resolution from the records of the House. This is what was done in the case of Lord COCHRANE's resolutions against the conduct of Lord ELLENBOROUGH. As to the effect, however, upon the nation, this proceeding has been, and will be, precisely the contrary to that which, I think, was wished for. The resolution was full of importance as to its matter; but *this* proceeding of Lord ALTHORP has pre-

digiously added to its importance and its interest. Every one will see, that the resolution contained not one single expression that was either indecorous or harsh: every one is satisfied that it is truth from the beginning to the end; and, therefore, every one will ask, why this *unprecedented* proceeding; why was the *Minister* so anxious to keep this paper from the eyes, even of the members of the House? At any rate, within my recollection, no paper of the sort has ever had an equally extensive circulation. It is gone to the farthest corner of the civilized world; and there is no more the power of recalling it than there is the power of recalling yesterday.

MY REPLY TO SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH.

1. The grounds upon which I proceeded, he said, were *vague*. Certainly the *resolution* itself was anything but *vague*; and, as to the notice of the motion, the object was most explicitly stated, and the grounds were stated to be, his conduct relative to the currency bills of 1819, 1822, and 1826. Nothing, therefore, could be less *vague*. He next complained, that I had not made him previously acquainted with the contents of the *resolution*. I had no wish to keep the contents from him: the resolution lay on the table several evenings for anybody to look at that would; and, one evening, when the discussion of the question was put off, I put the resolution into the hand of one of his own friends, who usually sits, and was then sitting, at his back; or, at the back of the place where he usually sits. If I had communicated the paper to him beforehand, had I any assurance that he would deem it an act of civility, and that he would not deem it an insult? On the other hand, there was nothing new in the resolution; no fact stated, which was not well known to all the world; and, therefore, there was no necessity whatever for making any communication, the want of which was complained of.

2. But, that which the public look for, is an *ANSWER* to my allegations. They do not care a straw about the personalities: they perceive that I dealt in none. They see in my *resolution* a statement of facts, of very deep interest to the whole kingdom; they see great calamities described; they know that these calamities have existed and do still exist; they see them ascribed, in great part, without any asperity, to a certain person; and they look for that person's answer to this charge; and in that answer they expect to find: *FIRST*, a denial that the calamities have been produced at all; or, *SECOND*, that these calamities were not caused by the measures of the accused party; or, *THIRD*, that the calamities could not have been foreseen by any human being; or, *FOURTH*, that, though the calamities have arisen, though they proceeded from the measures of the person accused, and though they might have been foreseen, still the calamities which would naturally have arisen from the want of adopting the said measures, would have been as great, or greater, than those produced by the measures themselves; or, *FIFTH*, a denial that *he was responsible* for the measures which produced the calamities. These are the things which this sensible and impartial public would naturally look for in this case; and of these things they find none in the speech of the right hon. Baronet, which, as I said before, contains no answer at all.

3. As to the *FIRST*; they find no denial of any part of the monstrous mischiefs ascribed to the bills; they find not a word said in way of answer, either to the resolution or to the speech. Indeed, denial was impossible in the face of so many men, a great part of whom had either been witnesses, or themselves partakers, of the sorrows arising from these measures. With regard to the *SECOND* also, no attempt was made at denial. Every one that heard me knew that the calamities were caused by the measures in question. Besides, by his speech I had blocked him up here; I had proved, beyond all question, that the calamities were caused by the measures of 1819, 1822, and 1826, and I had

stripped him of all pretence for setting up a justification upon the ground that similar calamities had taken place before the bill of 1819. With regard to the **THIRD**, I had deprived him of all defence; by showing, that it was possible to foresee the fatal consequences of his measures; for that these consequences were clearly foreseen and pointed out to him, before he brought in his bill, by the two Messrs. **ARRWOOD**, by the present Secretary-at-War, and by the Bank directors themselves. Upon this score he was sadly put to his shifts: he beat about for something to say; and that which he did say was anything short of something amounting to a defence. He told the House, "that though I did not positively *put myself* forward as the warner, it was *easy to perceive* to whose foresight I alluded; and that it was evident, that the real object of the present motion was to extol my own powers of foresight, and to lower him; that I said, that I foretold all this, and that, therefore, I must be exalted and he debased." All this was cheered in a manner quite indescribable; but, let the reader look soberly at it; let him read my speech in any of the newspapers: he will find not the most distant allusion to any foresight of mine. From the beginning to the end of my speech, there was not one single word which could be interpreted into a desire to cause people even to recollect what I myself had said upon the subject. I distinctly named those by whom he had been warned, taking special care not to put myself, even by implication, amongst his warners. So that this accusation against me was so manifestly unjust, and so evidently resorted to, in order to *ride off* from the statement, which could not be answered, that, though actually engaged in cheering, the cheering parties must have seen through the thing very clearly, while the sober public cannot fail to draw from it the proper conclusion. In short, it was proved that others could foresee the calamities; and that the conclusion was that, if he did not foresee them (which it was allowed that he did not),

his not having foreseen them arose from a want of knowledge. As to the **FOURTH**, namely, "that other calamities would naturally have arisen from the want of adopting the said measures, which would have been as great, or greater, than those produced by the measures themselves." To prove this, he uttered not one single word: but merely said, "that no member of Parliament pointed out any other cause; that no one member ever came forward with any proposition for that *'equitable adjustment'* of which I had been the proposer; that I, indeed, had proposed to reduce the interest of the debt; but that no member of Parliament had had the dishonesty to make the proposition." This was extremely well calculated to draw forth peals of cheering, in the doing of which it did not fail of success; but, the sober public will perceive, that I had said nothing about this matter even in my resolution or my speech, as having proceeded from me. I had quoted one out of a thousand petitions or more, presented to the House of Commons in 1817, to show that there were a million and a half of reformers who prayed for such a just settlement, but not one single word had I said about any such proposition ever having been made by me. "Aye," said he, "but you have *written books*" [and he produced two or three upon the table]; "and that I was responsible in that House for the statements that I made out of it;" and upon his saying this, the House cheered him to the skies. I by no means denied the justice and fitness of an equitable adjustment; but I gave the merit of the proposition to the million and a half of reformers of 1817. Under this head, too, there was, in fact, no defence, and no attempt at defence; he said not a syllable to show that the calamities might not have been avoided, and that a return to the ancient standard might not have taken place at the same time. With regard to the **FIFTH** head, namely, "a denial that he was responsible for the measures which produced the calamities," what did he say? Good God! what did he say? *First*, he pleaded

the length of time which had elapsed since 1819; *second*, he pleaded that he had been falsely accused of having been a minister in 1819; *third*, that he had nothing to do with the bills of 1822 and 1826, though I had chosen to represent him as having brought in all these three bills. As to the *first*, it is the excuse of a child; for, what has length of time to do with the matter, even if the evils were no longer felt; but the contrary is the fact: the length of time is only from 1826 to the present day; and the evil of the bill is still working on in its ruinous course. And as to his having been represented as a minister when he brought in the bill of 1819, a bare look at the third paragraph of the RESOLUTION will show you that he was not so represented. In the other two cases he is represented as having been a minister at the time; but he is not represented as having brought in the three bills; but, on the contrary, as having brought in only the bill of 1819.

4. But the great lever by which he endeavoured to shift off the responsibility, was, endeavouring to show that others shared in the act; that is to say, shared in the want of knowledge. He said, that I endeavoured, "thus to punish him for that which ought to be laid to the charge of Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Huskisson, and others of that day; but that I arraigned him, because they were no more, and because he was in his place in the House, and because he had co-operated, in some degree, in the measures of those distinguished men!" Good God! Ricardo never was a minister nor a privy-councillor: Huskisson (if in office at the time) never meddled with the bill of 1819; so that there was no shelter here. Perceiving that people looked queer at the producing of this sort of shield, he next appealed to the frailty of human nature, especially upon the score of the bill of 1822. He said, "it was too much for poor, short-sighted, circumscribed, erring human beings, to presume to say that we ever foresaw all the possible consequences of a great measure." Here he quoted

of 1822, which produced the panic of 1826; and then he hastened on to the broad shelter of the Parliament; told his delighted and cheering hearers, "that both Houses of Parliament had agreed to the measures; and that, from the first to the last, there never were found but thirteen members of the House of Commons to vote against any or all of these bills: and that yet the monstrous absurdity was proposed to the House to make him responsible for these bills."

5. Now, such was his defence; such was his answer to me and my RESOLUTION; such was his defence of measures which have finally shaken this kingdom to its very foundations; which have disturbed the formerly quiet possession of all property; which have stirred up questions relative to the church and its possessions, including abbey-land possessions; which questions never would have been otherwise agitated; which have stirred up questions and angry discussions relative to the rights of the aristocracy and those of the people; which have thrown the whole country into a sort of commotion, and have made men, who never before wished for change, now wish for a change of almost any sort. If a return to the ancient standard of the country had been accompanied with measures to prevent wrong from being thereby done, the church would have remained unassailed; and, an attention to residence and a gradual abolition of pluralities might have insured its tranquil existence for ages. The *abbey-lands*, which are actually now looked to by the nation as a resource, would have been a subject as little understood by the people at large as the longitude is by those who have endeavoured to discover it. The *origin of tithes*, their ancient distribution, the origin of the poor-laws, the rights of the poor, the extent and value of the crown-lands, the remedy of emigration; the "evil of premature marriages," the necessity of a half-military police; all these were things which not one man out of twenty thousand ever talked of, or ever dreamed of, before the passing of the bill of 1819; and,

now, they are as familiar in men's mouths, as the words "leg of mutton" or "pot of beer." So that this bill of 1819, has been the great disturber of the country from that day to this; and, so far from the consequences of that bill having *ceased*, they are only now *beginning* to come into active and efficient operation. The effects of this destructive bill are felt by the Ministers at every turn. In no direction can they look without this hand-writing on the wall staring them in the face. We struggle for the reduction of taxes: I myself plead and vote for such reduction: But, I know, and every man of sense must see, that they can do nothing in the way of reduction, without correcting the errors of the bill of 1819; that they can do nothing in this way to restore this troubled kingdom to peace, unless they have the courage to resort to such correction. As members of the House of Commons, it is our first duty to endeavour to lighten the burdens of our overburdened constituents; but, I should deem it scandalous injustice in me, not to declare, at the same time, that I believe, that all that they now receive from the people it is necessary to put into their hands, unless we go back and do that justice which was demanded at the time of the passing of the bill of 1819. As long as they refuse to do that, we are justified in taking the money from them whenever we can; but, if they were to express their readiness to do that; if we were to refuse them our cordial support in so doing, and were still to bait them upon the score of their expenditure, and upon the weight of the taxes, we should be six hundred and fifty-eight of the most unjust men that were ever met together upon the face of the earth.

6. Now, with regard to Sir ROBERT PEEL's personalities against me, the extracts which he read from my works relative to Mr. WESTON's proposition he garbled at his pleasure; his appellation of "pitiful, sneaking attack!" applied to the open and manly proceeding of my honourable colleague; his observation on the "imperviousness of my skin;" his broad allusion to cal-

lumnies against me ten thousand times refuted; his charge of "*vulgarity of mind*" evinced in my "*adulation of men of high birth*," and his judgment evinced in going back to an essay of mine ridiculing the pomposity of his cotton-bred father; his bombastical conclusion, imputing to me designs of profiting from public confusion, and of having singled him out upon this occasion in order to check the power which he might have in checking me in my projects; his calling upon the gentlemen of England to unite against me and to defy me, *me*, whom he had, in the first sentence of his speech, described as a person destitute of weight and influence; his "beseeching the gentlemen of England not to submit to my domination, nor encourage me in my progress, by yielding to intimidation;" his calling upon them, and upon all "men of property to forget their political differences, and thus to unite:" we have here such a mixture of littleness, of childishness, of bombastical rage, and of everything inconsistent with the character of a man who calls himself a statesman, that we cease to wonder, that from such a mind should have sprung even the bill of 1819.

7. I should stop here; but there is one passage in this passionate spitting forth of personal abuse, which it will be of importance for us to bear in mind. It was this:

"That the difference between himself and the hon. Gentleman amounted in reality to this; that in resuming the ancient standard, the hon. Gentleman was of opinion that pensions and debts also should be forthwith reduced. He (Sir R. Peel) would only say, that, during all the discussions upon the subject, no member of Parliament had the courage, or rather, he would say, the *dishonesty* to propose the reduction of the debt; and yet the hon. Gentleman would attach the whole responsibility to him, and have him removed from the Privy Council (a great cheering here). He would rather, however, be dismissed from the Privy Council, than be the introducer of any proposition so *dishonest* towards

"the public creditor." Now, these words will be to be remembered. These words are of more importance than all the rest of his speech. We are to be answerable in the House for that which we write and publish out of the House. Sir JAMES GRAHAM has written and published out of the House, a proposition to deduct *thirty per cent. from the fundholders*; which was unjust, only because it was unaccompanied with a proposition to take away sinecures, pensions, and emoluments, and to reduce salaries. Lord GREY has several times distinctly declared that we are paying the fundholders a great deal too much; and he has never been in two stories upon this subject. Let the right hon. Baronet settle this question of "*dishonesty*" with Sir JAMES GRAHAM, then, and with my Lord GREY, and especially with the former. Instead of making bombastical orations about my designs to "*profit from confusion*," let him show these Ministers how they are to get along while two more summer suns roll over their heads, without doing that very thing which he, in the indulgence of his passion and his spite, would have the world believe, that it arose from "*dishonesty*" in me ever to have proposed. Above all things, let him convince Sir JAMES GRAHAM that he did not mean to accuse him of dishonest intention, though he, as a great land-proprietor, must have experienced great pecuniary relief from the adoption of the proposition, and though I could not possibly have derived from it any, even the smallest, possible benefit.

8. Thus I close these remarks, which never would have been made, if I had been heard in reply; and thus it is, that attempts to do that which is unfair, generally, in the end, produce effects precisely the contrary of those which such unfairness is intended to produce. These remarks are much fuller, and much more efficient than would have been any that I could have made upon the spur of the moment. They will also be placed upon record in a manner to give them greater durability, and to render them more easily referred to. In this case, as in thousands and thousands of others,

the attempt to stifle only brings forth the thing attempted to be stifled, in a way much more formidable than that in which it would have been brought forth if no such attempt had been made; and, thus it is, that a "*flash in the pan*" has become a discharge of a load, rammed in up to the muzzle.

On Thursday next will be published,

THE FLASH IN THE PAN;
or,
PEEL IN A PASSION.

Containing the resolution moved by Mr. COBBETT in the House of Commons, on the 16. of April, for an address to the King to dismiss the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT PEEL from his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; together with Mr. COBBETT's speech on making, and Mr. JOHN FIELDEN's speech on seconding, the motion; also, Sir ROBERT PEEL's speech in answer, and Mr. COBBETT's reply to that speech; and further, the curious proceeding of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Viscount ALTHORP) for preventing Mr. COBBETT's resolution from being entered on the minutes of the proceedings of the House

Price TWO-PENCE each, with the usual allowance to booksellers.

OMISSION

In my speech on the Resolution relative to Peel, which ought to have come in at the bottom of page 403 of the last Register, after the words "them who are dead," and before the words "before I conclude."

But, Sir, it is not of the past only; it is also of the present and of the future that we have to speak, when we are talking of the effects of the want of knowledge in the right hon. Baronet. The resolution which I have the honour to submit to the House, alleges, that, "at this moment, there appears to be no human being able to discover any quiet way of extricating the kingdom from its present state of difficulty and

"danger." And, is there any human being able to discover such a way? Vain is the imagination of him who supposes that the evil consequences of these measures have attained their height, and can go no further. The evils are daily increasing both in number and magnitude. Look at our state, in a pecuniary point of view only: look at our constant uncertainty: look at our constant peril: a bank with a dribble of gold amounting to a million or two, with twenty millions of paper afloat: Scotland and Ireland with one-pound notes still, and with scarcely a bit of gold ever to be seen in either: fourteen millions of money, borrowed by the Government through the means of what are called Savings' Banks; the most sensitive, the easiest alarmed, and the quickest in seeking safety; and all liable to be drawn out and demanded in gold in one single day. In short, it must be evident to every man living, that a run for gold may at any time plunge the whole country into confusion; and that there are many causes, any one of which might happen any day to produce such a run. Every thing then hangs by a mere thread: every thing worthy of the name of property, has thus been placed in jeopardy by that series of measures which began in 1819. If, indeed, the sufferings which the nation has had to endure during these thirteen years, had purchased for it security against further pecuniary convulsions; even then it would have been purchasing future security at a very dear rate; but this is not the case; it has only purchased us greater insecurity than ever: it has been thirteen years of suffering to purchase insecurity and peril, which are never to end until some convulsion come to put an end to our fears by realising that which we fear. This state of things has been produced by the bill of 1819, and its consequent measures; and if there be no responsibility on those who inflict sufferings and dangers like these on a people, then let the word responsibility be effaced from our language; or, at any rate, never let it be again pronounced in this House.

PETITIONS.

I PRESENTED, on Tuesday last, all the petitions which I mentioned in the last *Register*; I stated their prayers to the House; they were all received, and referred to the petition-committee. In addition to those named, I presented one, very numerously signed, from Great Yarmouth, praying for the ballot, universal suffrage, shortening of the duration of Parliaments, and relief from oppressive taxation.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD ALTHORP. LETTER II.

MY LORD,—In a former letter on the soap trade which I recently had the honour to address to your Lordship, I, amongst other things, urged upon your Lordship's attention the *immense extent to which the duty upon soap is evaded*, and the *policy of introducing olive and other vegetable oils into the manufacture of this article*, inasmuch as the increasing supply of tallow rendered necessary by the *decrease of the home produce of that article in this country*, as compared with its population, tends to render us too much dependent upon one country, Russia.

In asserting the immense extent of smuggling in the article soap, I also affirmed my belief, that the portion smuggled bore to the portion paying duty, the ratio of 1 to 2. I showed your Lordship the great facilities for evading this duty which exist under the present laws and regulations of excise, and I shall now proceed in my attempt to prove, by calculations from data which cannot be fallacious, the extreme probability that my assertion was far from being beyond the truth. If, in doing this, I shall be compelled by my subject, also, to prove the melancholy fact of the decreasing use of butcher's meat by the poor population of this country. I shall not affect to deny that I shall derive a sorrowful pleasure in ranking myself amongst those who have endeavoured, or who may endeavour, to con-

vince your Lordship of the dreadful and growing pressure upon all, but more especially upon the labouring classes of this once happy land; a pressure as to the existence of which your Lordship will, even now, find few fellow sceptics, and these few every day diminishing in number.

The method which I now take, my Lord, to demonstrate the immense extent to which smuggled soap is made and sold in this kingdom is very simple. It is as follows:—I shall show your Lordship the quantity of tallow which may now be fairly calculated to constitute the supply of this kingdom for a year, and then prove to your Lordship, that its consumption cannot be by any ingenuity accounted for otherwise than by the fact of a large portion of it becoming the chief component in a mass of surreptitiously manufactured soap upon which no duty is paid, and of which no account is taken; and, in order to make this matter clear to your Lordship's mind, I must take your Lordship with me, back to the end of the war, when the present pressure began to be felt and to produce its effects in good earnest.

In and about the year 1815, my Lord, when Napoleon was finally destroyed, and the war at length brought to an end, it was computed by those most skilful in such matters, that the amount of home-produced tallow, in England and Scotland, was about 50,000 to 53,000 tons of "rough tallow," as it is called; that is, before it is melted and refined. I am inclined to think that this estimate is not far from the mark, but, I must further state to your Lordship, that though the weight of rough or unrefined tallow might amount to this, yet the rendered, or refined tallow must be taken at a fifth less—say at 41,000 tons.

In 1815, the import of foreign tallow was to the amount of 29,000 tons, and if to this we add 41,000 tons as home produce, we have a stock of 70,000 tons of tallow to account for in 1815. Of this the amount of soap known to be made would consume 15,000 tons; and, that of candles 38,000 tons; that

is to say, 53,000 tons in all, leaving the great quantity of 17,000 tons to be accounted for in some other way of consumption. Of this 17,000 tons, about 1,000 tons were exported to foreign countries: but I must beg your Lordship to remember, that in 1815, we must lay more stress upon the quantity which would probably go to Ireland than we can do at this time, because considerable quantities of soap were at that period made there, a manufacture which has since been, by various circumstances, nearly destroyed, or at least much injured. Enough, however, remains to show that, after deducting the tallow consumed by steam-engines, machinery, &c., the portion employed in making smuggled soap and candles must have been enormous; not less, perhaps, than 11,000 tons, being in the proportion of 2 to 3 to the quantity consumed in the manufacture of soap paying duty. It is, certainly, difficult to believe, that more than 5,000 tons could be shipped to Ireland and consumed by machinery.

That the evil has continued and even increased, I shall, by taking the year 1829 and repeating the calculation, prove to your Lordship. That smuggling was so much less complained of seventeen years ago than it is now, is owing to greater profits being then realized than can at present be obtained. I must remind your Lordship, that in addition to smuggling, "*Peel's Bill*," has been passed and carried into effect since that time.

Leaving this, however, I must, before going into the calculation for 1829, crave your Lordship's attention to one most indisputable and important fact, which is, that up to the year 1815, *the tallow produced in this country made all the candles manufactured in the country, and left a surplus*. Twenty years ago every tallow-chandler of any consequence in the kingdom held a small stock of surplus tallow after making his candles, and this he, for the most part, sold to the soap-maker, either in the country or in London. The case, I pray your Lordship to note, is now reversed; and the candle-maker, instead

of having home tallow to sell, has St. Petersburg Y. C. Tallow to buy, to eke out his diminished home supply.

With this prelude I now request your Lordship's attention to the year 1829. The amount of tallow imported for that year was 49,000 tons; and if the home produce be taken, as I shall afterwards show it must be, at not more than 6,000 tons above the produce of 1815, that is to say, 47,000 tons, we have a stock of 96,000 tons of tallow in all, to account for in consumption.

In the manufacture of soap charged with the duty for 1829, 250,000 tons of tallow were consumed; and in the manufacture of candles, paying duty, nearly 52,000 tons; in all, 77,000 tons, leaving 19,000 tons still to be accounted for. Of this between 1,000 and 2,000 tons were exported to foreign countries, leaving, in round numbers, about 18,000 to be accounted for: an enormous surplus. Thus your Lordship will see, that if my estimate of home produce be near the truth, the tallow produced at home in 1815, say 41,000 tons, exceeded the weight of candles made (38,000 tons) by 3,000 tons, whilst the home produce for 1829, viz., 47,000 tons, is less than the weight of candles made (52,000 tons), by 5,000 tons.

The question is, have I stated the home produce of 1829 correctly or not? To prove that I have done so, I shall demonstrate the probability that the amount of foreign tallow taken by the candle-makers in that year, exactly fills up the deficiency in the home produce which I have stated to exist. I compute it to have been as nearly as possible 5,000 tons of tallow, and I found my opinions upon the following considerations:—The soap made at *Newcastle-upon-Tyne* for that year, amounted, in round numbers, to 3,500 tons, being about a *fourteenth part* of the entire hard soap known to be made in England and Scotland. Now the greatest part, though not quite all, of the foreign tallow sold from Newcastle to candle-makers, is supplied by the soap-makers. Supposing, then, about one-fourteenth part of this trade also to have been done at Newcastle, it is only

to multiply by fourteen the amount of the tallow taken from that town by candle-makers, to come to an approximation to the total of foreign tallow used for candle-making in England.

This quantity I can estimate with tolerable certainty at not less, nor very much more, than 900 casks of St. Petersburg Yellow Candle Tallow; which multiplied by 14, is 12,600 casks, or 5,040 tons of foreign tallow, which added to 47,000 tons of home produce, gives, as your Lordship will observe, the exact weight of candles made.

If, then, the excess of 1815, viz., 3,000 tons, be added to 5,000 tons, the deficiency of 1829, it proves a diminution of the power of the working classes of the present population to procure animal food, to the extent of 80,000 tons of meat per annum, as compared with their means in 1815, the proportion rough fat bears to salable meat being always calculated as one to ten; and this quantity, at half a pound per day, would be sufficient for about a million of persons, who must thus be driven by the existing pressure to substitute oatmeal, potatoes, &c., for that which every laborious Englishman ought to have, that is to say, a daily portion of beef, mutton, pork, or bacon.

I have stated the surplus of tallow produced at home and imported, at 18,000 tons remaining to be accounted for; but then, I must beg your Lordship to remember that, to this 18,000 tons must be added the amount of diminution in the shipments of tallow from this country to Ireland, in consequence of the diminished soap trade there; and also the amount of tallow composing the soap smuggled back from Ireland, which is included in the account of soap charged with duty, but which is, in reality, smuggled soap. If this be added to the 18,000 tons, it gives an enormous quantity, probably 20,000 tons of tallow, the consumption of which can only be explained upon the supposition of its composing smuggled soap and candles; and this includes, of course, the supposition that the soap smuggled in 1829 as compared with that paying duty, *may have been as*

high as the proportion of four to five, the temptation to smuggle candles under the late duty of one penny per lb. being comparatively trifling.

Thus, at all events, it is clear and evident that though it may be difficult to give a precise name to the amount of soap surreptitiously made, it has, past doubt, been for many years enormous and overwhelming, despite the vigilance of the excise or the cravings of the exchequer; for it is plainly impossible to account for the disappearance of all the tallow imported upon any other supposition.

With respect to the quantity of tallow used for steam-engines and machinery, it is difficult even to guess at it. Steam-engines have certainly greatly multiplied since 1815, but, then, so has the production of grease from glue-making and bone-manure-making, besides increased importations of grease-butter, &c., as contradistinguished from tallow, which are all, as well as the oils, used for machinery; so that it is not probable that the consumption of tallow, in this way, has been to any great extent affected; and, therefore, the two calculations cannot be supposed to be materially altered, with regard to each other, from this cause. Upon the whole, I trust, I have now sufficiently proved to your Lordship, first, the imperious and absolute necessity, as well as the good policy, of changing both the amount of, and the means of securing the duty levied upon soap; and next, the good policy, if not necessity, of encouraging the production of olive and other vegetable oils. If the present state of this kingdom is to continue much longer, it is evident that the supply of the article, tallow, alone, will soon be insufficient to meet the demands made upon it, upon the supposition of excluding the use of the vegetable oils; for, that the diminution of home-produced tallow, in proportion to the population, is such as is distressing to contemplate, must be evident to your Lordship, if your Lordship will only compare the increase of population since the year 1815, with that of home tallow since that time, taking the former at the

lowest computed amount. Nor is there the slightest cause for hope that this comparative diminution is not going on, and the numbers of persons unable to purchase animal food rapidly increasing, as compared to the total of the population, the fact being borne out both by the known diminution in the rate of the wages of labour since 1829; by the increasing complaints of the people; and by the returns from Smithfield and other markets, as well as the diminished stocks of the graziers.

I may also state to your Lordship that I have ascertained the opinions of many old tallow-chandlers throughout at least ten counties of England and Scotland, on these heads, and they unanimously agree as to the fact I have stated, attributing the diminution of home tallow to the distress of the country, first, as requiring fewer cattle to be slaughtered than ought to be; and next, as causing a deterioration in the quality and usefulness of the tallow itself, by compelling graziers to sell their stock to butchers much earlier than formerly, and hastily and imperfectly fattened. Various persons, of course, attribute different degrees of efficiency, respectively, to the causes stated, but all agree as to the melancholy fact which I have, in the course of my argument, been compelled to bring before your Lordship.

In conclusion, I beg to remark, that I know very well many will be inclined to attribute much of the increase in the consumption of home tallow, in the shape of candles, to the changed habits of the people. I, my Lord, doubt whether the change in this respect is so great as it is represented to be, but, admitting that it is, we have to set against this, the use of coal and oil gas, instead of oil or tallow, in all public places and manufactories, and in many private houses, as well as the increased use, amongst the middle classes, of the improved oil lamps instead of tallow candles, which are quite sufficient to over-set any arguments derived from that source.

Since writing the foregoing, I see your Lordship has proposed a reduction

of one-half of the soap duty. Though still adhering to my opinions, as before stated, it would be absurd in me not to say that this will be a great public benefit, and that your Lordship deserves the thanks of the country for the measure.

Still, let me urge upon your Lordship my firm conviction that, even under the reduced duty, smuggling must continue to go on (to so great a length has it got), unless the regulations of the excise undergo complete revision, and some efficient plans, similar to those I have pressed upon your Lordship's attention, be adopted. I would also still urge upon your Lordship the propriety of levying some duty (say 1d. per lb.) upon soap made in Ireland. If this be not done, I fear the smuggling from Ireland cannot be materially diminished, nor the revenue derived from soap ever secured in a manner satisfactory either to your Lordship or to any body else. The abolition of a drawback on soap made in England, and sent, ostensibly to Ireland, might change the mode, but the substance of the evil would remain.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
your Lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
THOMAS DOUBLEDAY.

CALTHORPE-STREET BATTLE.

ON Monday, the 13th instant, there was a meeting in the neighbourhood of this street, of men who professed their object to be, to discuss the question, whether a National Convention might not be proper to be formed in this crisis of the nation's affairs. A paper was put out some days before the meeting was to take place, cautioning people not to go to the meeting; but this paper was not signed by any body. On the day of the meeting, the newspapers state that about thirteen hundred of the men, called "police-men," armed with staves, went to the spot. A dreadful scene took place, the particulars of which have all been laid before a Coroner's

jury, which was assembled to ascertain the cause of the death of a police-man who was killed in the fight. These particulars I have not room to give; but I shall give the verdict of this jury, and the names of the jurors as I find them published in the newspapers; and these are as follows:

"We find a verdict of JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE on these grounds: that no Riot Act was read, nor any proclamation advising the people to disperse: that the Government did not take the proper precautions to prevent the meeting from assembling; and that the conduct of the police was ferocious, brutal, and unprovoked by the people; and we, moreover, express our anxious hope that the Government will, in future, take better precautions to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful transactions in this metropolis."

SAMUEL STOCKTON, of Cromer-street, baker (foreman).

JOHN SPALDING, Chichester-place, baker.

CHARLES TIGHE, Chichester-place, upholsterer.

BENJAMIN HASTIE, Chichester-place, baker.

HENRY NEVILLE, Chichester-place, corn-chandler.

JOHN BLISS, Chichester-place, baker.

JOSEPH BURGESS, Chichester-place, pawnbroker.

THOMAS PEARSON, Gray's Inn-lane, iron-monger.

JOHN GRAHAM, Gray's Inn-lane, grocer.

EDWARD HOLDER, Gray's Inn-lane, glass-cutter.

JOSEPH LANGRAN, Gray's Inn-lane, cheesemonger.

WILLIAM PURDY, Gray's Inn-lane, shoemaker.

WILLIAM DAVIES, Gray's Inn-lane, plumber.

JOHN DALLER, Gray's Inn-lane, broker.

GEORGE DENNIS, Sidmouth-street, baker.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Cromer-street, auctioneer.

ROBERT FRENCH, Calthorpe-place, baker.

This verdict was published on Tuesday morning; and on the same night the following appeared in the *London Gazette*.

"Whitehall, 21. May.

"Whereas it has been humbly represented unto the King, that on Monday the 18th day of May instant, Robert Cully, a police-constable, whilst engaged in the discharge of his duty in dispersing an illegal assemblage of persons in Coldbath-fields, in the county of Middlesex, *was wilfully and maliciously stabbed* by some evil-disposed person *unknown*, and almost immediately died of the wound so inflicted;

"His Majesty, for the better apprehending and bringing to justice the person who committed *the murder* before mentioned, is hereby pleased to promise his most gracious pardon to any one (except the actual perpetrator thereof) who shall discover such person as aforesaid, so that he may be apprehended and convicted of *the said murder*.

"And, as a further encouragement, a reward of 100*l.* is hereby offered by the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, to any person (except as aforesaid) who shall make such discovery as before mentioned, so that the perpetrator of the said *murder* may be apprehended and convicted thereof.

"MELBOURNE."

I shall make no remark upon these documents. In general the press has done its duty upon this occasion; but the two great Whig papers, the *Times*, and that excessively base tool, the *Chronicle*, have abused the jury and the people without measure; and, they both of them give very significant hints, that *juries are bad things!* I should not wonder to see them go further in a short time. It has been the object of the base *Chronicle* for years, to get juries set aside, to put down justices of the peace, and all the parish and county peace officers, to introduce paid magistrates and a *gendarmerie* all over the kingdom. In short, to establish a government of *force*; and that force

wielded solely by the Ministers, putting down all authority which has hitherto emanated from the people. The base *Chronicle* is enraged at the decision of this jury, because it tends to thwart his favourite project for establishing an Austrian government in England. However, this was to be expected: everything has been tending towards it for many years past: the present amount of taxes, in money of the present value, can never be collected with any thing like an *English* government in existence. The present mode of imposing the taxes; the *laying of a legacy and probate duty upon personal property*, while all the *real estates in the kingdom are excused from that duty*; the imposing of more duty upon a shopkeeper's house than upon a great mansion of a nobleman: things like these are now clear to every man's mind. How the thing will *end*, no man can foresee. It was hoped, that a reformed Parliament would produce such a change as would render force of every sort wholly unnecessary. That hope has been disappointed; and we must be content to wait patiently for the coming of the end.

I insert the following interesting proceedings which took place between the *Coroner* and the Jury.

DECISION OF THE JURY AND REJECTION (BUT ULTIMATE ACCEPTANCE) OF THEIR VERDICT BY THE CORONER.

At half-past nine the jury returned, and the foreman informed the coroner that they had agreed to their verdict, which he read, as above.

The Coroner said—I do not know how you can say all these things on the evidence which you have heard. The only evidence which you have had to show you how this man met his death was of that young woman who saw the stab given to a man who was acting in a laudable and unoffending manner, and how any one on the jury can justify such an act, I don't understand. I hope, gentlemen, you will reconsider your

verdict. You are not here to try the conduct of other persons, whether in the Government or the police. This, in my opinion, is no verdict.—(Cries of Oh, oh!) Indeed, it isn't. It was not justifiable homicide. It was either wilful murder by some one you do know, or some one you don't know.—(Laughter, and Oh, oh! which was repressed by the officer in attendance).

Foreman: We have patiently considered our verdict. There have been conflicting opinions amongst us; but we have all anxiously compared our opinions—and that is the conscientious verdict of us all, patiently and carefully formed with the most anxious deliberation.

Coroner: You are called upon to say how Robert Cully came by his death, and the only evidence you have to decide upon is that of the young woman who saw him stabbed.

Several of the Jury exclaimed, "We do not believe her; no, not one of us."

Coroner: And why not?

A Juror: Because she was contradicted by other witnesses. She said she was two minutes talking to the policeman, and it was proved by all the other witnesses that that was impossible. She was tutored.

Another Juror: She was; she was tutored by the police. She acknowledged to having been with them ever since that day. Why ask us to give a verdict against our consciences?

Coroner: You say there were no precautions. I think there were plenty of measures.

A Juror: There were no measures to prevent the meeting; and the means employed to disperse it were disgraceful.

Foreman: We are all of opinion that if 100 policemen had occupied the ground, this man would not have been slain.

Another Juror: We only wonder that there were not more lives lost.

Coroner: Well, gentlemen, your verdict is, that Robert Cully was killed with Justifiable Homicide?—Jurors: Yes.

Coroner (to the Foreman): Well, Sir,

I shall strike out all the rest. [The Coroner here drew his pencil across all the words which followed "Justifiable Homicide."]

Foreman: I cannot agree to that, Sir. All the Jury: Nor any of us.

Foreman: Before God and our country—on our solemn oaths—we have given the subject all the consideration in our power; and that paper which I have handed to you contains the judgment on which we are unanimously agreed. If you strike out any part of that it is not our verdict.—Jury: Certainly not.

Foreman: We have told you our verdict; but we would not give a verdict of Justifiable Homicide, standing by itself.

Coroner: So you say it was justifiable, because some persons broke other persons' heads, some half-hour after the man was murdered?

A Juror: We are not of opinion that the heads were not broken till after the man was killed. If you record any verdict without the whole of what we say, it will be a false and untrue verdict.

Another Juror: It will be his verdict and not ours.

Another Juror: Yes. What occasion was there to swear us, and keep us away so many days from our business and families, if it is to be the Coroner's verdict, and not the Jury's?

Several of the Jury: You had better dismiss us if you will not take our verdict.

Foreman: And the sooner the better. We are fatigued to exhaustion. We have done our duty laboriously and faithfully, and our country can expect no more of us.

Coroner: Well, as you did your duty by giving in a verdict to say that a man is justified in stabbing an unoffending man—

Foreman: If proper measures had been taken, either by reading the Riot Act or a Proclamation, or any other means, we would not bring in a verdict to justify the homicide. Therefore, to let that verdict go abroad alone would be very dangerous, and it might be thought

that we justified the stabbing a policeman who was legally employed.

Coroner: I think that is the fact.

Foreman: No, on the contrary, we wish to give the police every protection.

Coroner: What you call your verdict don't sound like it; I don't think it a fair verdict.

Several Jurors: We will not give any other.

Coroner: It is not a good verdict.

A Juror: Well, if you will not take it, you had better dismiss us, and call another jury.

Coroner: Do you call these remarks a recommendation? Why you are finding fault with every body with a vengeance. What reason was there to stab the man?

Juror: Mr. Coroner, do you not recollect, that before there was any stabbing or throwing of stones, or any other violence, a man rushed out from the body of the police, and violently struck about him, having said to those behind him, "Now go it, boys." We are of opinion from the evidence that this was the same man.

Foreman: We have read over all our notes, and we can come to no other verdict.

After a further delay, perhaps a quarter of an hour,

A Juror said, Mr. Coroner, we have become as quiet as a Quaker's meeting; may we go, or have you any other little job for us? (Laughter).

Coroner: You may go when you agree to your verdict.

Foreman: Mr. Coroner, we have as strong an impression of the importance of our duty as any man can have, and we have agreed to that verdict, and we will agree to none other.

Coroner: So you think that a meeting to overturn the Government was a justification of this homicide.

Foreman: No, Sir, far from it; we are all of us men who have families, and some stake in the country; indeed I think there are none of us but have some little property. We all of us are of one opinion about the impropriety of that meeting, and we are far from liking mob meetings. If the police had acted

with propriety, we would all of us have turned out to assist and protect them at any risk. (Hear, hear, from the rest of the jury).

Coroner: Why, every precaution was taken.

Foreman: Oh, Sir, certainly; they prepared means of dispersing the meeting, and how were these means employed? We blame the Government and the police, because they made no attempt to prevent the meeting. One hundred men upon the ground in the morning, or the expostulations of a magistrate, would, in our opinion, have prevented any meeting.

Coroner: There were proclamations forbidding the meeting, posted all over the town.

A Juror: I am on my oath, Sir, and I say that I saw some of those posted on the Tuesday, the day after the meeting. (Shame and laughter).

Coroner: Instead of inquiring how the man was killed, you are trying the police, and other people for quite different things.

Foreman: It is the conduct of those people which justifies us in giving that verdict. If precaution had been taken properly, there would have been no murder.

Coroner: How do you think you can justify a man for murdering this policeman, who offended no one, and who was giving advice to that woman whom we heard.

Several Jurors: Her evidence was disproved. She is not worthy of credit.

A Juror: I have seen her drinking gin on the leads of this house with a crowd of policemen, with whom she admits she has been since the day of the meeting.

Another Juror: She is still there drinking, though she swore this morning that she was in a hurry to go home, as she had been ordered not to stay long.

Foreman: We can give no other verdict. We are of opinion that this man would not have lost his life had proper measures been taken. No one saw the stab given. We are of opinion that it

was given in the confusion which the violence of the man produced.

Coroner : But you can give a conscientious verdict without libelling any one.

Foreman : It is no libel.—Jury : Certainly not.

Coroner : It certainly appears that there was a good deal of knocking about on one side and the other.

Foreman : It was all on one side.

Coroner : Why the police did not stab.

Foreman : Mr. Coroner, we are all unanimously of opinion that if they had acted with moderation, the deceased would not have been stabbed. The woman who swore otherwise, we do not believe. It is plain she was tutored ; and the little girl who was brought up to tell us that she saw the stab given— young and ignorant as she was—was still artful enough to keep back the important fact that the man who stabbed the policeman was violently assaulted first, as she acknowledged when I pressed her in cross-examination.

The conversation was here suspended for a very long time, the coroner and jury sitting in silence. Some persons left the room, and some one, in a very loud voice, explained to the crowd outside the house the nature of the discussion going on in the inquest-room, together with the terms of the verdict. A cheering the most extraordinary in vehemence and duration of any that we ever heard was immediately raised. It lasted more than a quarter of an hour, during which nothing that was attempted to be said by the coroner and jury was audible in the room. When it ceased,

The Foreman said, in the name of my brother jurors, I have to repeat, that we have considered our verdict, and that it is the only one in which, upon the evidence, we should feel ourselves justified. Let me refer you, Sir, to the testimony of Mr. Goore. You will recollect, Sir, the treatment which he received, and the remarkable expression which he used, that if he had a weapon, he would have felt himself justified in using it, and when he saw how the fellows be-

haved, he said if he could, he would have cut their heads off.

The Coroner was silent ; and there was much murmuring among the jury, and cries of " Dismiss us."

One Juror said : So help me God, I am ready to faint. I have fasted from ten o'clock this morning. I have had nothing but a glass of water. It is a shame to treat us in this way. If you will not have our verdict, dismiss us ; for if you keep me here for a year, I cannot with respect to my oath alter that verdict.

The other jurors universally cried out, " Nor, I, nor I."

Coroner : Reconsider your verdict.

Juror : You have kept us here an hour and a half to no purpose. If you think we are unfit to give a sound verdict, call a more able jury.

Coroner : Then this is your verdict, Sir ?

Jury : Yes, yes ; the verdict of us all.

Coroner : Surely you could give your justifying verdict, and say that you did so for reasons peculiar to the case ; but it is not right to give this verdict, which is slandering people whom you have no right to try.

A Juror : Our reasons we have given. They are in that paper. If we say that it is justifiable homicide, without that rider, it would appear that we approved of any brutal fellow stabbing a policeman in the ordinary execution of his duty, and that we would encourage illegal meetings. We will not consent to any such verdict.—Jurors : We will not.

Coroner : You throw all the blame on the police ; but what will you say of the people who stabbed them. This verdict goes to excite the people against the police. You call them brutal and ferocious, and every epithet to make them odious.

Foreman : It has been proved in evidence that their conduct was such.

Coroner : I think the first part goes a great way, without the rest, when you say that this homicide was justifiable.

A Juror : I see no use in a jury if one man can set aside their verdict,

Coroner : I see great use in juries.

Another Juror : Well, Sir, if you talk to this jury for twelve months, I shall not consent to any other verdict.

All the Jury : Nor I—nor I—nor I.

Coroner : Your verdict only traduces the police and the Government ; you are not borne out by the evidence in justifying the murder of this man. Were the people innocent who used murderous weapons, stilettos, bludgeons, and lances, such as you have seen ?

Foreman : We state in our verdict on what grounds we justify the homicide. We do not traduce the police nor the Government. We trust that our verdict will prevent the negligence and misconduct which have caused the arms and heads of his Majesty's peaceable subjects to be broken.

Coroner : Do you call them peaceable subjects ?

Foreman : It has been proved that they were peaceable. We will say no more, Sir ; record our verdict, or dismiss us. (Loud cries of Hear, hear ! from the jury). We have told you, Sir, we will not alter a letter. In regard to our oaths, and to our duty to our God, our country, and our King, we can give no other verdict. (Vehement cries of Hear, hear ! from the other jurors). Let us not pass any more time in this trifling contention, as we have nearly passed two hours. We have fasted since ten o'clock this morning, and we protest against this treatment. If you will not have our verdict, please yourself, as you have the power. Dismiss us, and procure an abler jury ; and let God and our country decide between us. (Cheers in the room, re-echoed from outside).

After a consultation of some length, carried on in a low tone between the Coroner, his clerk, and Mr. M^cWilliam and the foreman, the Coroner directed the verdict as originally put in, to be entered on the record. The depositions, inquisition, and record were then completed and signed.

[The exact words of the verdict thus recorded are stated above].

The Coroner said, Gentlemen, I consider your verdict disgraceful to you ;

but I thank you for your great attention to the case.

The Foreman, bowing, said, " We thank you, Sir."

Hereupon a number of persons in the room, which was crowded to excess, exclaimed, " Bravo, jurors, you have done " your duty nobly ; the country is indebted to you !" which was followed by the most vociferous cheering in the room, re-echoed with prodigious vehemence by the crowd outside. As the jury withdrew, numbers of persons pressed forward and shook each of them eagerly by the hand. In the streets, as they passed, they were cheered by name, but the police were hooted.

It was some time after eleven o'clock when the proceedings terminated.

The public cannot form any notion of the number of persons wounded, or of the extent of injuries received, from the evidence that has been taken. The termination of the inquiry, without further examination, is a great disappointment to upwards of thirty men and boys, and also many women, who were in attendance from the commencement, to exhibit to the jury broken heads, arms, and other injuries. As several applied urgently to be admitted to give evidence in the course of yesterday morning, it is presumed they mistook, or did not understand, the meaning of the Coroner's proclamation.

GREAT BIRMINGHAM MEETING.

THIS meeting was held on Monday last ; and it appears to have consisted of more than a hundred thousand persons ; and the first thing to observe with regard to it is, that not the smallest disturbance arose, nothing indicating a riot, or riotous disposition ; and that all passed off as quietly as if it had been the meeting of a religious congregation. No police ; no breaking of heads, no sending of inoffensive people home with skulls cracked and arms broken. The object of the meeting was principally to address the King to turn out his Ministers.

Such an address, coming from those very people who had put these Ministers in place, and kept them in place; such an address, coming from such a quarter, would make an impression upon anybody in the world, except a band of pelf-loving Whigs. Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, who was the guide of this great mass of people upon this occasion, has more right to complain of these Ministers than any other man in the kingdom: all along his conduct has been marked by the greatest degree of disinterestedness, and of every good quality of the heart: he has erred only in thinking, and talking too well of these men, who have treated him with ingratitude, quite unexampled, within my experience of the acts of mankind. They have not had the courage to hoot at him and bawl at him themselves; but they have set their curs to bark at him, and to calumniate him in the vilest and most base and cowardly manner. If he were to pursue them in a manner much more bitter than that which he now does pursue them, he would be fully excusable. However, the main thing to be considered is, where all this is to end. Mr. ATTWOOD is the representative of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of England; that is to say, the state of his mind with regard to these Ministers, is a fair specimen of that of the minds of the whole of the people. The whole people think alike; and, if a dissolution of Parliament were to take place at this time, I think it probable that the pledge which two thirds of the members must give, would be, that the member must vote for the turning out of these Ministers. This is a state of things which cannot long exist, accompanied with tranquillity. It cannot last any length of time. We cannot flatter ourselves, that the Ministers will change their course; and then comes the question, "what is to be the end of all this?" Thus, I shall leave the matter for the present.

MANCHESTER MEETING.

A GREAT meeting has been held at MANCHESTER for the purpose of ad-

ressing the King to turn out his Ministers; held in that same town, which was the very first to back the city of LONDON and the town of BIRMINGHAM in those efforts which carried the Ministers back into power, in the month of May last, upon the shoulders of the people. In the borough of LAMBETH, in the TOWER HAMLETS; in every great congregation of men, we see the same spirit stirring. Everywhere, down to the very villages, people are crying out for the ejection of these men from office. This is just what was foreseen and foretold by me. I always said that, if the Reform Bill did not produce a great change in the whole system of governing, and especially by a great reduction of taxes; that, if this were not the case, the Reform Bill would be an evil instead of a good; because the undiminished suffering would be added disappointment; and that that disappointment would produce detestation both of the Ministers and the Parliament, in the breasts of the whole of the people. Such has been the result; the general disappointment, distrust, and detestation exist; and here we are awaiting the awful consequences.

THE JEW BILL.

THIS bill has passed a second reading by a great majority. I was prevented from attending in my place in the House on the occasion by a violent cold and hoarseness. There will be other opportunities of opposing it; and I shall, I hope, then be able to deliver my reasons for opposing it. I was in the House when Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY'S motion was brought forward, and stayed to vote, but so severe was my complaint that I could not possibly make myself heard.

MORE MEETINGS.

THERE have been meetings at NEWCASTLE and SHEFFIELD to condemn the conduct of Ministers, and to complain of the conduct of the House of Commons. A set of resolutions published at

NEWCASTLE discover as much literary talent and political knowledge as can be possessed by any man living. Oh, no! England is not going to sink into slavery under the hoofs of the Whigs, while there are in it men capable of drawing up pieces of writing like this. In all good things the town of NEWCASTLE has always been distinguished; and it is now setting an example to every town in the kingdom. At SHEFFIELD also, great cleverness and great public spirit were displayed, which has drawn forth from the base *Morning Chronicle* a rather dark hint of the necessity of putting down these meetings by force! The people of SHEFFIELD will laugh at the dirty slave, and will leave him to fill his maw in some other manner than out of their earnings. Apparently, before a month is passed over our heads, there will not be a town in the kingdom which will not, in the most formal manner, have bestowed its curses on the greedy and perfidious Whigs, whom this base *Morning Chronicle* has the audacity to praise to the skies. Everywhere "PEEL'S BILL" is coming in for a share of the glory. In the NEWCASTLE resolutions, it is spoken of thus, "When they found that they were even to be denied relief from that, as they would willingly believe, unintentional augmentation of weight of taxes, which was effected by the bill of Peel—a name which is destined to become the very symbol of ignorant and blundering audacity for ever." So that Lord ALTHORP will see, that preventing from being entered on the minutes of the proceedings of Parliament, does not, after all, answer any great purpose.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

(From Cobbett's Magazine.)

(Continued from p. 378, No. 6.)

And contemporary with this are petitions and speeches for "the due observance of the Sabbath;" and in the *Times* newspaper of the 5th of March there is an account of "ten miserable

wretches" being brought before the magistrates at Lambeth for selling oranges during divine service; of these miserable wretches being obliged to give up all their fruit by way of penalty for the trespass, though having families depending on them for support. The scene is reported to have been "most affecting." But let us see what M. MURAT says on the present state of oath-taking in America.

"I will mention some instances of this necessary improvement of the common law; as regards oaths, for instance. Formerly, those only who were of the communion of the holy Catholic church were allowed to make oath; no Heretics, Jews, or Pagans, and, with much stronger reason, no Infidels enjoyed this privilege. In course of time, however, and in proportion as England itself became Protestant, all Christians were admitted to swear upon the Gospels. As commercial relations extended, the Jews were next admitted to swear in their way; and afterwards the privilege was allowed to Turks and Pagans. The Quakers, not being willing to take an oath, their simple affirmation was accepted in law. The English law at present, I think, is, that any man who believes in a future state of rewards and punishments, may make oath, if he pledge his future existence to the truth of what he advances. By this arrangement, unbelievers and pure Deists are prevented from giving legal testimony. In some States of the Union, where much bigotry still remains, as in the New England States, the courts follow these decisions; so that, when a witness is introduced, the adverse party may ask him, 'Do you believe in the existence of God or of the devil?' and if he answer in the negative his testimony is rejected. In the South, however, there has lately been a very important decision, by the court of appeal of the State of South Carolina, which, without deciding whether the oath of any one who does not believe in a future state may be received, says that these

"questions upon belief cannot be put to a witness; because that would be obliging him, perhaps, to accuse himself of something to his shame, namely, forcing him to avow his unbelief. This, then, is the law, at the present moment, in the southern States. But I will tell you what it will be ere long throughout the Union, as soon as the question shall be brought before the federal courts. By the constitution of the United States no belief is necessary, in order to be admitted or elected to any office whatever; but by law any magistrate or officer, before entering upon his functions, must swear to support and defend the constitution and laws of the United States. But now, if the oath were to be rejected under pretext of unbelief, that would be rendering a religious belief necessary, in order to be appointed to an office, which is evidently contrary to the constitution. The question has not yet been brought under consideration, and the courts are not going to contrive difficulties beforehand; but as soon as that takes place, the courts will decide in this manner. Mr. Jefferson, for instance, was wholly an unbeliever; he said, wrote, and printed so, a thousand times, as you may see in his works, long before he was elected president of the United States. If, at his installation, the chief justice of the United States had refused to administer the oath to him, the courts would have been applied to for a writ of *mandamus* against the chief justice, ordering him to proceed to the administration of the oath; the question would then have been debated in full court, and the law would have been fixed. There can be no doubt that, in a generation or two, the oath will have lost all religious character before the United States' courts; and be considered only as a solemn assurance made according to ancient forms, and consecrated by prejudices and forgotten opinions; but if application was now to be made to the legislators to allow oaths to be taken by unbelievers

(which, as you have seen, is in fact the law), what religious disputes would be raised in the bosom of the assembly? A law of this nature would not pass until after many very stormy debates, and happening suddenly, would make a sort of revolution in jurisprudence, while the slow and progressive changes of the common law obtain the same result, without agitation, and without offending anybody."

Observe, here, that it is among the pious holders of slaves, the men of the South, that this last new advancement of American *liberalism* has taken place. We should like to be regarded as the last to war against sincerity, to whatever sect the sincere may belong. Let our readers, however, only look at this debate (supposing it to be correctly reported, which, perhaps, it is not), see the announcement of a fresh sect of non-conformists, attend to what is said by the speakers, and, putting this along with all the rest that is going on both in and out of Parliament, let them calculate for themselves, or ask these legislative debaters, where it is all to end! Even Mr. Hume; and he, in the name of "*religious scruples*" and "*conscience*!" this gentleman puts us in mind of one of the wanton witticisms of the French: *avoir la conscience large comme la manche d'un cordelier*—to have a conscience as large as a parson's barn.

We are disposed to think that the mischiefs which have arisen from the wayward doing of the church, show the necessity of preserving her existence rather than of putting an end to her. Nothing but the departure from her true line of conduct has caused so much dissent and cavilling about matters of religion. The right of imposing taxes has here, as everywhere else, been so immoderately abused, that the people are excusable if, while looking to be relieved from their burdens, they do not trouble themselves much about the safety of the church. Dissent, infidel, fanatical, or honestly scrupulous, stretches up its neck with hundreds of heads altogether, and reasons are admitted to be plausible which go the length of proving that it would be a

relief to the ship if the "establishment" were cast by the board. This is a subject, however, which all men of good intentions, and having any sense, should consider with caution and not reason upon chimerically: it is not the field for *experiments*. Here is *our* view of the matter; and we have given it without any reservation, not the less readily because we perceive that the language of the "candid friends" of the church is evasive. We wish the more to record our own opinion, as we see that that of others is studiously kept unexpressed.

†.

FIELD SEEDS.

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SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 8d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the **LONDON GAZETTE**,

FRIDAY, MAY 17, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BARRATT, P., New Bond-street, jeweller.
BELL, E., Cambridge, grocer and tea-dealer.

DEAN, H., Fore-street, Cripplegate, cheesemonger.
HARTLEY, I., Emley-park, Emley, Yorkshire, fancy cloth-manufacturer.
JONES, J., Tywyn, and Griffith Jones, Llandegwning, Carnarvonshire, cattle-dealers.
LIVERSIDGE, G., Great Dover-street, Southwark, coach-maker.
PARKER, J. T., Cambridge, broker.
PLATT, J. C., Sheffield and Doncaster, printer and stationer.
RANSFORD, T., Bristol and Stapleton, hat-manufacturer.
RIMMER, J., Liverpool, ironmonger.
ROSS, W. H., Oldham, but late of Stockport, druggist.

TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HAWKINS, J., Old Quebec-street, Oxford-street, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

ALMOSNINO, S., Bevis Marks, dealer in feathers.
BISHOP, E. W., Bermondsey-street, victualler.
BOTIBOL, M. H., Soho-square, ostrich-feather-manufacturer.
FOSTER, J., Liverpool, printer.
GIBBINS, J. W., Hereford, perfumer.
HAGGAR, J., late of Brighton-place, Brixton-road, oilman.
HIBBARD, W., Egham, Surrey, saddler.
JOUBERT, J. B. A., Regent-street, upholsterer.
LEE, A., Surrey-street, Strand, music-seller.
MONKHOUSE, J., Bagnigge-wells Tavern, St. Pancras, victualler.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 20.—The arrivals from Essex this morning were limited, but from Kent and Suffolk we had a tolerably good supply, which, added to the quantity left over from last week, caused a good show of samples to be offering. At the opening of the market some of the selected parcels realized Monday's quotations, and the tendency of the trade appeared to be steady; but towards the close, business became very heavy, and the better descriptions of Wheat might have been purchased at 1s. and inferior and stale qualities at 1s. to 2s. decline on the rates of this day se'night. Old Wheat was in very limited request, and for bonded Corn we heard of little inquiry, and no actual sales.

The refreshing and seasonable rain of yesterday has checked the speculative inquiry that existed for Barley. The better descriptions were quite nominal in value, and the only demand existing, was confined to distilling and grinding qualities, which ex-

perienced a slow sale at the rates of this day week, and had consequently rather receded from Friday's improvement.

Malt met with little inquiry, and the trade has relapsed into its former dullness.

Some few fresh arrivals of Oats were received this morning, and although there were several country buyers at market, yet the improvement of 6d. to 1s. which took place on Friday, was barely maintained for good fresh English and Irish Feed; all stale and light qualities were difficult to dispose of at Monday's terms.

Beans dull and a shade cheaper than this day week.

Peas continuing in short supply must be noted steady at Friday's advance of 1s to 2s. per qr.

Flour dull sale at its former currency.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	31s. to 23s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers	36s. to —.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	14s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 34s. to 36s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 38s. to 40s.	
Pork, India, new ... 112s. to 115s.	
— Mess, new ... 60s. to 63s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast ... 60s. to 62s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 60s. to 70s.	
— Cork ... 64s. to 68s.	
— Limerick ... —s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 48s. to 54s.	
— Dublin ... 46s. to 50s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 40s. to 66s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 46s. to 58s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 40s. to 46s.	
— Edam ... 40s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ... 40s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 44s. to 54s.	

SMITHFIELD.—May 20.

This day's supply of each kind of fat stock was exceedingly limited, but trade, owing to considerably advanced prices being stiffly demanded, was throughout very dull; with Mutton and Veal at an advance of from 2d. to 4d.; Lamb, 2d. per stone; with Beef and Pork at Friday's quotations.

About two-fifths of the Beasts were Scots and Norfolk home-breds, in the proportion of about four of the former to one of the latter; about one-fifth short-horns; another fifth about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh Runts; and a few Herefords; chiefly (say about 1,400 of them) from Norfolk; with a few from Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northampton-

shire, and our western and midland districts; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Town's-end Cows, and different kinds of local stall-fed beasts; with about 50 Sussex beasts, a few Staffords, Irish beasts, &c.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep appeared to consist of new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs, and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and polled Norfolks, with a few horned Norfolks and Dorsets, old Lincolns and Leicesters, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 24.

The supplies this week are good. The prices rather lower than on Monday, with a dull market.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	} Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	} 87½	88½	88			88½

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published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



POLITICAL PROSPECTS.

IN the address which I published when I went off to Long Island, after observing upon the violent efforts which the oligarchy was then making to uphold the system, and remarking upon the measures that they then seemed to have in view by patching their affairs up by the means of a new issue of paper money, I concluded thus: "The probability is, that the thing will go on; that the system will be upheld by the keeping on of all the taxes, by the issuing of Exchequer bills as often as occasion may require; and that all the pensions, sinecures, allowances, grants, and all other expenses, including that of a thundering standing army, will be kept up to the last possible moment, till, amidst the war of opinions and of projects, of interests and of passions, the whole thing will go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks." It is impossible to look at these words without being stricken forcibly by their application to the scene of things now before their eyes; and it really does seem to be next to impossible that the result here predicted, should not be finally verified. Many times since that passage was written, I have publicly addressed letters to Lord Grey, always foreseeing, that if he lived till the Pittite crew could get along no further, he must necessarily be at the head of affairs. Foreseeing this, I warned him over and over again, that, if he attempted to carry on the same system, he would be ruined in reputation, and that general convulsion must be

the end. He is carrying on the same system; the taxes are all to be kept up; we are still to pay in gold, debts contracted in depreciated paper; and, in every direction, *force* seems to be intended to supply the place of obedience proceeding from good-will.

During the last elections, the people were everywhere told, and in *Northumberland* most positively told, that a very great change of system was intended. I know a very sensible man in that county, who spoke to a very near relation of Lord Grey in somewhat these words: "I hope that a very great change of system is intended by the Minister; a very great change; a very great lowering of taxes and of establishments; a very great change in the affairs of the Established Church; a total change as to pensions, sinecures, and unmerited pay of every description; as also in the game-laws, and those other new and severe laws which are now so hated and detested by the people: for," said he, "common sense must tell Lord Grey that, if he do not make such changes, he will not only be as unpopular as the worst of his predecessors, but more so, and a great deal more so; because he will have the power to do the good which none of his predecessors have had: he will be relieved from the control of the oligarchy, under which control all his predecessors have been obliged to rule." In answer to these observations, this gentleman received for answer: "You may rely upon it; you may make yourself quite easy upon that score; you may rely upon it, that Lord Grey is determined to make a complete change in the whole system of sway."

Now, while I know that this very near relation did say this, I believe that, at that time, Lord Grey did intend to make the changes here described. This was some time in the month of August or September. But, when he came to look at the matter more closely; when

he came to look into the enormous difficulties which he had to encounter ; and particularly when he came to hear assailing him from all quarters, the clamours of the parties who would have been affected by the changes, he wanted the resolution to proceed. He thought it a matter of less difficulty to get along with the old system, such as it was, than to set in earnest about this extensive change. Nothing would have been more easy, as far as related to the power of making the change ; but, then, there was the ruin which the making of the change would have brought upon so many thousands upon thousands of persons who were living at their ease and in splendour upon the fruits of the industry of the people. To have popularity ; to enjoy the remainder of a life of popularity, was a thing which he must naturally have desired ; but, to see the ring in Hyde Park divested of its brilliancy ; to see " Pall-Mall East " and " Strand West " smashed before they were hardly finished ; to see the glittering gorgets all disappear from the Horse-Guards ; never again to hear the troop beaten from the score of drums and played from the two score of musical instruments under his windows at Downing-street : to contemplate this change appears to have been too much for him, especially as he could not have under his immediate view that side of the picture which would have been more than a balance for this. To behold the change which would have been produced in the house of the tradesman in every town in England but London, and in the resorts of the idlers ; to behold the mended lot and more moderate labour of the artisan and the labourer ; to behold the revived happiness of the hedger and the ploughman ; to see the beer-barrel, the clock, the Sunday coat, the brass-kettle, the good bedding ; to see these return to the dwellings of the agricultural labourers, was a thing too distant and not sufficiently captivating to weigh for a moment against the melancholy state of the ring in Hyde Park and the smashing of the brilliant club-houses. With this alternative of consequences before him, and with not a

soul to approach his ear, with any voice other than that of dismal forebodings of the consequence of change, he appears to have resolved to make no change at all ; to keep on all burdens ; and to rely upon force ; upon a forcible exercise of the law, rather than make any appeal whatsoever to the good-will of the people in order to obtain their cheerful submission. Accordingly, this course has been pursued. It has been pursued without any settled design on his part, or on the part of any body else to abridge the liberties and add to the sufferings of the people. It has been pursued from necessity ; because it was impossible to carry on the system not only without rigour, but without additional rigour ; the expectations of the people ; their expectations of a great change having been so universal and so confident. Hence it is that there never was a Ministry so unpopular as this. Formerly the Ministry always had a certain party with them : however odious their measures, however oppressive, however severe, there was always a portion of the people, and particularly of people of property, to side with them ; to justify their measures, or, at least, to apologize for them. This is not the case now. Those who live upon taxes, naturally approve of this resolution not to make any change ; but even they hold their tongues ; so that, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the Ministry hear nothing but the voice of reprobation of their conduct, and reprobation of the conduct of their supporters. Yet, such is our situation, that there is no man who either expects or seems to wish for any change in the Ministry, who may be said to hold their places because there is nobody to put into them ; and, indeed, nobody that would be willing to take their places ! Several years ago ; as many as five years, I made my readers laugh by saying that, " towards the end," nobody would like to be Minister ; and that I thought it very likely that the affair would go on, until, at last, no one would accept of an office in the Ministry, " unless it were some " one who stood in the need of the necessary of life." Extravagant as this no-

tion was in appearance, is there any man who will now say, that it was totally destitute of foundation? After what we have seen in the case of Hobhouse; after what we now behold in the case of Littleton; after seeing, in short, all that we have seen since the meeting of Parliament, is there any man who has a sufficiency to eat and to drink and to wear, who would be likely to testify an eagerness to get into this Ministry?

There are people who believe that Peel is about to join them; and I believe that he and they both wish it. It is very clear that he has been working with them and they wish him; but, though he has helped them greatly in the way of *voting*; though he found fault with them for going so far in reducing taxes, according to the budget; though he supported them in the Irish bill; against Mr. Attwood's motion, and in rescinding the vote on the malt tax; absolutely to join them openly and share in their power, is quite another matter. The increase of his friendship and the decrease of their popularity have gone on hand in hand. He has seen this, and he now sees the immense amount of their unpopularity; and, having apparently a very strong dislike to real responsibility, he can have no stomach for sharing in that unpopularity. Besides this, he would certainly lose more than half of those who have hitherto gone along with him; and, moreover, he is no more sure of being re-elected for Tamworth, than Hobhouse was sure of being re-elected for Westminster. There are all these objections to an open and official junction between the parties; and to all these may be added, that the junction would, if possible, render the minority more odious than it is now; and if it did not diminish their majorities in the House of Commons, which it probably would not, the result would be, that the House would only share the fate of the Ministry in the opinions of the people.

There never was a state of things like this before: the people all of one mind, and that mind decidedly opposed to those who rule over them. This state of things, however, is so far from being

wholly unexpected, that it was both expected and foretold, unless the Parliament and the Ministry resolved to make a very great change. Unless they resolved upon this, it was clear that the two factions, or political parties which had been at war with each other so long, would join, would cordially unite; and that nothing would be done that the people wanted to have done. Even before the Parliament met, it was pretty evident that the resolution had been taken to make no material change; and that the two parties had agreed to stand by each other; and the moment a question of trial arose, this union became evident to all the world. It was no longer a question of popularity: it had manifestly been determined on to set unpopularity at defiance; and the question now is, how long a Government can be carried on in this country under such universal and decided unpopularity. If the Parliament were legally of short duration, the Ministry could not go on, even now. Still some accident may arise to shorten its duration; and then there must, somehow or another, be an end to this state of things: the present system will, in all probability last out the present Parliament, and will last no longer.

In the meanwhile, there are collateral matters, quite sufficient to shake any Ministry that ever existed. The *Bank charter* may be easily got over for the present; the *East India charter* is a thing that men in general trouble themselves but little about; but the *negro slavery question* is one that would be quite enough to engage the undivided attention of any set of statesmen that ever existed. The opposition of the "*West Indian body*," as they call themselves, might, perhaps, be safely set at defiance, in the midst of thousands upon thousands of petitions in favour of freeing the negroes. I have no doubt of the total inutility of this opposition, which might be, and which I dare say will be, easily voted down; but, it is by no means certain that this voting will ensure submission on the part of the colonial assemblies, the

members of which reside on the spot, have their property on the spot, and will very coolly calculate upon this question, whether the risk of resistance be, or be not, to be preferred to the certain ruin of acquiescence. The scheme which has been propounded seems to please nobody: it takes the property from the planter, while it does not give freedom to the slave: it has an heterogeneous mass of contrivances, which it seems utterly impossible to put into practice. That it endangers the very existence of the whites, must be seen by every body; and that its natural tendency is to stir up general discontent amongst the blacks, is quite as evident. I do not believe that there is one single West Indian who does not believe that it must speedily produce general confusion, and consequent bloodshed.

The colonial assemblies, while they must see this more clearly than any body else, also see that the whites in the colonies must be the immediate and greatest sufferers: and, when they see the law which is now about to be passed, *will they obey it?* I am of opinion, that they will not. If they do, anarchy and all the other consequences, will be likely to follow: if they do not, *what is this Government then to do?* The question is very much like the question of 1776. The Parliament claims a right to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever; and so it did with regard to the American colonies in 1776. The American colonies denied this right, and if the West Indian colonies deny it too, *are we prepared to compel them by force to obey?* Mr. Stanley talked in a very lofty style about the conduct of the colonial assemblies, and about compelling their obedience. He was not aware, perhaps, of the men that he had to deal with; men who have never yet submitted to what they deemed an illegal and unjust interference in their affairs; and men who are not likely so to submit now. I do not say that the United States of America will interfere in this affair; but it is very clear that their tranquillity must be deeply affected by this measure; and it is beyond all question, according to our

own principles, which we acted on in the case of France, their right to interfere if they think their own tranquillity endangered by our measures. The law of nations, as we have laid it down ourselves, and acted upon it, justify a state in interfering in the affairs of its neighbour, if its neighbour be making any changes in its internal affairs, which naturally tend to produce mischief to such interfering state. Hence our justification of the invasion of France by the Duke of Brunswick in 1792. We illustrated our doctrine of interference by saying, "If you see your neighbour setting his house on fire, you have a right to go and restrain him, and to put out the fire by all the means in your power; seeing that he cannot destroy his own house, without eventually destroying yours in all probability."

Those must know very little of the matter, who do not perceive the magnitude of the danger which might arise to the United States, from convulsing our colonies in the West Indies, by even the very sound of freedom, to say nothing of the reality. I do not think that the United States would interfere openly, at least for a good while. Their Government would not like the odium of going to war for the purpose of perpetuating slavery; but, without appearing openly, they could give, under the colour of impartiality and neutrality, quite sufficient aid, to all our islands in the West Indies. They would have as much right to keep up an intercourse with those colonies when in a state of revolt, as we have ever had to keep up an intercourse with the colonies of the Spaniards in South America. That, too, is the very intercourse which the islands want: the islands would be worth ten times as much to the proprietors if they were let loose from the chains in which we hold them. We compel them to submit to restrictions enormous, without their deriving any possible benefit in return. This being the case, would it be any wonder if colonial agents were already in the United States of America, and that, before this bill can pass, arrangements would be

made with that country, preparatory to a resistance of the law; and, if such should be the case, are we prepared to go to war to enforce obedience to that law, which, at the very best, is, if it be carried into effect quietly, to load us with new debts?

I beg my readers, in reflecting on this matter, to divest themselves of all their opinions and all their wishes, however correct and however laudable, relative to the nature of negro slavery. It is not what we *wish*; not what ought to be; but what we *can do* and what *can be*; for, if the thing that ought to be cannot be accomplished; if what we wish for is like wishing to be in the moon; then the wishes are to be laid aside, and we are to take the best that we can get. If, then, the colonial assemblies should think that the risk attending resistance is preferable to the mischief of acquiescence, what are the chances against them and what the chances in their favour. The colonial assemblies do not consist of blind men or of fools: they see very clearly the situation of the mother country; they know who the Ministers are, very well; they know what are the motives that animate them now; they are well acquainted with the Yorkshire pledges; and, which is more than all the rest, they know *what means we have of compelling their obedience*. They know, besides, what means the United States have of giving them succour; they know that the United States have no debt, worth mentioning; they know *what force the United States have*; they know how powerful the motive which the United States have to prevent this revolution in the West Indies from taking place. They are at six weeks' sail from England; and at six days' sail from the United States, and in one point, at only forty-eight hours' sail. Now, though the United States may not openly avow any determination to assist the colonies, they can assist them in so many ways and so efficiently, as to make war against the colonies on our part a most adventurous and desperate undertaking.

Besides these considerations, it is very

well known, that the far greater part of the estates in the colonies are very deeply mortgaged to persons in England, and particularly in Scotland, in which latter country, I believe that a great part of the *banks rest chiefly on West India security*! Now, if the colonial assemblies were to refuse to obey, what would become of these mortgages? If they persevered in refusal to obey, and if we were to attempt to compel obedience, this would be war; and the very first cannon that would be fired in that war would blot out the mortgages for ever, just in the same way and upon the same principle, that our war against the United States, blotted out mortgages and debts due to creditors then living in this kingdom. So that this is by no means a holiday affair: it is not a house and window tax or a malt-tax affair: it is not a power-of-imprisonment bill, or a suspension of habeas corpus bill: it is an attempt to compel obedience from those who have the power to resist, and who may possibly have the disposition to resist. The bill now brought before Parliament is, in fact, a bill for making a complete revolution in the West India colonies; and, at the same time that it does this, it loads England with new debts, and does not, in fact, give freedom to the negroes. This, therefore, is an additional difficulty which these most unpopular Ministers have to encounter, and which they have brought upon themselves as clearly as death was ever brought upon a man by his firing off a pistol into his mouth. It will be impossible to carry on a war against these colonies, even for half a year, without new loans to an immense amount. It would be impossible to talk of such war, without plunging the West Indies into confusion, or without incurring an eventual loss of the colonies. It may be a question with some persons whether we ought to have any colonies at all. Certain it is, the more we have got the more miserable and enslaved we have become; but, if any colonies be desirable, these are of that description. They cost nothing and they yield a good deal, and they have been useful

in the maintenance of our maritime dominion. But, this is not a question with the Ministers and the Parliament. They have no thought of getting rid of the colonies: they wish to keep these colonies by all means: they set forth the immense value and importance of them; therefore, if they should lose them, which is far from being impossible, to the nation they will be answerable for the loss. The bill appears to contain as unwise a scheme as it was possible for human perverseness and stupidity to invent: it is approved of by no body that knows anything of the matter. It offends one party as injurious to it; it is condemned by the other party as doing nothing effectual; and it is fairly liable to the hostility of both, while, in a national point of view, it seems very little short of tossing the colonies into the air, and crying "heads or tails!" In England or Ireland it is viewed by sensible men not immediately interested in the colonies, with a sort of curious indifference; but in Scotland, it is viewed with alarm and dread, as every measure must necessarily be which places the fortunes of a large part of the community on the cast of a die. The Pennsylvanians, consisting of a million of whites, took more than forty years in the freeing of about thirty thousand blacks. The State of New York, with a smaller proportion of blacks, took about the same time in the freeing of them. The Virginians, who have about as many blacks as whites, have never dared to hint at the word freedom. But our heroes, who have got ten or fifteen blacks, perhaps, to one white, dash into the project at once, and talk as glibly about giving to the slaves all the municipal rights of freemen, as if they possessed the absolute power of transformation. The free blacks in Pennsylvania and all the States to the north of it, are called "*citizens of the United States*;" but never yet was a blackman seen sitting upon a jury or filling the office of a constable; and never was one seen sitting at the same table in a farm-house, or upon the same bench in a drinking shop, that a white man was sitting on. The question is

not, whether this is right or wrong: that is not at all the question; but the question is, whether these facts being undoubted with regard to the equality-loving Americans, those men be not insane who expect, by an act of Parliament, passed in London, to sweep away, at once, all the prejudices, to change all the manners, and to huddle black men and white men promiscuously into a jury-box in the Island of Jamaica! "*Can the Ethiopian change his skin?*" we are emphatically asked in the Scripture. Yet it is nothing to these heroes of Downing-street, to enact that, that shall be which is just as difficult as it is to change the colour of the negro's skin. Foolish they have been in every thing; but here their folly appears to be pre-eminent. In Peel's bill, in various other things, this nation has smarted for their folly; but in this measure, which injures one party, without giving freedom to the other, we shall have an ever-memorable instance of the truth of the maxim, that it is better for a city to perish than to be under the sway of ignorant men.

Thus, it appears to me, we shall stagger along, until some event, wholly unexpected, shall arise and put in motion those elements of change which are everywhere in existence. It is not what the Ministers may intend or what the Parliament may intend: allowing them all to mean well, our prospects are not the less gloomy for that. The circumstances demand a very great change; and they cannot bring themselves to bend to those circumstances. The wise way is, for us to wait for the power of events to be exerted, and, in the meanwhile, each of us to do every thing in his power to cause the change, when it comes, to be attended with effects as little mischievous as possible. In conclusion, I would remind my constituents in particular, that I never gave them any great reason to hope for any great advantage to arise out of the Reform Bill; but, told them that it was desirable to have it, in order that we might have a chance of obtaining present good, and of ensuring in the end great and lasting benefit. Some good we have obtained;

namely, a thorough knowledge of what we have a right to expect; and a lesson never to be forgotten by the electors of this kingdom, who, if they do not profit from that lesson, deserve to be slaves to the last hour of their lives.

STAFFORDSHIRE ELECTION.

THIS election begins, I believe, next Tuesday; and if the electors there do not do their duty, the next time I go to the north, I will contrive to miss Staffordshire, for I shall detest, not only the men, but the soil that they inhabit.

TO THE ELECTORS

OF

SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE.

MEN OF STAFFORDSHIRE,

You have it now in your power to secure the enrolling of your names amongst those of the famous Englishmen who, at various times, have snatched our country from the abyss of ruin, misery, and all-debasing slavery.

You need not be told how you have been treated by this Ministry; you need not be told what they have done and what they are now about to do; and, now you behold Mr. LITTLETON, one of your representatives, become one of this very Ministry, and filling a place, too, in which his business is to be, to enforce the *Irish Coercion Bill*, which establishes courts, consisting of *military officers*, to try men in common life, instead of leaving them to be tried by judges and juries; a place, in which it will be his business to compel the Irish farmers and tradesmen to pay *tithes and church-rates*, and this, too, by those means, of which you have so often read, and which I need not attempt to describe to you. And will you, the men of Staffordshire, proclaim to the world that you approve of the deeds of this Ministry, and especially of those measures towards Ireland? Yet this is what you will proclaim to the whole world, if you re-elect this man, who is now become a part of this same Ministry, and who is to be one of the prime in-

struments in carrying their measures into effect.

If you were thus to give your sanction to the forcible means of collecting tithes and church-rates in Ireland, what right would you have to expect to be relieved from those cruel burdens in England? This Ministry do not mean to abolish tithes in England, even in the smallest degree: they mean merely to make the collecting of them more easy to the parson; and, if this scheme be adopted, the *Clergy will get more than they get now*, and they will have more power over the people's property than they have now. Do you wish for this? Do you wish to be, in this respect, worse off than you now are? "NO," you will say; but "YES" will your deeds say, if you re-elect this man.

MEN OF STAFFORDSHIRE, has the REFORM BILL produced the changes that you expected it to produce? Has it brought together a Parliament that has taken off your burdens? Has this Parliament adopted any measures to make you better off? Has it relieved you from the assessed taxes; has it taken off any portion of that cruel burden, the malt tax; has it made the land-owners liable to the legacy and probate duties in like manner as farmers and tradesmen are liable to those most cruel imposts? "NO." You have been disappointed, then; and will you, then, re-choose a man who is one of those who have caused this grievous disappointment; and who is, moreover, now one of that very Ministry, who seem resolved to carry on, in all its parts, that very system, to rid you of which, you relied on a reformed Parliament? If you were to do this shameful thing, how could you ever again look your neighbours, or even your own children, in the face! But, you will not do it: you will drive this man from your presence, and will merit the gratitude of your country.

Besides, in opposition to this man, you have the true and faithful and unflinching Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY, whom you all know well, whom all England knows well, to whose fidelity and courage not a man of us would be

afraid to confide his life, and who is an honour to the county to which he and his ancestors have belonged for so many generations. Can you balance for one moment between these two men? When such a man as Sir CHARLES WOLSLEY is ready to obey your call, can you send back to us such a man as Littleton? and, if you were to do this, could you expect any man in the Parliament to continue to labour for you? What! you see a few, a very few, men, who, for the good of the people, are enduring toil unparalleled, and braving overwhelming and never-ending opposition; you see these few men thus struggling for your rights and your relief; you see one of those who has been constantly assisting to overwhelm them; you see this man returned back to you, and *you send him back, again to work in the overwhelming of the few men who are labouring for you!* Will you do this shameful, this hateful thing? I trust you will not. For you to act thus, would be to bid even the most zealous men despair of being able to do any good for the people. Speaking for myself, I will say, that, for you now to send Littleton back to assist in drowning our half-dozen voices, would do more than has ever yet been done to make me regardless of the sufferings of my countrymen.

In full confidence that you will not act this shameful and dastardly part; that you will be mindful of the sacred duty that you have now to perform; that you will see that the eyes of all England are fixed upon you; that you will call to mind the noble spirit of Staffordshire in former times; and that, recollecting the virtuous conduct of your fathers, you will now so act as to show that the blood that once stirred in their veins has descended into yours.

I remain your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

PARTIAL TAXATION.

I TAKE the following from the *Examiner*. This matter has attracted the eyes of the people *at last*. I started

the game long ago, and had all the sport to myself for a good while; but, now, all have joined in the chase. SPRING RICE (who does not seem disposed to go back to Cambridge), would do better to *answer* this, than to boast of the "*high honour and generous conduct*" of those who have imposed these taxes: and PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL would be as well employed in the same work, as in that of calling on "THE GENTLEMEN OF ENGLAND to unite to resist the Member for Oldham"! It is these taxes, thus partially imposed, that give me *that power*, which an inborn quality in Peel's-Bill-Peel makes him so much over-rate. *Repeal* these taxes, or make them *impartial*, and my power, whatever it may be, *is gone!* This is what the "*gentlemen of England*" ought to "*unite*" in: their uniting in *coughing and groaning and howling and braying* against me, is of no more use than would be such efforts if made use of, to still the winds or the waves. Nay, this is just so much done to weaken their own power, and to add force and effect to mine. *Do justice to the people*. That is the way to "*expunge*" my "*speculations on confusion*"; and there is no other way. Before the reader enters on the examination of the following tables, let him call to mind, that, belong to which faction the wrong may, they have it *between them*; for, that the RADICALS have never had any hand in it, from first to last. It is *their own work*, and let them *enjoy the fruits of it*.

UNEQUAL PRESSURE OF THE PRESENT DUTIES OF CONSUMPTION ON THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

Much has of late been said, and with reason, respecting the unequal operation of the *assessed taxes*, and especially of the *stamp duties*. The following short table will clearly show that the operation of the duties of *Customs* and *Excise*, which yield near 40,000,000 of the public income, or four-fifths of our whole taxation, and more than three times as much as the stamp and assessed taxes put together, are at least as

unequal and oppressive. The extent to which the higher classes are favoured is at once striking and offensive. Although there be no ground for supposing that this favouritism was premeditated and deliberate, there can be little doubt but that had the operation of the duties been the reverse of what they are, or pressed upon the higher classes, or those who made the laws, instead of the lower, or those who have only to obey them, that legislation would long ago have provided a remedy for the evil. The obvious effect of the duties, as they are at present assessed, is to confer upon the higher classes a kind of monopoly of the enjoyment of some necessities and luxuries of life—to impose a heavy discriminating duty upon the consumption of the lower classes, and thus to discourage consumption and hinder the augmentation of the public revenue. The table is constructed simply by taking the wholesale price of the lower, the middle, and the higher quality of each article, and calculating the specific duty on the value of each. It commences with absolute necessities, and proceeds to what are commonly called luxuries in their different gradations.

ARTICLE.	Ad valorem duty per cent. on the consumption of		
	Lower Classes	Middle Classes	Higher Classes
Timber, Canada	30	15	10
Soap, common, yellow, & scented	130	100	50
Paper	200	100	25
Glass, flat	100	80	25
Sugar, British plantation & refined	105	66	30
Cocoa, Trinidad and St. Lucia	72	53	34
Coffee, Jamaica	106	60	52
Tea	300	300	300
Ginger, East and West India	31	16	7
Pepper, black and white	343	310	160
Cassia and Cinnamon	93	80	5
Cloves	240	133	92
Nutmegs	85	80	62
Rhubarb	600	100	62
Tobacco and Segars	1400	600	150
Brandy	870	650	592
Geneva	1227	1000	750
Rum	577	400	257
French wines	250	150	28
Spanish and other wines	230	130	35

There is a word to say respecting what are ridiculously called discriminating and protecting duties. These are neither more nor less than iniquitous taxes imposed on the people of this country in order to put money into the pockets of some one bloated and over-

grown interest or another, land-holders, slave-holders, or ship-owners. The following are samples of the operation of these estimated upon the value of each article :

ARTICLE.	DESCRIPTION.	Ad valorem duty per cent. on the consumption of		
		Lower Classes	Middle Classes	Higher Classes
Timber,	Canadian	30	15	10
	Baltic	177	138	120
Sugar,	British slave produce	105	66	30
	British East Indian	133	106	43
	Foreign produce of (free or slave labour)	300	250	200
Cocoa,	British Plantation	72	53	34
	Foreign	224	205	167
Cinnamon	Ceylon	6	54	5
Cassia,	Foreign	93	87	80
Pepper,	East India	343	300	160
Pimento,	British Plantation	190	110	100
Rum,	British Plantation	527	400	257
	Foreign	1125	870	612
	British East India	867	800	750
Geneva,	.....	1227	1000	750
Spirits,	English, or Gin	311	311	311
Hops,	British	30	20	15
	Foreign	280	200	140

We might add to this a long list of foreign articles taxed not for revenue, but to confer a monopoly upon the corresponding productions of the English soil; to raise rents, or in other words, to take money out of the pockets of the people for the purpose of putting money into the pockets of the landed aristocracy. The best mode of stating the effects of these, however, will be to give in round numbers, and on the average of a few years, the actual duties on a few of the principal of them. Thus :

Butter	£150,000
Cheese	84,000
Eggs	22,000
Oranges	53,000
Currants and Raisins	420,000
Apples, nuts, &c.	40,000
Hides	40,000
Bristles	27,000
Oak-bark	30,000
Corn	630,000
Timber	1,400,000

We have here taxes amounting to near 3,000,000*l.* sterling, for the protection of the agricultural interests, but this is very far from being all. The duties on such articles as perry, cider, and bacon, are prohibitory. That on such a necessary of life, for example, as

bacon, is 28s. per cwt., which is equal to an *ad valorem* duty of from 60 to 70 per cent. In all this we make no reference to the effects of the corn laws, which by good judges are estimated to enhance the price of bread in this country by a sum equal to 18,000,000*l.* a year, and to amount to a tax on the non-agricultural classes of society of 12,000,000*l.*

MR. COBBETT'S RESOLUTIONS TO REMOVE SIR R. PEEL FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

(*From the Glasgow Evening Post, May 25*).

ON Thursday Mr. COBBETT brought forward his promised motion for an address to the King to erase the name of Sir R. PEEL from the list of Privy Councillors, on the ground of his want of knowledge, and of having proceeded, in spite of forewarnings, in the currency measures of 1819, 1822, and 1826. The motion was negatived by 298 votes to 4. We scarcely think that Mr. COBBETT, on this occasion, could be serious. The return to cash payments, after peace, was a measure which was never lost sight of during the war; and long before PEEL's bill, a great part of the depreciation was undone. Even during war, the Whigs, headed by their most celebrated political economists, resolved, in the bullion committee, that cash payments should be resumed in two years; and the Tories could devise no better way of prolonging and increasing the depreciation than by making their obsequious followers vote that no depreciation existed, for that a bank note worth 21 debased shillings was of the same value as a guinea, the metal in which was worth 28 of the same shillings. Holding, therefore, that there was no depreciation, the Tories could not anticipate any of the ruinous results which flowed from the Whig view. Sir ROBERT PEEL was no leader at the time; and his bill of 1819 merely completed the series of measures which the Bank and Government had systematically pursued from the end of the war.

Entertaining this opinion of Mr. COBBETT's motion, we yet doubt whether Lord ALTHORP, in following a hint from MANNERS SUTTON, acted wisely in expunging the resolutions from the votes of the House of Commons. It is a falsification of the record. The history of the proceedings is no longer entire, and, with this for a precedent, a majority may, at any time, expunge whatever they dislike. The honest way would have been to state the truth in a short pointed resolution, and magnanimously have relied upon the defence.

Another remarkable feature of the debate was the unparalleled clamour with which Mr. COBBETT's voice was drowned, when he rose to reply to the heavy imputations cast upon him by Sir R. PEEL. The yells, groans and hootings which prevailed in the honourable House, appear to have been louder than any that ever took place at an election. This mode of suppressing discussion looks odd in an assembly which calls itself deliberative.

MEETING OF THE MERCHANTS, SHIP-OWNERS, AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.

(*From the Times*).

YESTERDAY a most numerous and highly respectable meeting, convened by public announcement, of the merchants, planters, shipowners, and other individuals "interested in the preservation of the West India colonies," was held at the City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street.

At the hour appointed for taking the chair (1 o'clock), not less than 1,500 gentlemen occupied the great room, and shortly afterwards the Earl of Harewood, accompanied by the Marquis of Sligo, Earl St. Vincent, Lord Viscount Combermere, the Earl of Selkirk, Lord Saltoun, and other distinguished personages, appeared upon the platform. Besides those who subsequently took a part in the business of the day we noticed present Lord Reay, Lord W. Poulett, Sir G. Rose, Sir W.

Cooper, Sir E. Cust, Sir J. R. Reid, M.P., Mr. P. M. Stewart, M. P., Mr. Marryat, M. P., Mr. Ewing, M. P., Mr. Godson, M. P., Sir R. R. Vyvyan, M. P., Admiral Douglas, Colonel Baillie, Mr. Alderman Copeland, M. P., Hon. Mr. Lascelles, Hon. W. Fraser, Mr. Gladstone, M. P., Mr. J. H. Palmer, Mr. Burge, and a large body of the most influential persons connected with the colonies.

On the motion of Sir A. Grant, seconded by J. Fuller, Esq.,

The Earl of HAREWOOD was called to the chair.

The noble Earl proceeded to open the business of the day. His Lordship said, that in appearing again before the meeting as chairman, he thought it due to himself as well as the West India body in the present state of affairs, to say that he appeared there as a West India proprietor, but with no desire of impeding the progress of emancipation, provided it was accompanied with that justice which a British subject had a right to expect. It was superfluous for him to attempt to offer any information to an assembly constituted like the present of all the influential commercial men of London, who were so much better qualified to afford information to himself, but he must remark it was a most painful thing, notwithstanding the number and respectability of the present meeting, to see so many persons assembled, not for the purpose of considering the state of their affairs, but to endeavour to prevent, if possible, a gross injustice being practised upon them, or, in point of fact, to endeavour to save their property from spoliation and confiscation. (Cheers). He was aware that a meeting like the present was the last place in which to introduce any political questions, but it was impossible now to avoid coupling the condition of the West India colonies with the conduct of the Government with respect to them. The proposed plan of emancipation, as it had been laid before one branch of the legislature by his Majesty's Government, would not only deprive the West India proprietors of their property, but would saddle them for a future time with estates and prop-

erty of which it was now competent for them, under the existing laws, to get rid of, if they should so think fit, or, in other words, if an estate should prove unproductive, to dispose of their property in the negro population (a property which had been already completely acknowledged), and to abandon the estate. But the plan proposed to Parliament for its adoption would saddle the proprietor of perhaps an unproductive estate with expense of labour upon it for twelve years, when that labour could not possibly be employed with advantage. (Cheers). It had been suggested that no man had a right of property over the person of another man, but he must remind the meeting that such a right had not only been recognised in courts of law, but the present proprietors had been compelled by law to become the possessors of slave property, with an equally perfect right to dispose of it. (Hear). Of that right, however, the Government proposition went to deprive them. It was quite true that a great clamour had been raised through the country for slave emancipation, but he must observe that the numerous petitions sent up to both Houses of Parliament did not emanate from those parts of the country from which they purported to come, but were sent down to the various districts for signatures from the metropolis by a well-organized agency in the cause. The people, therefore, were not fairly dealt with by a body of men no doubt conscientious in their feelings with regard to slavery, but whose consciences did not allow them to proceed in a manner separate from an abuse of the understandings of the people at large. The people had been misled, and it was now sought, by a stroke of the pen, not merely to abolish the system with all risks to the proprietors, but also at the risk of losing the benefits and advantages of the colonies, which had ever been considered as the right arm of this country. (Loud cheers). The people ought, however, to reflect upon the effects to arise from the example of this spoliation and confiscation of property, and to bear in mind

the liability of all other property to a similar attack. In the present case the spoliation was proposed to satisfy what no doubt was a conscientious cry for the abolition of slavery, but a similar attempt might be made with regard to any other property at the will of a minister. (Loud applause). He said at the will of a minister, without any wish to speak invidiously, but because the proposition was in redemption of indiscreet pledges formerly given. (Hear). He knew not what might be the vote of the House of Commons (of which he would speak with every respect) upon the Government plan of emancipation; but this he must say, that body was not free from pledges on the subject, which was made a great point at the last election. (Cheers). Such was the state and agitation in the colonies on the question, that when Ministers had propounded a measure of emancipation, it would be presumed to be the act of the King through his Ministers, and therefore, if passed by the House of Commons, what could the other branch of the legislature do to prevent its improvident career? The proposition was itself a most unfair and unjust proceeding. It had been promised that nothing should be done without a confidential communication between the Colonial-office and the West India body, through their appointed deputies; that communication had taken place with Lord Howick and Lord Goderich, by the latter of whom a plan was proposed, but he shortly afterwards left office, and his plan became null; a successor was appointed, and without any communication with the important body so materially interested, the plan in question had been brought forward, inserted in the newspapers, and then transmitted to the West Indies, where it would probably do much harm; and he would venture to state that the Government was not prepared to stand by the plan propounded; they might stand by it, but he felt convinced *that they were not in a situation to do so.* (Hear, hear). The question had not been sufficiently digested for the Government to take upon themselves the forcing forward of their proposed

measure, without incurring the risk of the loss of the property in the West Indies. The proposition to afford compensation by way of loan was altogether inadequate for the purposes for which it was designed. *Even now the proprietors could not make their estates pay, and how could they, in their consciences, for such he believed they possessed, though it was denied by some, accept a loan which they were not in a situation to repay?* Were such parties to saddle an estate, from which nothing in the shape of profit could be realized, with the payment of 1,000*l.* or 2,000*l.* interest upon the loan? (Cheers). But even this compensation was suggested as a gift to the proprietors—what security or guarantee was there? Only the guarantee of the faith of the Parliament—that Parliament which was about to break its faith with the colonists by the confiscation and spoliation of their property. (Applause). With regard to the compensation being regulated by the average, the proposition was monstrous. The subject, however, had been brought forward, and he thought protraction would be unadvisable; but, on the contrary, that it should be brought to a speedy issue. He lamented that more information had not been sought by the Government from practical men; but the Ministry had seemed to lean from the West India body, as if they entertained an impression that they would not give a fair opinion; who, however, he would ask, so competent to give that opinion, or to afford that information, as the parties most interested in the measure? The question was one not only interesting to the West India proprietary, but to the country at large. He hoped that their assistance would be profited by, and he trusted the meeting would always keep in view, *so long as funded property was secure and protection afforded by law*, the resistance of this proposition of spoliation. (Loud and general cheers).

LORD COMBERNERE said that after what had fallen from the noble Chairman, it was unnecessary for him to enter into any detail as to the object of the present meeting. He would pre-

face the first resolution with a very few words. He spoke as a soldier of some experience, having been Governor of Barbadoes for three years, and having had the opportunity of visiting all the colonies of the West India islands. He thought that if the proposed measure were allowed to pass, giving the Government credit (which he did), for all the humanity any one present might be supposed to be possessed of, they would inflict great evils on the slaves, and ruin upon thousands both in the colonies and in this country. In his conscience and on his honour the measure was calculated to inflict a serious injury both upon the slaves and their families. The effect of the proposition to this country he should leave it to more competent persons to detail, and would content himself with humbly moving the adoption of the first resolution.

Admiral Sir BYAN MARTIN seconded the resolution. The gallant officer said it might be right that he should state that he was not a West India proprietor. He had not a farthing of property in the colonies, and was entirely unconnected with any person trading there, but he had accepted the invitation to second the resolution proposed by the noble lord, under the feeling that it was the bouden duty of every man to come forward and lend a helping hand to the cause of the colonists at a time when he saw them in a most perilous situation. (Hear). He was, however, interested in the colonies because they had contributed so much to lighten the burdens of the state, and because the revenue they contributed, if once lost, could never be regained; he was also interested in the colonies because they so much contributed to the manufactures, and he was sure that many who now signed the petitions for the abolition of slavery under false and delusive impressions, would, if the proposed measure were passed, be the first to acknowledge that the colonies were their best customers. He felt also interested as a naval officer, thinking with the immortal Nelson, that the moment this country lost her colonies she would have to deplore the loss of her navy. (Loud

cheers). He had served in two different districts in the colonies, and was able to declare that the iniquitous and false statements put forth by the Anti-slavery Society were most cruel and unjust towards those against whom the assertions were directed. (Applause). The plan proposed by Government was most inapplicable to every point which it professed to relieve, and he would beg the meeting to remember that it went directly to violate the rights of property, which, if attacked in one instance, would not be secure in another. (Cheers). He must also state that the mercantile naval service, so much aided by the colonies, was the parent of the British navy. From it the service to which he belonged drew the most efficient aid, and for the evil consequences of the proposed measures of injustice to the colonies he would not answer. The measure was contrary to every human principle; no bill ever passed the legislature by which the private property of any subject of the realm was affected, if even for the cutting of a canal or the making of a railway; the jealousy of Parliament was not arrayed against any infringement of the rights of property; and the same authority had no more right to deprive the West Indian of his property in the colonies than to deprive a man of his estates in this country. He was convinced that if the delusion spread abroad by false representations could give way to truth, the voice of the nation would support the Government in a more equitable adjustment of this great, difficult, and important question. (Hear). The object of the West India body had ever been full and fair investigation, but they had been met by secret enemies, whispering forth falsehood over the country, which had led at the elections to pledges alike disgraceful to the constituents who asked and the candidates who gave them. (Cheers). He hoped, notwithstanding the pledges given under delusion, that truth would prevail, and that the Legislature would not consent to an act of the grossest injustice, and the most wanton spoliation. (Loud cheers).

Mr. G. F. Young, M.P., hoped that

the position he held as representative of an important seaport, and as chairman of one of the largest associations of shipowners in the kingdom, would be a sufficient apology for his offering a few observations to the meeting in support of the resolution which had been proposed and seconded. He was the more emboldened to do so, lest he might incur a charge of dereliction of duty, standing in the situation he did, if he omitted to do so. The resolution which had been submitted to the meeting stated that the shipping employed in the colonial trade amounted to 240,000 tons; but he believed the latest return which had been presented to Parliament showed that it amounted to between 260,000 and 270,000 tons. The result of experience of the effects of the changes in the navigation system of this country was such that he thought no man would augur very favourably as to the transportation of the shipping trade to other channels; but, notwithstanding this, a feeling prevailed to which he wished to draw the attention of the meeting: he alluded to the opinion that inasmuch as the supply of sugar gave employment to this amount of tonnage, by the opening more distant ports of the world no injury would be sustained. The result of the maritime changes in this country on the system of reciprocity had been the displacement of a large quantity of British tonnage, and in particular he would mention facts as regarded American tonnage with reference to cotton imports. During the last year the imports of cotton had been in the proportion of three-fourths in American bottoms, and only one-fourth in the tonnage of this country; and the value in dollars of the exports from this country had been nine-tenths in American ships, and but one-tenth in British bottoms. From this result he anticipated that if, with fatal impolicy, reliance should rest upon British shipping taken from the West India trade being employed in importations from other ports, that, sooner or later, those importations would be made in foreign bottoms, by which navigation could be performed at a much

cheaper rate than at present could be done by British ships. The effects of the proposed measure would be most disastrous to British shipping, and having said thus much, he would refrain from going into the details upon the subject which had assembled the present meeting. (Hear). With respect to that subject, he however must observe, that he had based himself on the principles of the resolutions of the House of Commons passed in the year 1823. On those principles he was anxious to see the emancipation of the slaves carried into effect. The period, too, had arrived when it could no longer be delayed, but he also thought that fair and equitable compensation ought to accompany that great act of national restitution. (Hear). If the British Ministry would but have dared to be honest on this question, a line of demarcation would have been drawn between the unconditional emancipators and the great bulk of the country, which would have consented to bear a portion of the means of compensation. (Cheers).

The resolution was then put from the chair, and carried unanimously amidst loud applause.

LORD COLVILLE then rose to propose the second resolution. The noble Lord said that though, like his gallant Friend and brother officer who had preceded him, he had no personal interest in the West India Colonies, yet he was neither uninterested in, nor ignorant of, their state and condition. He had been professionally engaged amongst them, and was old enough to remember when the slave-trade was carried on in British ships, and had rejoiced in its abolition, which he had hoped had been general. (Hear). It appeared to him if more prudence was not now manifested with regard to the emancipation of the negroes than had been shown on the subject of the slave trade, the same consequences arising from the too sudden abolition of the latter would ensue in the other respect. He said too sudden, because it was abolished in British ships before this country was assured that foreign nations would do the same.

(Cheers). The greatest danger must ever ensue if a government went with too much precipitancy to the adjudication and settlement of a great question. The consequences of the measure which had assembled the present meeting would be most ruinous to all classes: none, indeed, would escape. He concurred in the sentiment, that an inconceivable injury would be inflicted upon the British navy by the destruction of the colonies. He trusted when his Majesty's Government were made aware of the sentiments of the highly respectable and influential body by which he was surrounded, consisting of the most liberal and enlightened class in the world—he meant the British merchants, he trusted it would not be too late for them to retrace their steps. (Cheers). He, however, feared, as the Government had not applied for information, even if they received it from that body they would not act upon it or take it as fact. Their minds appeared made up, and, therefore, it would be with them as described in *Hudibras*—

"A man, convinced against his will,
"Is of the same opinion still."

He could not avoid expressing his regret at the disinclination on the part of the Government to take information from the parties interested in the result and acquainted with the real state of facts. The noble Lord at some length detailed the circumstances under which, at the instance of the West India body, he had been induced to postpone his motion for the re-appointment of the select committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the slave question, and which postponement he stated to have been consented to by the West India proprietors at the solicitation of the Government, and, after some other general remarks, concluded by moving the second resolution.

Admiral Sir R. STOFFORD seconded the resolution. He was at a loss to conceive upon what grounds the colonies, for the possession of which such strenuous efforts had been made by the foes of this country, were considered less important than when those efforts were

successfully resisted by the British flag. The colonies had ever formed a great feature in all the political warfare of the land, and he was not aware that any circumstances had occurred which made it less necessary or politic to maintain the colonies in that degree of perfection in which they were maintained during the American war. He had served under Lord Nelson in 1805, and could well remember the importance he attached to the maintenance of the colonies. A strange infatuation seemed to pervade this country now, which arose from a spurious species of philanthropy—

"——— Under whose baneful sway
"Our patriot passion sinks and dies away."
(Cheers).

Mr. FITZGERALD, M. P., supported the resolution. He deprecated the proposed measure as most unjust, and called upon the *fundholder* to make common cause with the West India proprietor against the innovation upon property. *The fundholder knew not how soon his own turn might come.* (Hear). The country would do well to bear in mind that the destruction of their own colonies would tend to the increase of slavery elsewhere, because by this measure the productiveness of the West India colonies would be annihilated, and consequently the demand for home consumption would necessarily be supplied by foreign nations. He could not but deprecate the manner in which petitions were got up and sent to both Houses of Parliament, praying for unconditional emancipation. These did not speak the sentiments of the people, but were manufactured hundreds upon hundreds in the city of London. He was convinced that the majority of the nation wished for emancipation upon fair and equitable principles. He was himself an advocate for emancipation upon the principles laid down by Mr. Canning in 1823, and on those principles had been returned to Parliament without opposition by a large and independent constituency. He could not conclude without suggesting the propriety of an opinion being expressed by the West India body upon the

amendments intended to be moved by the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Buckingham), and the hon. Member for Kidderminster (Mr. Godson), on the resolution proposed by his Majesty's Ministers. It was, in his judgment, desirable that the sentiments of the body should be known on this subject. (Cheers).

The resolution, having been put to the meeting by the noble Chairman, passed unanimously.

MR. JEREMIAH HARMAN moved the third resolution. He was an advocate, under certain conditions, for the abolition of slavery, and, though he abhorred the very name of slave, yet he had a still greater abhorrence of doing an act of injustice under the name of humanity. Such was the measure now under the consideration of Parliament, but he was yet willing to hope that, after the demonstration of feeling which had that day been made, his Majesty's Government, if they had sufficient independence left, would pause before they involved themselves in this disgraceful spoliation. (Cheers).

SIR CHARLES PRICE, Bart., briefly seconded the resolution. He felt most sincerely that the measure which had been propounded by his Majesty's Government, if unfortunately adopted by the legislature, would produce effects upon every class of the community such as no man could contemplate without horror. It was the paramount duty of Parliament to protect the colonies, and he questioned the right of the legislature to take away the property of any class of the community without due compensation to those called upon to make the sacrifice. It had been said that the state of the country was such as not to admit of compensation, but he apprehended that means might be devised to meet the justice of the case and at the same time mercifully to emancipate the slave population. (Hear, hear).

The resolution then passed unanimously.

SIR M. S. STEWART, Bart., M P., proposed the fourth resolution. As representative for the county of Renfrew, in

which was situate the two important ports of Greenock and Port Glasgow, he could not but feel deeply interested in the question of the West India colonies, but for which those ports would never have arisen from insignificance to their present important height. It would be almost presumptuous in him to offer any observations after the clear and statesmanlike opening of the noble Chairman, but the resolution with which he had been intrusted was deserving the greatest attention from the meeting; it showed how co-extensive with the interests of the colonies were the interests of every individual, however remotely connected with them. The whole question involved much nicer elements than even those included in the renewal of the Bank charter, or that of the East India Company, and roused the most intense anxiety throughout the country. He admitted that his political faith was not shaken in Earl Grey and Mr. Stanley, and he did hope that before the question came forward again, they would listen to the suggestions of prudent and practical men, and deal out an ample measure of justice, not only to the widows and orphans, who had no other means of subsistence than a charge, annuity, or mortgage on colonial property, but to all classes so deeply and vitally interested in the question.

MR. H. BLISS seconded the resolution, which, he contended, did not exaggerate the statements it detailed. The measure proposed would reduce many persons from affluent or easy circumstances to want, distress, and beggary; a class, too, "who could not dig, and to beg would be ashamed." (Hear, hear). But the meeting had not solely assembled to sympathize, for that was insignificant compared with the great stake which it was sought to save to the country. The colonies had now no foreign foes to dread, but the injury directed towards them came from the cabinet of the Ministry of the mother country. Another Buonaparte, or a visitation of Providence, was less to be dreaded, and would be trifling compared with that which now threatened

the colonies. Let the meeting bear in mind what was to be gained and what lost. The colonies supplied produce to the amount of from 10,000,000*l.* to 11,000,000*l.* annually, and consumed of manufactures between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.* There were employed in the trade not less than 250,000 tons of shipping, not to enter into the trade arising from the mutual interchange of commodities between the southern and northern colonies, and amounting annually to upwards of 2,000,000*l.*, and employing shipping of 100,000 tons. If the one branch was struck at, the other would be endangered, if not destroyed. The northern colonies were so much implicated with the interests of the other, that the destruction of the latter would deeply and sensibly affect them, besides shake their confidence in the imperial Government. (Cheers). No man could doubt but that this attack upon the West India colonies would effect a deficiency in the revenue of 7,000,000*l.* annually, which would then make the work of confiscation go round, and he would here inquire how that deficiency was to be supplied? (Cheers). Would the importation of foreign sugars do this, or would it not rather tend to enhance the price, by which the system of slavery would be perpetuated in foreign lands—a system which the abolitionists imagined they could by this measure terminate and destroy? They called, too, upon the West India proprietors to join in this cant—this morbid and theatrical philanthropy—this fallacy which they cannot see. (Cheers). These parties, though of a respectable sect, did not entertain principles which ought to govern a nation, or by which its independence could be maintained. The dignity of this nation could not be enhanced by spoliation or by the adoption of a cheap liberality in enfranchising the slaves with money which was not its own. (Cheers). The nation had received the value for the slave population, and having got rid of them, cries out against the iniquitous traffic, and demands their release from thralldom. The proprietor seeks back his purchase-money: the

abolitionist says, wash out the stain of slavery from the nation's character, and he (Mr. Bliss) would respond, do so; *but not with the blood of the whites.* (Loud cheers). The object of the meeting was to prevent this most unjust spoliation—this attack upon the power and wealth of the nation. Let the complaints be loud, and the legislature would probably listen as they had done to the 177,000 sentimental spinsters who had, in petition, ventured to submit counsel and advice to the British senate. (Cheers and laughter). He should hope that the influential persons by whom he was surrounded, and who were engaged deeply in the business of life, would, at least, prevail as much as the Tabithas, Dorcasas, and Priscillas, who knew life only from novels and romances, and yet addressed the legislature. He trusted the colonial empire would not be frittered away for cant and sentiment, or that this country would not lay violent hands upon her own possessions. If the colonial dominion and the supremacy of the seas were thus maintained, it never could be said that as a nation England had, by passing such a measure as this, declared herself incompetent to rule and unworthy to maintain these possessions. (Loud cheers).

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Earl St. VINCENT moved the fifth resolution. The noble Lord concurred in the sentiments expressed by the noble Chairman, and contained in the resolutions which had been adopted, and deprecated the ministerial measure as most unjust, impolitic, and injurious to the best interests of the state. The planters had never refused to consent to emancipation, provided proper compensation were allowed them; but up to the present time no such proposition had ever been made.

Mr. N. MALCOLM briefly seconded the resolution, which passed unanimously.

Mr. J. IRVING, in moving the adoption of the sixth resolution, went at considerable length into a detail of the communications between the deputies

and the Government on the subject of colonial slavery, the particulars of which have already been before the public. The hon. Gentleman added, that on Saturday the deputies, as well as some delegates from Bristol and Glasgow, had another interview with the Right Hon. Secretary for the Colonies, when they had pressed him to explain what was the amount of the sum intended by him for compensation, as he then called it, but which was not the term used in the resolutions he had laid on the table of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman declined stating anything further on that head, adding that he was not authorised by the Cabinet to mention the sum; upon which the deputation said that unless something explicit was stated, by which the cultivation of the colonies and the co-operation of the colonists were secured they could not consent to lend their hands to commit an act of suicide. (Cheers).

Mr. ANDREW COLVILLE seconded the resolution, which also passed unanimously.

Mr. J. HORSLEY PALMER proposed the seventh resolution. He concurred in all that had been said upon the propriety of emancipation with the regard to the rights of property. The colonies had ever been ready to meet the question with fairness, but it was impossible they could consent to the reckless spoliation which would result from the adoption of the ministerial plan, and which would endanger the whole frame of society. The property of the planter had been secured by a hundred acts of Parliament, and no Minister had a right to tamper with that property. (Hear, hear). It tended much to shake the credit and confidence of the country. The events of 1825 proved what was the effect of confidence and credit shaken; but he feared those events would be but as *nothing in comparison with results to be anticipated from the passing of the proposed measure, for he would maintain that in such an event there would be no security in the funded property in this country.* (Cheers). The funded property was not secured by one act of

Parliament, while the property of the colonies now assailed had the protection of a hundred statutes, which seemed to avail but little against this first proposition of gross violent spoliation. *If it passed, what was to prevent an acquiescence in the doctrines of Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Attwood, and take off one-fourth from the value of the pound-note.* (Cheers).

Mr. LEWIS seconded the resolution, and cited the language of Lord Stowell, declaring the slaves in the colonies to be the inalienable property of their masters. He contended on this authority, and other decisions, that emancipation without compensation would be most unjust.

Lord W. POULETT moved the eighth resolution, and expressed his conviction that the proposed measure was both unjust and impracticable.

Mr. G. HIBBERT seconded the resolution. The measure, if carried, would inflict a death blow upon the colonial, commercial, naval, and financial interests of the country. He was satisfied that if an inquest could be held upon the colonies by Lords Vincent, Nelson, Gardiner, and other distinguished officers whom he had well known, the verdict would be that the body came by its death by suicide during an interval of mental derangement. (Cheers and laughter).

The resolution was carried.

The Earl of HAREWOOD, after announcing that he should probably not be in Parliament when the petition was presented, reminded the meeting that it was possible that branch of the Legislature might attend to their interests. It had hitherto done some service, and he would wish every man to consider whether the attempt which had once been made to overrule the decision of that assembly had placed the rights, interests, and safety of the nation on a better footing than before.

On the motion of Mr. FULLER, seconded by Mr. K. DOUGLAS, thanks were then voted to the noble chairman by acclamation.

On the motion of Earl ST. VINCENT, the thanks of the meeting were unani-

mously voted to George Hibbert, Esq. for his able advocacy of the cause of the West India colonists.

The meeting then (at a quarter-past 5 o'clock) separated.

At a General Meeting of proprietors, merchants, bankers, ship-owners, manufacturers, traders, and others interested in the preservation of the West India Colonies, convened by public advertisement, and held at the City of London Tavern, on Monday, the 27. of May, 1833 :

The Right Hon. the Earl of HARWOOD in the chair :

It was, on the motion of the Viscount Combermere, seconded by Admiral Sir Byam Martin, K.C.B., and supported by G. F. Young, Esq. M.P., unanimously resolved,

1. That the cultivation of the Sugar Colonies, and their maintenance as dependencies of Great Britain, have been justly considered as objects of vast importance to the prosperity and power of the British empire: the shipping employed in that trade amounts to 950 ships, with a tonnage of 240,000 tons, exclusive of the very considerable British tonnage engaged in the large and increasing trade between the Islands and the British North American Colonies; the annual exports amount to 4½ millions, and the revenue on the produce imported to 7 millions, while the great bulk of the net proceeds of such produce is spent by proprietors resident in Great Britain, thereby giving immediate and extensive employment to British industry.

It was, on the motion of Lord Colville, seconded by Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, K.C.B., and supported by Thomas Fitzgerald, Esq., M.P., unanimously resolved,

2. That any measures which shall have the effect of suddenly extinguishing, or materially diminishing, the cultivation of these colonies, will be attended with the most calamitous results to every branch of the British interests. As respects our revenue, the enormous rise in price consequent on the destruction of colonies which now supply a

moiety of the whole quantity of sugar imported into Europe, would render it impossible to raise the same duties, and thereby impose on Government the necessity of substituting other taxes on an impoverished people. The naval power of Great Britain would be most essentially impaired; and a very large proportion of the shipping engaged in the colonial trade, and of the labour engaged in manufactures for the colonial markets, would immediately be thrown out of employment.

It was, on the motion of Jeremiah Harman, Esq., seconded by Sir Charles Price, Bart., unanimously resolved,

3. That a trade which has existed for centuries, and of such magnitude, must necessarily involve, in no inconsiderable degree, the prosperity of all the other mercantile, and of the banking and monied interests of the empire; and this meeting, assembled in the centre of British commerce, looking to the effects which must be produced on these interests alone, cannot contemplate without dismay the probable result of the extinction of the West India Colonies as trading communities.

It was, on the motion of Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Bart., M.P., seconded by N. Bliss, Esq., unanimously resolved,

4. That this meeting are most desirous of pressing upon the attention of his Majesty's Government, of Parliament, and the public at large, that independently of planters, merchants, manufacturers, and tradesmen, obviously and directly connected with the colonies, there is a numerous class of persons scattered throughout Great Britain, consisting of widows, orphans, minors, annuitants, and other claimants under wills and settlements, who have no support for themselves and their families, except a charge upon colonial property created on the faith of existing laws, and who must therefore be reduced to beggary by any ill-advised or precipitate measure of emancipation.

It was, on the motion of the Viscount St. Vincent, seconded by Neill Malcolm, Esq., jun., unanimously resolved,

5. That this meeting are willing to promote the success of any well-digested measures which may lead to the extinction of slavery, in conformity with the spirit and language of the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1823. Any measure, however, to be consistent with those resolutions, must have regard to the future as well as to the present condition of the negroes; must provide for the continued cultivation of the colonies; for the preservation of the lives of the inhabitants; and must be accompanied by adequate compensation to the West India proprietors.

It was, on the motion of John Irving, Esq., seconded by Andrew Colville, Esq., unanimously resolved,

6. That the scheme of emancipation which has been promulgated by his Majesty's Ministers, is deficient in the leading principles which this meeting consider essential to a wise and just arrangement of the subject of slavery. It provides no security for the lives of our fellow-subjects in the colonies; it proposes to divest the owner of his property without any real compensation, it tends to destroy colonial agriculture, by entailing heavy additional expense on a cultivation already confessedly depressed; it renders all outlay of capital in the West Indies unprofitable, and thereby puts a stop to the progressive civilization of the negroes in our own colonies, while at the same time it directly encourages the slave trade and slavery in foreign countries.

It was, on the motion of J. Horsley Palmer, Esq., seconded by James Lewis, Esq., unanimously resolved,

7. That this meeting know of no stronger title to property than that which is derived from positive law, and of no other security against spoliation than a confidence that the Government under which they live will respect those rights and interests which have grown out of the law it has made. That the proprietors of negro slaves possess those slaves under the sanction of British laws which enabled and especially encouraged the people of Great Britain to convey slaves from Africa, and to sell them to their fellow-sub-

jects in the colonies. And this meeting, looking to the rights which have been thus acquired, do solemnly protest against any measure which takes away the property of their fellow-subjects without adequate compensation, and which is therefore calculated to impair that confidence under which the system of British commerce has been nurtured and sustained, and to establish a precedent which may very shortly subject every other species of property to be dealt with upon similar principles.

It was, on the motion of Lord William Powlett, seconded by George Hibbert, Esq., unanimously resolved,

8. That petitions founded on the preceding resolutions be presented to his Majesty, and to both houses of Parliament.

(Signed) HAREWOOD, Chairman.
The Earl of Harewood having then left the chair, and the Viscount St. Vincent having taken it, it was, on the motion of John Fuller, Esq., seconded by W. R. Keith Douglas, Esq., unanimously resolved,

That the best thanks of this meeting are due to the Earl of Harewood, for his kindness in taking the chair, and for the dignity and ability with which his lordship has directed the proceedings of the day.

It was further, on the motion of the Viscount St. Vincent, seconded by the Earl of Harewood, unanimously resolved,

That the warmest thanks of this meeting are due to George Hibbert, Esq., for his able, temperate, and unanswerable advocacy of the just rights of the West India body, no less honourable to his esteemed character as a man than to be admired from his venerable and well-grounded experience, and equitable views at all times promulgated by him for the benefit of every class of society.

Petitions to his Majesty, and to both houses of Parliament, founded on the above resolutions, lie for signature at Lloyd's coffee-house; at the Commercial Sale Rooms, Mincing-lane; and at the Jamaica coffee-house, Cornhill.

MANCHESTER. REFUSAL OF CHURCH-RATES.

(Abridged from the *Manchester Times*).

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.—ANNUAL VESTRY-MEETING.

A meeting of the inhabitants of the parish of Manchester, in public vestry, was held at the Collegiate Church on Monday, for the purpose of laying before the parishioners the accounts of the churchwardens for the past year, and to consider and determine upon the rate which will be required for the needful repairs of the church, church-yard, and other purposes, for the year ensuing.

The Rev. C. D. WHAT took the chair.

THE CHURCH-RATE.

Mr. WITBINGTON then moved that a halfpenny in the pound be assessed and raised by the churchwardens upon the property in the parish of Manchester, to defray the cost of repairs of the parish church, and for other incidental expenses.

Mr. J. WOOD seconded the motion.

Mr. G. HADFIELD rose to propose an amendment. He entered into the feelings of Mr. Wood when he heard him state that it was by compulsion that many of the payments were made; but was it by compulsion and by act of Parliament that they were to support the worship of the living God? (Hear, hear). He was thankful that the established church did not enrol him among its list of members. He held her doctrines, every one of them, but he dissented from her discipline; and her connexion with the state he would do his utmost to put an end to. (Hear). Between the church and state there ought to be no connexion; such a connexion ought not to exist for one moment. (Hear). This opinion now inspired every mind, and it at last, though tardily—yet still it had by the compulsion of public opinion—forced itself upon the consideration of those who were closely in the councils of his Majesty; and they had declared their intention of bringing in a bill for the reform of the church of England. (Hear). [Mr. Hadfield proceeded to read his amendment]. He hoped the

bill in question would give relief to all classes from the compulsory payment of church-rates, particularly those who, like himself, conscientiously dissented from the tenets of the church of England. (Hear, and cheers). That meeting must determine whether they would fix the whole parish with a rate for the support of an establishment of which the majority of the inhabitants disapproved. How singularly were they placed in that town! There were actually two church establishments in this country recognised by law—the established church of England, and the Presbyterian or established church of Scotland; and such was the Christian feeling existing between the two churches, that if Dr. Chalmers, who belonged to one of them, and held the same doctrines as are entertained by the other, were to come into the town, their worthy chairman durst not invite him into the pulpit of that parish church. With the law thus in their favour, he would ask the meeting whether they would amerce the Dissenters in the way proposed? Nay, he would tell them that it was a growing opinion in the church itself, which was daily becoming stronger and stronger, that its political character tended in no small degree to hear it down, and that, by leaving the church to itself, in a few years it would break itself down. (Cheers). Then, would the meeting sanction the power to tax him, a Dissenter, when he was excluded from the benefits of that taxation? He was kept out from the Universities; for he could not send his son thither without polluting his conscience, as a test was exacted which he could not give. He turned from the wrong thus inflicted with disgust, and was obliged to send his son to a land of greater liberty, to receive an education without his conscience being violated. What value could they set upon the principles of a church which, with a revenue of about 3,500,000*l.*, should call upon that large parish for a paltry sum of 1,000*l.*, which they refused to raise themselves? And what was the amount of religious instruction administered in that mighty parish by that

church? Why, literally next to nothing beyond what was dispensed within those walls. (Hear). It was a great reflection on the religious institutions of this country that religious instruction was not more largely dispensed among the labouring poor. A bill was announced in the House of Commons for a reform of the church. The Catholics of Ireland had already, or were about to be, relieved from the church-rate; and he, as a Dissenter, asked the meeting to join with him in stopping the rate until they could obtain the same exemption. (Hear). Mr. Hadfield concluded by moving his amendment, which was to the following effect:—

“That, as there is a sum of 736*l.* in hand, and 100*l.* to collect, and inasmuch as a bill has been announced for a reform of the English church, by which it may be expected that church-rates will be totally abolished, this meeting be adjourned to this day six months, in the hope that the intended bill will give effectual relief against compulsory rates to all classes of the community, and especially to those who conscientiously dissent from the church of England.

Mr. THOMAS POTTER seconded the resolution.

Mr. S. FLETCHER did not like the proceeding of adjourning the question. (Hisses). As a Dissenter, he objected to the payment of the church-rate; it was wrong in principle; and he hoped the day was not distant when he should be exempted from the impost; but he would continue to pay the rate while it continued to have the sanction of the law of the land, and would never be a party to meeting the question in the way proposed. It was essential in the administration of parish law that the whole parish should be appealed to, and not that the affairs of 240,000 persons should be decided by 1,500, about the number, he supposed, which was then present. (A cry of six to one) What! should not the poor man who was labouring in the factory—(Oh, oh!)—should not the poor man who was labouring at the loom—(Oh, oh!).

Mr. E. DIXON: For God's sake, let us hear this miserable sophist to the

end, for we can put his whole sophistry into a nut-shell. (Hear, and laughter).

Mr. FLETCHER contended that an appeal to the whole parish was the law of the land.

Mr. DIXON said that they were told that the course they contended for would be destructive of liberty. Neither Sturges Bourne nor Mr. Fletcher could destroy the liberty of the land. Liberty was deep-seated in his mind, and he would defy any one to destroy it. Tyrants might burn his body, or saw it asunder, or hang him heels upwards; but liberty, pure, blessed liberty, was the birthright of every one of Christ's disciples, for they who were made free by Christ were free indeed. (Cheers).

Mr. PRENTICE said, was it decent to call for a new twelvemonths' rate when it was probable that the law would be abrogated in six months, and when the churchwardens had a six months' expenditure in hand? If a rate were laid, he, for one, would not pay, and the authorities might distrain (hear, hear): but he would take care that the public should be acquainted with the fact; and that they would then see whether the outraged feelings of the people would allow of distraints for such purposes.

Mr. HADFIELD: Throw open the appointments in the church to public suffrage, and that will do. He would not have these appointments in the Lord Chancellor, nor even in the survivors of the collegiate body. There was not a class in the whole body of Dissenters, who would not be ashamed to appeal beyond their own congregation for the of their own debts and expenses.

The amendment was then put, when almost every person in the church, with the exception of those in the churchwardens' pew, held up his hand for it. When the negative was put, those in the pew held up their hands, and their vote was received with loud cries of “Oh!”

A scene of great uproar now ensued. The Chairman maintained that the original motion must be put; and Mr. Hadfield contended that the majority upon his amendment necessarily set

aside the original motion. The Chairman, however, persisted in putting the motion in dumb show, after which he declared the amendment to have been carried.

Mr. WITHINGTON: I demand a poll on my resolution.

The CHAIRMAN announced the adjournment of the meeting to the Town-hall, for the purpose of taking a poll, according to the terms of the notice, and forthwith left the chair.

(Second edition, Times office, Saturday, 6 o'clock).

The poll commenced this morning with undiminished spirit by both parties, but when it was known that the opposers of the rate were gaining rapidly in number, many persons who had held back, despairing of success, came forward to consummate the victory. About two o'clock the excitement became extreme, as it was then doubtful which party would win. At the close of the poll the scene at the front of, and within the Town-hall, rivalled that exhibited at a warmly contested election for members of Parliament.

Exactly at 4 o'clock the doors of the Town-hall were closed, and the Rev. C. D. WRAY, the chairman, proceeded to ascertain the number of votes. In about a quarter of an hour he announced the votes to be as follow:—

For the original motion .. 3,507

For the amendment..... 3,513

Majority for the amendment 6

The announcement was received with deafening acclamations.

Mr. JAMES WOOD then stood upon a chair and demanded a scrutiny. (Hisses and groans).

Mr. George Hadfield, Mr. T. Potter, Mr. Prentice, and other gentlemen, protested against the proceedings. A scene of great confusion ensued, and for several minutes scarcely a word uttered by any person could be understood.

The CHAIRMAN, at half-past 4, declared the proceedings to be at an end, as far as the poll went; and added, that as a scrutiny had been demanded, it should be granted. (Hisses and groans).

Mr. HADFIELD and Mr. PRENTICE afterwards addressed a numerous assemblage in front of the Town-hall, and were both most warmly applauded by their hearers.

CORONER'S JURY.

I beg my readers to attend to the proceedings which took place in the Court of King's Bench yesterday, and an account of which I insert below. The coroner's court has always been a great favourite of mine: it is the institution for the protection of *life and limb*, as old as the laws under which we live, and a part of the constitution of which we ought to be particularly jealous. Now-a-days, *property* is all that concerns our rulers; the *rights of property* are the great care of our Government! I do not like to enter fully upon this matter till it comes (as it must do, I see) regularly before us; but, in the meantime, I wish every reader of mine to attend to the proceedings, legal and lay, in this most interesting and most important affair.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, MAY 29.

CULLEY, THE POLICEMAN.

The Solicitor-General said he was instructed to apply for a writ of *certiorari* to remove into this court the inquisition taken by one of the coroners for Middlesex on a view of the body of Robert Culley, the police-constable, who was killed at the late meeting in Colbath-fields. The object was to quash the inquisition. The Solicitor-General then read the proceedings of the inquest, and the verdict of "Justifiable Homicide" delivered by the jury, which he submitted was insufficient in law, inasmuch as it was in direct opposition to the evidence. There could be no doubt upon the fact that the deceased came by his death in consequence of a wound inflicted by some person unknown to the jury, and certainly the evidence would be found sufficient to warrant a verdict of a different character. He spoke with proper respect for the jury, when he

stated that the verdict was not consistent with the evidence laid before them. He had no doubt the jury were able men, and that they had been influenced by strong and generous feeling; but he should submit to the court upon the whole of the evidence that they had come to a conclusion which could not be maintained, because it was in direct contradiction of the facts. Although he could have moved for a *certiorari* as a matter of right (*virtute officii*), he thought it better to state to the court the grounds on which he made his application.

The court granted the writ, and the verdict will come under the consideration of the judges, upon a motion to quash the inquisition.

✓ BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL.

WHAT ARE THE PEOPLE TO DO ?

PROSECUTION OF THE TRUE SUN.

At the weekly meeting of the Council on Tuesday last, the chairman, Mr. Muntz, having read the minutes of the last meeting,

Mr. GILKS read a draught of a petition to the House of Commons respecting the conduct of the new-police at the late Coldbath-fields' meeting, which was ordered to be submitted to the Committee on that subject, with instructions to report on Tuesday next.

Mr. SALT said he had great pleasure in informing the Council that numerous meetings were being held in various parts of the kingdom to petition the King to dismiss his Ministers. This showed that, notwithstanding the insidious workings of a portion of the press, that Council still maintained its influence with the people of England. (Hear, hear). The *Times* affirmed that the Birmingham Union had no influence in the town as compared with that which it possessed at a distance. Well, now he (Mr. Salt) admitted it, but how, he asked, was it regarded in the town? Why even *Aris's Gazette* declared that it possessed unlimited control over the mass of the

people. (Laughter and cheers). The electors of this district would have, in a few days, an opportunity of showing their disgust and abhorrence of the Whig Ministry by refusing to re-elect Mr. Littleton, who had accepted the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. Let the men of South Staffordshire do their duty in this respect, and the King could not fail to perceive that his services were held in universal detestation. (Hear, hear). The people must trust to nothing but their own exertions for relief from their sufferings. In gratitude for their having carried the Reform Bill, the people had trusted the Whigs into Parliament without pledges, firmly imagining that they would relieve the distresses and restore the prosperity of the country. They had, however, most shamefully betrayed the confidence reposed in them, and they might be assured they would never get in again without being pledged on all the great questions which affected the welfare of the people. (Hear, hear). They must be pledged to a repeal of the corn laws, and to a sweeping reduction of taxation. Now he believed the Whigs would not take these pledges, but would shuffle in all sorts of ways to get rid of them; but this they must not be suffered to do. (Loud cheering). Every hour gave fresh proof that the people must look to themselves only for deliverance. (Tremendous applause). *If Mr. Littleton were thrown out, it would in all probability lead to the immediate breaking up of the Ministry, and if so, there would be a speedy dissolution of Parliament, for no administration would attempt to carry on the Government with the present Whig House of Commons.* A general election would of course ensue: and the people having tried both Tories and Whigs, and found them miserably wanting, would send none but real Radicals, who would attend to the people's wants and wishes. (Loud cheers).

Mr. HADLEY wished to say a few words as to the position in which the people were now placed. It was certainly a desperate one. (Hear, hear). No man ever laboured more ardently or anxiously for any object than did the

men of Birmingham, and the people of England generally, for a reform in the representation. But, good God! what had they effected? What was the result of all their toilsome and unwearied exertions? (Loud cries of hear, hear). They had incomparably a worse House of Commons now than under the old system. (Hear, hear). It only served as a tool in the hands of a Whig Ministry, who turned and twisted it as they pleased. The few independent and upright men in the House could not make head against the tide of iniquity which was opposed to them, and if any of them had the manly honesty to advocate the real interests of the people, they were either summarily coughed and hooted down, or their motions met by terrific majorities against them. (Loud cries of hear, hear). It was thus that the people were insulted, their voice was not permitted to be heard, even in their own House. Let them but look at the acts of this so-called reformed Parliament. Since its first assembling, they would find that no one measure for the relief of the people had been passed, but, on the contrary, a most infamous and atrocious act had been passed, to put down the liberties of a large portion of the people, and rule them by military law, as a prelude, no doubt, to an attempt to place the whole kingdom under the same interdict. (Groans and hisses). After these occurrences, he wished to know what hope or expectation that Council had in the present Parliament? (Cries of none, none). For his part, he must say, that he had grown heartily sick of petitioning the House of Commons. (Immense cheering). He was well aware that much abler politicians than himself had long since thought it abortive, and that the people had utterly lost all confidence: he felt anxious, however, to give the new House a full and fair trial: it had now had that trial, and was found to be utterly inadequate to effect the slightest good for the people. What then remained for the people to do? What recourse had they in this extremity? The only measure now left them was to make a determined stand against that excessive

load of taxation by which the people were borne down. (Loud cheers). Ministers kept saying they could not carry on the Government without the present amount of taxes but it was quite clear that if the people refused to contribute the money, they must soon learn how to do without it. (Applause). The people had hitherto used their utmost exertions in a legal, peaceful, and constitutional manner, to obtain a redress of their grievances, through the medium of the House of Commons, but this had been sternly refused them, and they were now, therefore, compelled to adopt measures more decided and quick in their operation, though strictly constitutional and within the law, which could not fail to bring their rulers to their senses. It might not be prudent for him to state those measures in detail, but he begged to say, that as an individual, he had made up his mind to pursue the line of conduct he had been alluding to. (Tremendous cheering, which lasted some time). He would conclude by observing, that to him it was quite obvious, that until they could see something approaching to universal suffrage and the ballot, the interests of the millions would be neglected. (Loud cheers).

Mr. HARLOW said that he was glad to hear these sentiments from Mr. Hadley, they would give the members of the Union fresh hopes: he was being continually asked by them what the Council intended to do, for it was generally feared that the King would not comply with their prayer to dismiss the Ministry, and as regarded the reformed Parliament, they were thoroughly tired of it. (Cheers). It was said by some that the landholders would soon find themselves in distress, and then the people might hope for relief. It was considered, however, by many, that this relief would not be great or lasting—(hear, hear)—and the people expected but little good until they obtained universal suffrage, protected by the ballot, and short Parliaments. (Cheers).

Mr. POWELL, after congratulating Mr. Hadley on having expressed what he (Mr. P.) was sure were the sentiments of the whole Council, said he rose to

propose a resolution which he believed would meet with the support of every member present. He begged to call their attention to the base and shameful manner in which most of the London daily press had deserted the cause of the people. (Hear, hear). They appeared now to have but one stanch advocate left, and that advocate was the *True Sun*, the editors of which, let it be remembered, had, during the last few weeks, manfully defended the men of Birmingham, and the leaders of the Union in particular, from the wicked and malicious assault of the *Times* and other hiring papers. (Cheers). It was now exposed to the prosecution of the Whig Ministry, which alone ought to entitle it to the respect and support of Englishmen. (Hear, hear). He believed the prosecution arose out of an article which had recently appeared in that paper, and in which the editor, in a bolder manner than usual, counselled the people not to pay the assessed taxes. (Cheers). There was also another charge against them; which was, for attempting to bring the House of Commons into contempt. (Loud laughter, and cries of That was unnecessary, they could not do it, &c. &c.). Now he thought this was a time when the people ought strongly to express their sympathy for the editors of this excellent paper, and their utter detestation of the Whig ministry, who were attempting to destroy them. (Cheers). It should be known that Mr. Carpenter, who had suffered much in his attempts to achieve the liberty of the press, was one of the editors of this paper. (Hear, hear). Mr. Powell concluded by moving a resolution, strongly urging the people to show at the same time their sympathy with the editors and proprietors of the *True Sun*, and their indignation at the Government prosecution, by doing all in their power to extend the circulation of the paper. (Loud cheers).

Mr. SALT said it was with the greatest pleasure he rose to second the resolution. The *True Sun* had indeed set a noble example to the conductors of the public press, in its constant and uniform adherence to the people's cause.

(Cheers). The Government, it seemed, had now attacked it, and it therefore became the duty of the people to fly to its relief. (Cheers). With regard to the inquiry which he knew people were making as to what course that Council intended to pursue, the reply was, that they were anxiously watching events and the progress of public opinion, and were at all times ready to embody and give that opinion full force and effect. They were determined to go forward, step by step, and never to relax their efforts until the prosperity of the people, which was the legitimate fruit of Reform, was fully obtained and secured on a permanent basis. He verily believed this would not be obtained until they had universal suffrage and the ballot. (Loud applause). Let the people, however, do all in their power to break up the present Ministry, and then press forward the demand for their full rights and privileges. (Cheers).

Mr. PARE said the resolution before the Council had his hearty concurrence. The Whigs had commenced a crusade against the Press, which was a pretty sure sign that they were upon their last legs. (Hear). The *True Sun* had long been a sore thorn in their sides, and by a desperate measure they now sought to get rid of it. Let the people look to it, for the prosecution of this paper was a prosecution against them. (Loud cries of hear, hear). Depend upon it this was only the first of a series of measures of a like character, by which the Whigs sought to intimidate the conductors of the liberal press, and utterly stifle the voice of the people. He was in possession of information which led him to believe that the Government contemplated a desperate attack on the liberties of the press, and if so, there was nothing, in his opinion, so likely to tend to their own overthrow. (Cheers). It had been stated that Mr. Carpenter, who was not unaccustomed to a Government prosecution, was one of the editors of the *True Sun*. It ought also to be known that another of its editors, who was a man of a first-rate ability, had been attempted to be bribed from his advocacy of the people's cause. He

had not been long a writer for the *True Sun*, ere he was offered a very large sum per annum, with many other advantages, if he would consent to write a different style for a publication of a different character. (Hear, hear). To his credit, however, be it spoken, he declared that he would not consent to advocate less generous principles, and that his success should be identified with the *True Sun*. (Loud cheers). Instances of this devotion to the public cause were of rare occurrence, and whenever they did occur they should be cherished by the people. (Cheers). Mr. Pare concluded with some remarks on the necessity for an enlarged constituency, and the protection of the ballot ere the people could rationally expect their interests to be attended to.

Mr. GRILES said it ought never to be forgotten that the Whigs when out of office were vociferous in their advocacy of a free press, and yet they were now attempting to enslave it still more than ever. (Hear, hear). The people should seize the present opportunity of showing their sympathy for a bold and honest advocate of their rights. The *True Sun*, though promulgating what might be termed ultra-radical opinions, was always conducted in a dignified manner. The energies it put forth at the time of the general election were very great and serviceable. (Hear, hear). Its strenuous opposition to the Irish Coercion Bill during its progress through the House deserved notice, and it had more than any other paper with which he was acquainted, insisted upon the necessity of a very large reduction of taxation, and the justice and propriety of imposing a tax upon property in lieu of those which now pressed so severely on the industrious classes. (Cheers).

Mr. HADLEY could not suffer this opportunity to pass without expressing his opinion of the claims which the *True Sun* had upon the public for support. He had read the paper regularly from its commencement, and he had been much pleased to find a truly philosophic spirit run through the whole of the writings. The leading articles contained some of the finest principles

of legislation and good government, that were ever put forth in any publication, and they were illustrated and defended too, in a clear, perspicuous, and manly manner. (Cheers). Were the Government of this country conducted upon the principles so ably laid down by that paper, there would not be an industrious man in the kingdom who would not be in a prosperous and happy condition. (Loud cheers). There was a reach of intellect, and if he might so express it, a lustre after truth and knowledge, by the conductors of that paper, which he did not see equalled by any other publication of the day. With two or three exceptions only he most cordially subscribed to the opinions which it maintained, and which in his view were well calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of the people. (Applause). He had taken this opportunity to pay his humble but honest tribute of respect for the talent displayed by the editors of the *True Sun*. He would conclude his observations by saying that, in his opinion, they were bound to use their utmost influence to extend its circulation as far as possible, and to show their indignation at the conduct of the Government in prosecuting it. (Cheers).

The CHAIRMAN and other members of the Council thought this was too important a matter to pass over in a hasty manner. They thought the resolution submitted might be made stronger and more efficient, and with that view they recommended that the subject be again brought under the consideration of the Council on Tuesday evening next.

Upon this understanding, the motion was for the present withdrawn, and the Council soon after broke up.

MEETING AT NEWCASTLE- UPON-TYNE.

(From the *True Sun*, 30. May).

A public meeting was held on the Town Moor, Newcastle, on Monday afternoon, to consider the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, and of the reformed Parliament. It was most numerously attended. The meeting was called

by order of the Council of the Northern Political Union. The chair was taken by Charles Attwood, Esq., of Whickham, brother of the member for Birmingham.

The CHAIRMAN: They were assembled, he observed, on an occasion fraught with every circumstance calculated to embitter the feelings of an unhappy and disappointed multitude, but fortunately with a degree of fortitude and resolution which no extent of wrongs could subdue. (Great applause). Those men whom they had placed in power, had been telling them for the last forty years, as he now told them, that they were an oppressed and injured people, yet since they had gone into office, they had forfeited all the pledges they had given them. What did they expect from reform? Was it not to be relieved from their burden of intolerable taxation, from sinecures and pensions, and from the atrocious corn laws? Did they not look for the abolition or diminution of the standing army, which the constitution repudiated, but which was kept to enforce submission to the burdens by which they were oppressed? Had the Ministers done anything towards the equitable adjustment of the debt? Had they not refused all relief to the people, and denied them even an inquiry? It remained for them to determine the course they ought to take for their relief. The course he recommended to those he addressed was union. In conclusion he observed, that documents would be submitted for their adoption which were unanswerable in argument, and justly set forth the condition and grievances of the people.

Mr. T. DOUBLEDAY rose to propose the petition to the House of Commons, which had been prepared. He had taken care to ascertain the condition of ten of the principal agricultural counties in England, and he could say, without hesitation, the population was in greater distress than ever was known. It was a fact that some years ago the whole supply of candles used in the country was made exclusively from tallow of home production, leaving at

the same time a considerable surplus for the soap manufacturer. But how stood the fact at the present period? The quantity of tallow had decreased to the amount of 8,000 tons. Now, every butcher would tell them that the proportion of saleable meat and refuse fat was as ten to one, so that in some way or other there had been a falling off in the consumption of meat in Great Britain, amounting to 80,000 tons. (Hear). The reason was plain. The poor man was no longer able to buy meat, but was obliged to resort to potatoes and other unsuitable food. In the manufacturing districts many men were obliged to subsist upon 2½d. per day. Mr. Doubleday concluded with moving the adoption of the petition to the House of Commons, which called for a remission of taxes as the means of averting revolution, for the application of the church property to the necessities of the state, and for annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and election by ballot.

Mr. WALSH, jun., seconded the adoption of the petition, and, on the motion being put, it was carried unanimously.

Mr. LAING proposed that the petition should be presented by Mr. Attwood, M.P., for Birmingham, which being seconded, was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. FIFE said, the Whig Ministers had been guilty of apostacy, and the people, on the present occasion, found themselves obliged to shake off some long-standing prejudices with respect to those Ministers. The country was now in a very extraordinary state. Among other burdens, they had to pay eight millions of poor-rates at the same time they had to support a church, whose property, when it belonged to the Catholic church, was employed in the relief of the poor. (Applause). More than one half of the labourer's earnings were paid by him in taxation, while the property of the wealthy aristocrat was almost untouched. They consented to abandon for a time the full extent of their wishes, for the sake of advancing what was considered a point of political expediency. But in consequence of the misconduct of those men who had been

sent to Parliament, they now took their stand only on moral and constitutional right. This was a change which they had no cause to lament, for out of their present disappointment the future deliverance of the country would be effected. Since the Ministers had been made sure of their seats, it was made very clear that they never intended that the Reform Bill should work out for the people those salutary changes which were proposed by it; never had any Parliament acted in a more wicked and inconsistent manner than the present. The Tories did not anticipate that such effects would have followed the passing of the Reform Bill. Had it not been for the gallant conduct of the soldiery, who determined that they would not turn their swords against the breasts of their countrymen, the Tories would have produced a civil war rather than the Reform Bill should have been enacted. It could only be a form of government having a democracy for its basis that could preserve in peace and prosperity a nation like that of Great Britain. It was clear that great changes must soon take place—changes favourable to the many but terrible to the few, and the more terrible in proportion to their being more obstinately resisted. It was the people who were acting the part which was most properly conservative, and if their warning voice were listened to, disastrous consequences might be prevented. Mr. F. then shortly concluded by moving a petition to his Majesty, praying him, among other things, to dismiss his imbecile Ministers.

Mr. J. LARKIN said the people had been told to wait awhile. Had they not been waiting during eighteen long years of peace; and what had been done in that time? Why, their burdens, so far from being diminished, had in fact been increased. Had the people not been the most patient people on the face of the earth their present oppressors would not now have been tyrannizing over them. (Applause). The spirit and temper of the British nation had been compared to that of the lion, but this was only a sublime simile; for he was sure the ass was never

more patient under its burdens, nor the lamb more meek and inoffensive in its general character. Mr. Larkin, after some further observations, concluded by seconding the petition to his Majesty, which was put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Mr. WALSH moved that Lord Radnor be requested to present the petition to his Majesty, which was seconded by some one on the hustings, and also agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN then made some concluding remarks, in which he eulogized the conduct of the jury who had given a verdict of Justifiable Homicide on the occasion of the late affray in London.

The meeting, after giving three times three, quietly dispersed.

STAFFORDSHIRE ELECTION.

Friday noon.

I HAVE just learned from Staffordshire that matters are all right; that the electors will, upon this occasion, act a noble part; and that the return of Sir Charles Wolsley is nearly certain. The nomination takes place to-morrow at Litchfield; and the spirited towns are already making preparations for securing a good show of hands.

CALTHORPE-STREET JURY.

THE verdict of this jury was quashed yesterday in the Court of King's Bench. I have no time for comment this week.

FIELD SEEDS.

TO BE HAD AT BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 8d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid*

at my shop before the seed be sent away ; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country ; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound ; any quantity above 10lbs, and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound ; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound ; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above ; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1833.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BENNETT, W., Lostock, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

HODGSON, T., Manchester, tanner.

BANKRUPTS.

CHAMBERLAIN, J. G. C., Marlborough-road, Chelsea, grocer.

HAGGER, J. (and not J. Haggas, as before advertised), late of Brighton-place, Brixton-road, oilman.

HOLMAN, J., Hoxton Old Town, calenderer.

MARSH, S. H. A., Bristol, music-seller.

PALMER, J., Hampton-street, Walworth, fish-sauce-manufacturer.

ROSS, G., St. Mary-Axe, grocer.

THOROUGHGOOD, C., New Church-street, Lisson-grove, victualler.

WATSON, J. E., Bucklersbury, merchant.

WINTER, J., Stoke-under-Hamdon, Somersetshire, glove-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, MAY 28, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

HOAD, F., and **J. Wadley**, Prospect-place, St. George's-fields, bricklayers.

BANKRUPTS.

COLLIER, C. and **H. Witney**, blanket-manufacturers.

GARDNER, J., Preston, joiner.

GIBSON, W., Pendleton, Lancashire, broker.

GRANT, S. B., Bristol, hatter.

HALL, G. C., Alfreton, Derbyshire, money-scrivener.

KABERRY, J., Leeds, leather-cutter.

LINTER, C. H., Portsea, grocer.

LLOYD, R., Liverpool, brewer.

OAKES, R., Liverpool, painter.

THIRLWELL, T., North Shields, wine-merchant.

TURNER, J., Langport-Eastover, Somersetshire, corn-factor.

WILKS, C. M., Greetham, Rutlandshire, inn-keeper.

WOODWARD, R., Lime-street-square, tailor.

WOOLCOTT, W., Exeter, grocer.

WYATT, H., York-street, Covent-garden, boarding-house-keeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 27.—We had a tolerably fair supply of Wheat from Kent, but from Essex and Suffolk the receipts were moderate. Having, however, a good many parcels left over from the previous week, caused the stands to exhibit a good show of samples. Fine fresh Wheat was scarce, and readily taken by the millers at about the prices of last week ; but all other descriptions hung very heavily on hand at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per qr. from the currency of this day week. The warm weather prevents much inquiry for old Corn, and prices are therefore nearly nominal. In bonded descriptions we heard of nothing doing.

Barley, although in limited supply, proved more than equal to the demand, and grinding and distilling qualities remain nominally the same.

In Malt nothing doing.

The arrivals of Oats have been large since Friday. Good fresh feed was saleable at barely such good rates as last week ; but all stale and inferior sorts were very difficult to quit.

Beans have rather rallied, and sales were made at 1s. improvement on Friday's quotations.

White Peas are scarce, and in request, and prices have advanced full 1s. per qr.

The Flour trade continues extremely dull.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Builders	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Fed	14s. to 16s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 34s. to 36s. per cwt.

 — Sides, new ... 38s. to 40s.

Pork, India, new ... 112s. to 115s.

 — Moss, new ... 60s. to 63s. per barrel.

Butter, Belfast	... 60s. to 62s. per cwt.
Carlow	..... 60s. to 70s.
Cork	..... 64s. to 68s.
Limerick	...s. to ...s.
Waterford	... 48s. to 54s.
Dublin	..... 46s. to 50s.
Cheese, Cheshire	... 40s. to 66s.
Gloucester, Double	... 46s. to 58s.
Gloucester, Single	... 40s. to 46s.
Edam	..... 40s. to 50s.
Gouda	..... 40s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	..... 44s. to 54s.

SMITHFIELD.—May 27.

This day's supply of Beasts, Lambs, and Calves was, for that of a holiday Monday, moderately good; of Sheep and Porkers rather limited. Trade with Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, was somewhat brisk; with the two former at an advance, the latter at a depression of about 2d. per stone; with Beef and Pork very dull, at Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were Scots and Norfolk home-breds, chiefly the former; about a fourth short-horns, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Welsh Runts, and Devons, with about sixty Sussex, and as many Irish Beasts, and as many Herefords, principally (say about 1,800 of them) from Norfolk; with a few from Essex and Suffolk, Kent, Sussex, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and our midland and western districts; about 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c., fed near London.

About three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses; in about the proportion of two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs, and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of polled Norfolks, old Leicesters, and Lincolns, horned Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 31.

The supplies this week are good. The prices rather lower than on Monday, with a dull market.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	} Pri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
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JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

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By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bell-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 80.—No. 10.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE, 8TH, 1833.

[Price, 1s. 2d.



EMPTY PEEL'S

STUPID AND MOST MISCHIEVOUS BILL.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Bolt-court, 5. June, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,

Now we have the fools, our foes; the hooting, groaning, coughing and braying fools; NOW we have the base fools on the hip! "*Honest ALTHORP*" has proposed a *LEGAL-TENDER paper-money!* In all probability we shall have this money! And, 't was only *fifteen days* before he proposed it, that he moved to have MY RESOLUTION, relative to that same money, *kept from being entered on the Journals!* I should now, therefore, deal with "*honest Althorp*" in the way that he deserves; but I am not disposed to meddle with his blunderings at present, and shall, therefore, let the "*Honest*" man's affairs alone; let it wait a bit, till we see what the honest and profound man really means to be at; and, in the meanwhile, take a look at the past.

PEEL, who is getting pretty well dressed down, at all the meetings throughout the country, his *statesmanship* being now understood by millions who never understood it before; this PEEL, whom ALTHORP the honest, sought to save by moving that my RESOLUTION should not be entered on the Journals, the honest man not appearing to know that the resolution was actually printing at half-a-dozen news-offices at the very moment when he was making that me-

morable motion, which was so neatly improved by the Speaker; PEEL, who should now read the speeches made at NEWCASTLE the other day, where the cheering which he received upon the occasion alluded to, is stated as one of the grounds for calling upon the King to dismiss the Ministers and dissolve the Parliament; and the speeches made at which meeting, especially as they relate to the *Journals of the House*, I dare not put in print, lest the House, which rescinded its resolution on the malt-tax, should charge me with endeavouring to bring it into contempt; PEEL said, upon that occasion, that he would "*demolish my reputation as a prophet.*" Now, all that I shall do, at present, about this *legal-tender* paper-money, is, to remind my readers of my prophecy relative to PEEL'S BILL. I will do nothing, if I can possibly avoid it, to interrupt these blunderers in their work. I know not how to talk of the matter without saying that which would stop any sensible men; but I will refer back to this prophecy.

Now, then, this PEEL was a privy-councillor in 1819. He was chairman of a committee of the clearing House, which committee was to inquire into the best mode of returning to cash-payments. He, therefore, heard all the evidence upon the subject. He had all the wise men called before him to give him information and advice. He finally made a report to the House of wisdom; and, upon that report, the collective wisdom authorised him to bring in a bill, which bill was finally passed. The other House had its committee, too; the reports agreed perfectly. The measure was finally adopted without a single dissenting voice in either House. At the end of the session, when the House went into the presence of the Prince Regent, to be by him prorogued, their Speaker (the present Speaker) in a speech addressed to the Regent, and which speech I have inserted in my "*English Grammar*" at page 187, as

affording numerous specimens of *bad grammar*; their Speaker, I say, congratulated the Regent on the passing of this famous bill of *PEEL*; and predicted from it the most happy results; he told the Regent, that the bill had been preceded by an inquiry most anxiously and most deliberately conducted; and that it had led to a result, which would produce a safe return to the ancient and healthful currency of the country.

The Regent, on his part, was not behind in congratulations on the subject. His Royal Highness, in language pretty nearly as grammatical as that of the Speaker, told the House, "that its patient and laborious investigation of the state of the circulation and currency of the kingdom, demanded his warmest acknowledgments;" and he told the House, "that he entertained a confident expectation, that the measures adopted, as the result of this inquiry, would be productive of the most beneficial consequences."

Well! Thus the measure came forth to the world; and this *PEEL*, at the close of the speech with which he introduced it to the House, expressed himself thus: "Long, Sir, have we wandered from the ancient standard of the country. This House has been most laudably engaged in endeavours to bring us back again into the right path; and this effort, which the House is now about to make, will, I trust, bring us to that happy goal, which we have so long and so anxiously been desiring to arrive at!" Well, then, I say, thus came forth this measure, which is now allowed by every body, to have done more real mischief, to have caused more human misery, and more human slavery, than ever was produced before by any twenty measures ever suggested by folly and stupidity, whether native or acquired.

At the time when this pretty work was going on, I was in Long Island; whither I had fled to avoid the dungeons of England, having landed there in the month of May, 1817. In the year 1818, *TISDALL*, who was at that time the mouth-piece of the Whigs acting, had proposed to the House a

measure of this sort. I, upon seeing that proposition, wrote a letter to *TISDALL*, in July of that year, showing, in the clearest possible manner, that no such measure could be adopted, without the utter ruin of hundreds of thousands of people, unless the taxes were two-thirds taken off at the same time. So that these fellows were fully warned of the effects of their measure.

When the account of the measure came out to Long Island, I wrote, on the 24. of September, 1819, the following prophecy, which was published in England in the month of November, 1819. "This bill (*Peel's*) was grounded on concurrent reports of both Houses; it was passed by unanimous votes of both Houses; it was, at the close of the session, a subject of high eulogium in the Speaker's speech to the Regent, and in the Regent's speech to the two Houses; now, then, I, William Cobbett, assert, that to carry this bill into effect is impossible; and I say, that, if this bill be carried into full effect, I will give Castlereagh leave to lay me on a GRIDIRON and broil me alive, while Sidmouth may stir the coals, and Canning stand by and laugh at my groans."

This was the prophecy, and now let us see how it has been fulfilled. The bill found the country with one-pound notes, and with a law making bank-notes a legal tender in part. These were the two things to get rid of, and the bill provided, that they were to be completely gotten rid of in the month of May, 1823. The progress towards this point was to be gradual; and the measure was proceeding onwards; but, in the month of July, 1823, the same Houses of Parliament, the same Speaker, the same *PEEL*, (he now being silent, but being one of the Ministers), passed a bill to authorise the issuing of one-pound notes for eleven years longer. Thus, then, the prophecy was fulfilled for eleven years to come. In 1826 another bill was passed by the same Houses, the same *PEEL* being still a Minister, to put a stop to the one-pound notes in three years from that time; as far as related to England only; but still

leaving the one-pound notes in Scotland and Ireland, where they still are. So that the bill is now in no part repealed as far as relates to England only; but it stands at this moment repealed in part, as far as relates to Scotland and Ireland; and, therefore, it has *never yet been carried into effect*.

And now, honest ALTHORP proposes to repeal the most material provision of it *with regard to England*. He proposes to leave the bill in part repealed in Scotland and Ireland as it is now; and he proposes to make Bank of England notes a LEGAL TENDER again in England; and this he proposes to do in *perpetuity*. This is what never was done before: they were, in fact, a *legal tender* before PEARL'S BILL was passed; but now they will be a *legal tender in law*. They will pass by compulsion upon every creditor. If one man owe another man a sum of money, the debtor can compel the creditor to take Bank of England notes, or nothing. As to the exception about the Bank itself and its branches, it amounts to just nothing at all: it is a paper-money made the legal money of the country; and it *repeals PEARL'S Bill in perpetuity*. It proclaims to the world, that the nation is unable to pay its debts in gold: it declares that PEARL'S *Bill* can never be carried into effect: it fulfils; or, rather, it declares, that my prophecy of 1819 is now completely fulfilled; and it enables the world to judge of the wisdom of PEARL and of TIERNEY and the rest of the Whigs, and of the fitness of such men to manage the affairs of a nation.

With regard to the nature of the other parts of this measure; with regard to the *consequences* of the whole measure, legal tender and all, I shall not speak at this time, though those consequences are as clear before my eyes, and the eyes of every man of real sense, as were the consequences of PEARL'S BILL in 1819. I am to act, in this case; in every case, indeed; but in this case in particular, in such a way as I think will be most beneficial to the country; and, if I see that great immediate mischiefs are about to take place, it is my

duty to abstain from preventing those mischiefs, if I think they will attain *ultimate good*. I have made up my mind with regard to the changes which ought to take place in the country; and it is my duty to do everything that I can, which I think will have a tendency to produce those changes. I shall say nothing, therefore, at present, upon the *consequences* of this measure; but, I shall offer a few words upon the *objects* of it; and these objects manifestly are: *first*, to augment the quantity of the currency of the country; *second*, to raise prices, and thereby enable the people to pay the taxes; and to prevent that resistance to taxation which is now every where rising up; *third*, to prevent panic, or at least to prevent convulsion proceeding from panic. At present there are about six hundred holes to run to for gold. This measure will soon leave but one hole to stop, and that hole can be stopped in a minute. There are pretty nearly three hundred thousand Savings-Banks people. *Legal tender* will be ready to face them, in the first instance; and, if they run hard and in crowds, the hole can be stopped against them in a moment. These are the main purposes for which the measure has been invented. It is very curious; that, about three weeks ago, two friends in the city and I were talking of the state of the concern; and, after observing how closely the WHITEHALL gentry were getting hemmed in, and how they got rapped across the nose at every push that they made to get out of their difficulties, I said: "Now, what do you think will be their next move?" One or the other said: "They will have one more touch at the paper." We all agreed, that, shameful as this would be, they would do it; but, then, we all agreed, that there must be *legal tender*; that it must in fact be a forced paper-money. Disguise it how they might, it must be a forced paper-money. How many, many times have I told my readers, that there must be one of three things: a blowing up of the whole concern; an equitable adjustment, including a great reduction of

the interest of the debt; or, a return to legal tender paper-money! One of the three was absolutely necessary; the third has been chosen; and I always told my readers, that there would be this one more trial at the paper; and that this trial would be *the last*. This is all that I shall say about this matter at present; and, indeed, I should not have meddled with the subject at all at this time, if it had not been for the purpose of showing how foolish it was in *PÉEL* to assert that I had been a false prophet with regard to his bill.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

THIS subject now occupies the mind of every body in town. At the very moment when these men have projects before Parliament for changing the affairs of the church in Ireland; for changing the nature of its property in England; for revolutionizing the negro system in the West Indies; for new-modelling the government of the *East Indies*; for making bank-notes a legal tender in England, and making the Bank the issuer in fact of a government paper-money: at this very moment, when these men have just mooted all these questions to the Parliament, they themselves are not sure of their places for an hour. The House of Lords, consisting of persons who have both titles and estates to take care of, appear to be alarmed at the state of things that seems to be fast approaching; and they have apparently come to a determination to interfere. Having a majority against the Ministers, they resolved upon showing it on Monday last, and to do it in a manner that should amount, in fact, to a censure on the Ministers. For this purpose the Duke of Wellington moved for an address to the King, finding fault with the conduct of Ministers with regard to Portugal. If the answer of the King should say, that the conduct of his Ministers had been right, then the Ministers can remain in office for the present: if not, they cannot remain for a

day. How the King may determine, no one can tell as yet; but, if he should determine upon keeping the Ministers against the will of the Lords, the struggle does not end here; for the Irish Church Bill and the West India Bill, never can, without some great previous change, pass the House of Lords; and if these bills do not pass the House of Lords, the Ministers must go out of their places. Before to-morrow night, we shall know the result of this address to the King; and, therefore, it is too soon to say much about the matter; and, probably, the result will not be known until after this *Register* must go to the press.

In the meanwhile, however, I may offer a few observations as to the probable issue of these curious proceedings. The partisans of the Ministers tell us, that there are the House of Commons and the people against the House of Lords; and that the latter must finally be defeated in the struggle. Ah! these worthies do not perceive how matters have changed since this time twelve-months! The Lords were wrong then, and they are clearly right now, as far as the question relating to Portugal is of any interest to us; for, the question is not between Don Pedro and Don Miguel; but the question is, whether we shall connive at France obtaining that ascendancy in Portugal which we have possessed for so many years. But, this is a matter that would require long discussion. We have very tamely suffered the French to take possession of the fleet of Portugal under pretences as false as can well be imagined. The French want *PÉDRO* upon the throne that they may, in fact, be the owners of the country. The Lords are right; but the main thing to consider now is, what will be the result of their censure on the Ministers. The Lords see, that they must oppose the Church of Ireland Bill and the West India Bill, which they might do with safety with regard to the opinions of the people; because neither of those projects please any part of the people; but, apparently, their object is to strangle those projects in their birth; and, if that be their object,

they have pursued a wise course, and, indeed, the only course they could pursue.

The Whig partisans take us back to May, 1832, and remind us of the manner in which the Whigs beat the Lords then. Alas! things are wholly changed! Then Lord GREY and his colleagues were carried back into office on the shoulders of the people; now those shoulders are very much at their service to carry them out of office. The mind of a Whig is a strange mixture of meanness and insolence, cunning and stupidity. These ingredients being mixed up together, have made the Whigs believe that they are just as great favourites now as they were in the month of May, 1832, and as they were during the late elections. They do not at all appear to perceive that the King has received any addresses to turn them out of place. They could perceive the address of the BIRMINGHAM meetings for keeping them in place; but they cannot see the *Birmingham address* for putting them out of their places. They cannot hear the unanimous shout of the whole country for turning them out; nor can they see the petitions coming pouring up to the King that he would dissolve the Parliament. If they cannot hear and see these things, the Lords can, and so can the King; and that man must be a downright fool who does not see that this Ministry will be ousted in a very short time, and in all probability before the end of the present session of Parliament. The Lords know that there is nothing which would please the people so well as a turning out of the Ministry and a dissolving of the Parliament, the people being all satisfied that they must gain by the change; that it is utterly impossible for them to be worse off than they now are. The scare-crow of a *Tory Ministry* has lost its terrors. The Tories, if they were to come in again, would not be Tories such as they were before. They would take off the malt, hop, and house and window taxes; seeing the rock upon which the Whigs have split, they would avoid it. They would put out

the 'paper-money, I dare say. They probably must do it, in order to keep the peace, but, they would hardly do it in the stupid manner in which it is now proposed to be done. The Lords see clearly enough that some sacrifices must be made; *that something must give way*; and, to be sure, they would adopt that something, in order to avoid the risk of general confusion.

Therefore, let not the Whigs flatter themselves, that they have any support in the people. They never had any other, and now they have deservedly lost that. A change of the Ministry would be followed by a dissolution of the Parliament, and this is the very thing which the people are praying for. A change of the Ministry would, therefore, fill the people with delight, from one end of the country to the other. What course the thing may take at this present time, it is hard to say. The King may do as he pleases with the Ministry and the House of Commons. The Lords may reject any of the projects, or all the projects, that are now coming forward. *As to making new peers*, it is wholly out of the question. Forty would be required at this moment. In short, the whole thing is upon *the shake*. It is not one thing, nor two or three things, that are jostling about and out of place; but it is everything: there is no one thing which has not received a shock: the law of real property, that pillar which has stood for so many ages: the law and usages of Parliament: the church and all its rights and its property: the colonial property and its cultivation, and the manners of the people: the East India affair: and the Bank affair: the *legal tender paper-money*. All is upon the stir: all is unsettled; in the midst of all this, no man can guess who is to be at the head of affairs for a month to come; and the people, having lost all confidence in their new House of Commons, and detesting the Ministry, are petitioning the King to dissolve the former and dismiss the latter. Read the history of France two years before the revolution broke out, and you will

exclaim with SOLOMON: "There is nothing new under the sun."

WM. COBBETT.

BANK OF ENGLAND CHARTER.

The House resolved itself into a committee, Mr. BARNAL in the chair.

LORD ALTHORP rose and said, that upon former occasions of the renewal of the Bank of England charter, it had been the practice of persons holding the situation which he had the honour to fill, to move the resolutions upon which the bill had been founded, in consequence of the applications made for that purpose to the House by the Bank for the renewal of its charter. Although such had been the forms of proceeding on all former occasions in which the business had commenced in that House, he apprehended that then, as at present, the propositions had not been introduced without a previous communication with the directors of the Bank of England, and without certain communications passing in the course of preparing the propositions themselves. He had felt that the present was a question of more than former importance, and, as he intended to communicate to the House other things than the Bank of England concerns, he had thought it better to make the propositions from his own suggestions, without applying for leave to lay on the table of the House a petition from the Bank for the renewal of its charter. He apprehended that no person who approached the question, and none whom he had the honour of addressing, would dispute that it was one of general importance, and of the highest consequence to the commercial interests of the country. It was a question upon which the value of the property of every person in the country must depend, whether he were engaged in commercial pursuits or in business of any sort, or whether he were abstracted from the active affairs of life. For these reasons, in considering the subject, he had felt it to be of the highest importance, and he had endeavoured to the very utmost of his power to bring forward such a proposition as would give general satisfaction, that it would afford the best security to the state. During the last session of Parliament he had thought it best, in preparing for the propositions, to move for a select committee of inquiry into the subject. That select committee had sat for a considerable time, and, although it had not concluded its inquiries and carried its examinations so far as to make out a satisfactory report to the House, the information it had collected in the course of its examination, and the great extent of the inquiries it had entered into, had induced him to conceive that the subject had been investigated sufficiently, not to render it expedient that, at the commencement of the session he

should move for the renewal of the committee. In the progress of the very valuable labours of that committee, a great deal of information had been collected, which had not before been in possession of the public. This information had related to the management of the Bank and the state of their accounts, with the mode of keeping them; and he believed that it had changed very much the opinions of many persons who had before considered the subject, and that the public generally were at the present moment inclined to look more favourably upon the management of the Bank than it had been formerly. He felt that he should have to detain the House for a considerable length of time, in stating to it the propositions he should have to submit, and the principles on which his propositions were founded; and he was therefore sure that he should best consult the convenience of the House by at once stating the settlement of the case, without any preface, or any attempt on his part, by observations which would be unavailing, to increase the attention which hon. members must necessarily be inclined to give a question of such great importance. With respect to the principles on which all banking in this and in every country must be conducted, among the first and main of those principles, was that which pronounced the absolute necessity of the convertibility of all paper issued by the Bank into money. It was on that principle alone that the House could be prepared to say that paper issues ought to have any value as a medium of exchange or harter, and every departure from that convertibility must have the worst effects on every interest, whether it were commercial, manufacturing, or agricultural. In the consideration of the question the country would always have this principle in view, and he believed that the public would never lose sight of it. He now came to the next great principle, and which related to the solvency of the bank which might be allowed to issue any circulating medium. These two great leading principles would require, he apprehended, no argument on his part in order to convince the House of their primary importance, or to prove the necessity of attending to them. He was sure that a great majority of the House was strongly impressed with the conviction that there existed a necessity of a convertible paper medium of circulation, and he believed that there would not be one dissentient voice to the proposition that whatever tended to the establishment of the solvency of the Bank must be generally advantageous. But a part of the question which was scarcely of less importance to the interest and prosperity of the country than the solvency of the Bank was that the public should have securities taken against undue fluctuations of the currency. Surely the reason of this was evident, and after the solvency of the Bank was secured, the point was to prevent by all practicable means any great or frequent variation in the value of the circulating medium. Tem-

porary issues might be made to relieve commercial distress, or their effect might be to encourage great speculations; but he believed that such speculations only increased the difficulties and distresses which were known to result from fluctuations in the value of the currency. He was aware that no system of paper medium, and that no medium whatever, could entirely prevent fluctuations in the value; and the only reasonable object which any government could attempt to attain in arranging the medium of circulation was to adopt such a system as would render fluctuations of value as little as possible. He knew that the amount of any medium in circulation must depend on the demands of the country; but in cases of any increase so as to produce a depreciation of value, the only safe remedy that could be devised was the effect of the foreign exchanges upon the country. As long as there existed a complete convertibility of paper issues into bullion the foreign exchanges would rectify an excess of circulation by a drain of bullion; and it was therefore most desirable, in any arrangements that might take place, that as little interruption should be given as possible to the effect of the foreign exchanges on the currency of the country. Any interference with the export or import of bullion might rectify the currency for the time, but the fluctuation was greater when the interference was withdrawn. The question which the House would have to decide would be in what manner the mode of supplying the paper currency should be arranged? At present it was perfectly well known that the Bank, possessing as it did the supply of currency to the metropolis, was the point on which all the currency must depend. It was in the Bank that bullion was collected, and whenever the foreign exchanges induced persons to send bullion abroad the place to which they applied was the Bank of England. The effect must come from the metropolis; and the first question for the House to decide was, whether it was more desirable that the management of the currency, or circulating medium, should be conducted by one body of issuers, or by a competition of different bankers. It appeared to him, in looking at the question, that there were advantages in favour of a single bank. In a competition of different banks it must be the interest of the banks so competing (supposing them secure as to their solvency), to issue as much paper as it was in their power to issue. They would check one another as to the amount each would issue; and it must be perfectly clear that no one of those banks would be able to issue more than its due proportion of the whole circulation; but if a state of things existed in which speculations were extended, and a great demand for a medium were to arise, it would be in the power and it would be the interest of all those banks to increase the circulating medium, though each individual bank would not issue more than its own proportion of amount. When, in con-

sequence of the increase of the circulating medium and the depreciation of the currency, which must be produced, a failure of credit took place by a turn of the foreign exchanges, each of those banks, looking to its own interests, as contrary to the interests of the other banks, would be under the necessity of contracting its issues without deference to any thing but its own interests, and thus would be produced a contraction of the currency, a fluctuation in the value of the circulating medium, all of which would be avoided by a well-conducted single bank. Another point for the House to consider was, whether one bank having the control over the large circulation of the country would not be advantageous in its being able to afford assistance to the commerce of the country in times of distress. He conceived that a single bank would be more likely to let the state of the foreign exchanges regulate the amount of its issues, and would not be so liable to keep up a circulation by artificial means; and Parliament would have greater control over one public bank than over a number of private or rival banks. Different modes had been suggested, and had been taken into consideration, as to effecting a check or control on the Bank establishment. He had spoken of one single bank of issue, but still the question remained whether that bank should be a commercial body or be placed under the control of Government. It was certainly a question of great importance whether it were desirable to intrust such a power in the hands of those not legally responsible for its exercise, or in the hands of Government, having persons to undertake the management; but this question involved another, whether the profit which must arise from managing the circulating medium should be received by Government or allowed to be enjoyed by a private company. The only objection which he was able to discover to a bank composed of private persons was the irresponsibility of those who managed it, and their possessing the profits upon the management of the circulating medium. These he thought were much more than counterbalanced by the political evils that existed on the other side (Hear). The effect of having the Ministers the great bankers of the state with the control over the circulating medium, would produce political mischiefs, which might be very great. It would be a temptation to Ministers to abuse their power. Such an influence over the circulation of the country, particularly in times of distress, might prove destructive to the constitution of the country. On the other hand, if a single bank were to be governed by fixed and known rules, from which on no occasion they could depart, he apprehended that from one evil this would be to fall into the other. Another scheme had been suggested, which was, that, although the Bank should have the management of the circulating medium, the Government should have the power to investigate, control, and manage its affairs. He thought that this plan could not be effect-

tual. He knew not what great advantages could arise from adding to the experience of the directors the addition of the opinions of the Government of the day. If the House were to look to the experience it had had of the cases in which the Bank of England had been supposed to have mismanaged its property and affairs, it would be found that very little advantage had been derived from the interference of Government. If they looked to the year 1797, or to 1822, or to 1825, without his giving any opinion whether the conduct of the Bank were right or wrong, there could be no doubt in any mind that the Government was as much to blame as the Bank. The control of Government over the management of a bank could not be very advantageous to the country. The only remaining check, and which was not a perfect check, to which the attention of Ministers had been directed, was the publication of the accounts of the Bank. (Hear, hear). Although this was not a perfect check, still, in his opinion, it would prove efficient. The principles upon which the Bank of England had managed its affairs for the last five or six years had been stated fairly to the public. The Bank had decided that the proportion of their bullion should be one-third compared to their liabilities; and the great and main principles had been, not to affect the currency by artificial means, but to allow the drain of bullion to act on the circulating medium, and to control it as the bullion was withdrawn. This was the principle on which the Bank had professed to act, and it had been the best possible principle, as it prevented any sudden changes, and allowed those circumstances which could not be avoided to act gradually on the circulation. The country had experienced what had been the effect of this mode of management during a period of very considerable difficulties. The House perhaps was aware that the exchanges had been against England for a long period, he believed from the month of August, 1830, to the month of February, 1832. During that time there had been a constant drain on the circulation of the country, and the contraction had amounted to 7,000,000*l*. He did not mean to say that in that period there had not been a great pressure of distress among the different classes of the country; but there was nothing like the distress that would have been felt if the Bank, instead of allowing the drain of bullion to act gradually, had endeavoured to control the exchange. The consequence of this had been, that the exchanges had turned in favour of England, and had since been increasing the circulation, whilst the bullion had returned to the Bank. Publicity would enable this country to judge whether the Bank had continued to act upon its principles, or whether it had departed from them. It might be said, that the directors of the Bank were not persons responsible for their conduct, and that they could not be punished for any wrong behaviour: but he would maintain, that an exposure to public opinion,

was, in fact, a responsibility sufficient with persons in the situation of those who were selected as directors of the Bank. He was, therefore, certainly prepared to state to the House, that the continuation of the issues of the Bank must be subject to the control which he had already named. He was anxious that every fair advantage should be given to the public as well as the Bank; but, in instituting a new system, he considered that the one he was about to propose was advantageous, because it had this additional benefit, that it included the least change which could be made. His proposition, therefore, was, that the Bank of England should continue to have the monopoly of the circulation of the metropolis. He also proposed to continue to them, by the same means which they now enjoyed, another advantage, by not allowing any bank consisting of more than six partners to issue their own paper. With respect to the distance at which banks must be situated from the metropolis, to enable them to issue notes payable on demand in the metropolis, he, for his own part, was not disposed to lay much stress on that point, because he believed that a less distance than sixty-five miles would effect the same object; but, on the other hand, many gentlemen contended for this point, and in his communications with the Bank directors, their wish was also expressed strongly in favour of continuing the distance of sixty-five miles; and he did not believe that the public would lose any thing by this arrangement. The next point to which he begged to call the attention of the committee, was to the length of the charter which was proposed to be renewed. He certainly felt that in this respect it was not desirable to tie up the Government for too long a period, while, on the contrary, it was better not to set the question afloat too early. Upon this feeling, therefore, he proposed that the Bank charter should be continued for a period of twenty-one years, subject to this condition, that if at the end of ten years it should seem fit to the Government to give notice to the Bank of England to that effect, the charter might then expire at the end of one year from the period of such notice being given. By this means the Government would not be tied up for ten years, although the subject would not necessarily come forward under a period of twenty-one years. With respect to the next point to which he had already alluded, namely, the publication of the amounts of the Bank of England, he proposed, that there should be a weekly account of the amount of bullion in the Bank, of the amount of notes in circulation, of various securities in their hands; such weekly account to be transmitted to the Treasury. And, further, that these weekly accounts should be consolidated at the end of the quarter, and an average of the preceding quarter should be published in the succeeding quarter in the *Gazette*. He did not propose that these accounts should be published weekly, for this reason, that that might create false im-

pressions in the minds of the public, because from some circumstances or other not connected with the currency of the country, a large sum of money might be drawn at one period; a fact which, if the accounts were published weekly, would have an effect which it was by no means desirable to produce; whereas, by taking the average of the preceding quarter, the effect would be to prove to the public whether or not the Bank were continuing that system of management which they ought to continue, and which should not be productive of evil consequences. He now came to a point upon which he felt that there would exist some considerable difference of opinion. He had already stated, that it was most desirable that no interference should take place to prevent the drain of gold from going abroad, when the exchanges were against us. This he apprehended was necessary to regulate the currency; but the internal drain of gold stood in another position. He did not apprehend any danger from giving the paper of the Bank of England every advantage, and therefore it was his intention to propose that Bank paper, or Bank of England notes, should be made a legal tender, except at the Bank and at the branch banks. He thought, as long as they had an immediate convertible currency at the Bank, and while the means of communication were kept up in this country, he could not believe that any depreciation of the currency must follow; and in the event of a run upon the branch banks, a considerable advantage would be derived by the Bank from this system. But one objection which had been to the making the Bank of England notes a legal tender was, that the effect would be to deprive the country of the circulation of bullion altogether. Now, he did not think that this would be the case. It was well known that if they issued notes of the value of a sovereign, no doubt the sovereigns would no longer remain in circulation; but, as it was not proposed to circulate notes of a lower denomination than five pounds, he did not think the effect would be to drive the gold out of the circulation of the country. Another objection which had been urged was, that as the effect of this measure would be to render a panic and a run upon the different country banks less detrimental to the parties, it would make them less careful in the management of their affairs. Admitting even this, he could not see that it counterbalanced the great advantages which would be derived by the adoption of this system. In the first place the Bank would be secured from any other drain than that caused by the differences in foreign exchanges; and they would not be under the necessity, when they expected a drain, of withholding bullion. He believed it was generally admitted that when any bank expected to have a run upon them, they provided themselves with every means to the extent of their resources to meet that run; and therefore, when a run was going on upon the country

banks, they immediately called upon the Bank of England not only for the amount of bullion actually required to meet the demands upon them, but for a much larger amount; and therefore the effect was to make a much greater internal drain than would, under other circumstances, be required. He thought if they could secure the constant convertibility of the Bank paper, and prevent its depreciation, the balance would be greatly in favour of the public. The next proposition or alteration which he had to propose was one which applied not merely to the Bank of England but to the commerce of the country generally. It was most desirable that the Bank of England should, when they wished to do so, have the opportunity of diminishing their discounts; and they had, at the present moment, the means of raising the interest at which discounts should be effected. Not very long since, when the rate of interest of money was higher than the legal interest, they had no means left to reduce the rate of discount. He proposed, therefore, to suggest to the committee an alteration to a certain extent in the provisions of the usury laws to this effect, namely, that all bills not having more than three months to run should be exempt from the usury laws. As far as his own opinion went, he had never entertained any great friendship for the usury laws. For many years he had always acted with a learned friend of his, now then in the House, and had supported his motion for a repeal of those laws; but he knew that many objections were made to the entire abolition of the usury laws. He did not think, however, that that class of gentlemen who objected to the repeal of these laws, extended their objections to bills of short dates. It might be said that the proposed suggestion would open the door to the evasion of the law; but there were fifty doors already open to the evasion of the law in this particular. That portion of the capital of the country which was lent out upon mortgage, was not the portion of capital likely to be employed in discounting bills, and therefore he did not think it would materially interfere with the interests of the majority of capitalists. However, at the present time the plan suggested could have no great effect, because the interest of money was not at the rate of one-half the legal interest; but in a period when it was desirable to give the Bank of England the power of checking the amount of their discounts, that was the period in which the interest of money was raised, and the usury laws had been evaded. It was perhaps hardly relevant for him to state that this arrangement must be beneficial to the commercial world. No one could doubt that the effect which was produced by bills not being discounted but at a certain rate of interest was to interfere with the mercantile interests of the country. Having stated these points he came next to that part of the question which related to the actual bargain which had been made with the Bank of England. The present debt due

by the public to the Bank of England amounted to 14,600,000*l.*, or rather more. Now it must be quite evident to any person who considered the subject that it was not necessary that so large an amount of capital should be locked up. He did not, however, propose to reduce this amount by any very large amount; but the effect of such an immense amount of capital being locked up in the hands of Government was to render the expense of management at the Bank much greater than it otherwise would be. The directors of the Bank of England had stated that they lost—(though, perhaps, he was not inclined to concur exactly in the statement)—that they lost one per cent. upon the interest of this capital. He could not imagine that they lost so much as this, but he knew they did lose something. The consequence was that they placed this loss as a part of the charge against the public, which the Government were obliged to pay. Now he proposed to reduce 25 per cent. of this capital, which would leave the amount something under 11,000,000*l.* due to the Bank. In having made this proposition he certainly felt that he had made one which would be advantageous to the interests of the proprietors of the Bank, and that therefore he had a right to call upon them to pay a sum of money in consideration of this advantage. The directors had consented to the suggestion which he had made, and which he thought would be an advantageous bargain to the public; and they were prepared to give up 120,000*l.*, to be deducted from the amount now paid to the Bank for the expenses of management of the Government business. In former periods the Bank had paid for the renewal of their charter by lending money at a lower rate of interest than other bodies; and at one time they had lent it at three per cent. when the legal interest was five per cent.; but in the present case two modes of payment had been offered. He had the option given him of taking the advantage of accepting a certain share in the profits of the Bank, or of adopting the proposition which he had named. He had thought it best, however, after taking the matter into his best consideration, to take a fixed payment rather than to enter into any speculative arrangement. The amount of the money thus to be paid by the Bank, when spread over the whole period, would be 2,500,000*l.*, and this was a larger amount than the Bank had ever paid for a renewal of their charter. He now came to another part of the question, which was extremely important, as it related to the whole banking business of the country. He proposed that every banking company, consisting of more than six partners, should be considered a joint-stock banking company, and that all such joint-stock companies should be established by charter. He did not wish to interfere with the establishment of joint-stock banks, but he thought it essentially necessary that they should be properly regulated, and that the charter should regulate the conditions under which such banks were established.

This of course he did not mean immediately to apply to any joint-stock bank, but he would give them a certain time to decide whether or not they would apply for a charter; at the same time it was not his wish to introduce any thing into the charter which should not be beneficial to the parties interested. In considering this question the House must recollect that there would be two classes of joint-stock banks to deal with; namely, those who issued their own notes, and those who did not. He proposed that no joint-stock bank of issue should exist within sixty-five miles of London; but at present these banks were prevented from drawing bills under fifty pounds upon London. This was a regulation which he meant to do away with, and to give them the right to draw bills on London without reference to their amount, his only object being to prevent a competition in the circulation of the metropolis. Although charters should be granted, he proposed to give to the crown the right to refuse them; because it might happen that an application would be made for a charter in a case where it would be unfit to grant one. He proposed that a charter should be given to those companies under certain conditions. The first of these conditions would be, that in the case of a joint-stock bank of issue, half of the subscribed capital should be paid up and the amount deposited in Government securities. He proposed that the partners in the joint-stock bank of issue, should be liable to an unlimited extent; and that the corporation of the Bank of England as such should not hold any shares, because he had been given to understand that the Bank had been so concerned in some instances that the public were deceived as to who were the partners. He would suggest also that the account of these banks should be periodically published. In the case of joint-stock banking companies not issuing their own notes, he proposed that one-fourth of their subscribed capital should be paid up and vested in securities, and that the shares in such bank should not be less than 100*l.* each, and that the partners should be liable or responsible to the full amount of their shares only. It would be seen by this latter proposition that he gave an advantage to the banks not of issue over those which were of issue, and this was his wish. Such then were the general provisions which he had to make on this head. Of course in the charters to be granted it would upon an application being made, be left to the discretion of the Government to say whether the amount of capital proposed to be subscribed would be sufficient for the place where the bank was intended to be established, because where the amount would be sufficient in an agricultural district it would not be sufficient in a manufacturing district. The principle upon which he should wish to act would be to give every facility to the formation of joint-stock banks. He thought it was essentially necessary that the general circulation of the country should

be known, and for that purpose he should propose that all the banks, instead of having the option of paying a stamp duty, should be compelled to make a composition of 7s. per cent. as in the case of the Bank of England; and he did not apprehend that any objection would be raised to this proposition by the country bankers. It was necessary that the amount of paper money in circulation throughout the country should be known; and as he wished not to pursue any inquisitorial system (for however fair it might be to publish the affairs of great joint-stock banks, yet in a private business the evil would be great, because the malice of a single individual might ruin the credit of a solvent and highly respectable individual), he proposed that the statements of the various banks should be sent up to the Government as confidential communications, and that all these accounts should be published in the gross amount, in order to show from time to time the amount of paper in circulation. After a few further remarks, the noble Lord observed that the tendency of these propositions was certainly to extend the Bank of England paper. He was quite sure, however, that that man must be almost insane, who would maintain that there should be only one bank of issue. He hoped and trusted that in the course which he had pursued, no compulsory means had been resorted to. He had given facilities to the establishments of joint-stock banking companies not issuing their own paper, and therefore his plan must increase the issue of Bank of England paper. The noble Lord concluded by stating, that he would proceed to put the resolutions in the hands of the Chairman, but would not take any vote upon them that night.

The CHAIRMAN then read the resolutions, the general purport of which was:

"1st. That the Bank of England, as bound by law, should discharge all its debts in the legal coin of the realm; and that it was expedient that the notes of the Bank should be a legal tender.

"2dly. That it was the opinion of the committee, that during the present session of Parliament, one-fourth part of the debt due by the public to the Bank should be paid off.

"3dly. That the Bank should make a deduction of 120,000*l.* from the sum now paid for the management of the Government business.

"4thly. That bills not having more than three months to run before they become due, shall not be subject to the usury laws.

"5thly. That royal charters should be granted with a view to afford facilities for the establishment of joint-stock companies, under certain regulations.

"6thly. That all banks issuing promissory notes, shall make a composition of 7s. per cent., in lieu of a stamp duty."

Mr. A. BARING, in commencing his observations, said that the noble Lord had made an obscure subject clear, at least to himself (Mr.

Baring). He deprecated entering fully into the question until the country was informed of the scheme of the noble Lord; and he regretted that a subject of such vast importance should have been brought forward at so advanced a period of the session. With reference to the resolutions which had been put, and to the general plan of the noble Lord, it was clear, that the object was to get rid of, and to aim at, almost the extinction of the country banks; and when the noble Lord spoke of its being far from his wish to force any part of his plan (a declaration which he had indeed accompanied with a gentle shrug of the shoulder), he thought it was sufficiently clear, that his object was to force the paper money out of the hands of the country bankers. The question before the committee resolved itself into two essentially different subjects: the one being contained in the resolutions which went to the regulation of the system of banking; and the other, the question of the bargain which had been made by the Government with the Bank. The first object undoubtedly was, to put the whole banking system of the country on a proper footing, without reference to what amount of advantage would be thrown into the hands of the Bank of England; and in respect to the communications which had been made with the directors, he trusted that the noble Lord would have no objection to give the House copies of his correspondence with them.

Lord ALTHORP said, that the greater part of his communications with the directors of the Bank of England had been verbal; but he had no objection to submit the written communications to the House.

Mr. BARING continued. He was one of those who thought it by no means advisable to drive a hard bargain with the Bank; though in the present instance, upon the first blush of the affair, it appeared to him that that body had got much the better part of the bargain with the noble Lord (Althorp). The Bank appeared to be not a little indebted to the noble Lord. He would briefly state the reasons why it appeared to him that the Bank was treated by the noble Lord somewhat too leniently. He did not object to that part of the plan which went to provide for the payment to the Bank of one-fourth part of the debt if they so desired it. Being possessed of a capital of ten or eleven millions, there was sufficient security for such an establishment. Indeed the Bank might carry on their business without any capital, and they did so in reality, only it was necessary for them to keep specie and bullion in their coffers to provide against any risk that might arise from a run. The compensation paid to the Bank for managing the affairs of the Government under the existing agreement was 248,000*l.*, from which under the plan now proposed, a deduction was to be made of 120,000*l.* The noble Lord entered into no observations to shew whether this reduction was made on the ground that he considered the former allowance of 248,000*l.* too much, or

whether such a reduction was made in the way of compensation for the new charter to be granted. If, in reality, the 248,000*l.* was too much by the sum of 120,000*l.*, the public got nothing for the renewal of the charter. Mr. Grenfell, from year to year, for a considerable time, was in the habit of attacking the Bank for the amount paid them in this way, and contended that 248,000*l.* was a great deal too much. He (Mr. Baring) always opposed him on this point, but not on the ground of the amount paid, but on the ground that it was a bargain which must be fulfilled until the charter expired. He took it for granted, therefore, that the 120,000*l.* was not to be considered in the light both of economy and compensation; and he must therefore come to the conclusion that the noble Lord did not consider 248,000*l.* too much as remuneration for the business done by the Bank. The committee had not sufficient time to form an opinion upon this point, and therefore he did not know to what conclusion they might have come. Suppose it not to be too much, then the *prima facie* view of the case was this:—The compensation given by the Bank for the last charter was the advance to Government of the whole of their capital, 14,600,000*l.*, at an interest of three per cent. in place of five per cent. Here was a bonus of 2*l.* per cent. given to the public for the charter. (Hear.) The Government was at the time this contract was entered into borrowing at 80*l.* and 85*l.* It was, therefore, a clear compensation for the charter of 2*l.* per cent. on the interest of the whole sum of 14,600,000*l.* This amounted to somewhere about 280,000*l.*, or he would say 300,000*l.* What was the value of money at the present time? Not 3*l.* per cent.; it was not more than 2½*l.* per cent.; and exchequer bills were circulated at 2*l.* and 3*l.* per cent. above par. Take the present value of money at 3*l.* per cent., and then, according to the terms of the former agreement, when the Bank lent them capital at 3*l.* per cent. in place of 5*l.* per cent., they should now lend it at 1*l.* in place of 3*l.* per cent. It was for this reason he considered the noble Lord as having dealt too liberally. There was, so far as he could see, no stipulation as to the public balances, which was a very important part of the transaction. The tendency of the measure now was to force Bank of England paper into circulation. He did not mean to say that this was not proposed to be effected on terms favourable to the country banker. Upon the great subject of the Bank itself, and the manner in which it was conducted, he fully agreed with the noble Lord that experience proved the general system to be a judicious one. Not only was it proved to be so by the experience of this country, but by that of almost every part of the world where the same principle was acted upon. He heard, therefore, with great pleasure the admission of the noble Lord, and it was worthy of being written in letters of gold in that chamber where the affairs of this great concern were managed. The Bank had so

accommodated itself to the affairs of this country that no considerable alteration could be made in the system without producing the greatest inconvenience. The same system was found equally beneficial wherever it was adopted. The Bank of Hamburgh was now, he believed, the only one conducted on a different principle, which he considered a bad one. It was adopted in all parts of America, and he did not think it admitted of any material improvement. He fully agreed with the noble Lord that there ought to be only one bank of issue in London. The other plan of having more banks of issue than one was repudiated by any man of sense and experience, and in this the whole of the committee concurred. The competition where there were more banks of issue than one, must produce a jarring which would prevent any bank from acting without previous inquiry into the proceedings of the other, without seeing what their rival was about, and thus could not fail to lead to great inconvenience and embarrassment. The next point to which the noble Lord adverted, was the limitation of distance within which other banks might be established with more than a certain number of partners; and he thought the noble Lord right in his limitation. There was no very considerable town nearer to London than sixty-five miles: and no benefit could arise from bringing the privilege nearer to the metropolis. Now one word as to chartered banks. His opinion was, that this country had never yet sufficient experience of the principle to judge fairly of it. It was Mr. Huskisson's intention to have inquired fully into it, had he lived. It was his (Mr. Baring's) opinion, that it had prevented capital from being employed in the business of banking, if every proprietor were rendered liable to the full amount of his property. He approved of the French principle, always, however, taking care that the capital was really advanced, and not subsequently taken out. The Board of Trade could not employ itself better than in entering upon a careful revision of this important subject. The noble Lord said, that banks of issue would be unlimited in responsibility, but banks not of issue limited. He did not see upon what grounds the distinction was made. The noble Lord said, the present limitation, which prevented country bankers from drawing bills on London for less than fifty pounds was to be removed, and that they might in future draw to any other smaller amount.

LORD ALTHORP said, across the table, as we understood, that his object was not to limit the issue of their notes payable in London.

MR. BARING: If they might draw on London for bills of 50*l.* or of 5*l.*, it would be the same in effect as allowing them to issue their own paper. There must be some limitation to such a power. However, he should not at present venture to offer any opinion upon this part of the subject. Another part of the noble Lord's plan was, to compel all banks

alike to compromise for their stamps at the rate of seven shillings per cent. on all their issues. How was the noble Lord to ascertain the amount of their issues? Was he to take the word of the banker for it?

LORD ALTHORP mentioned, across the table, how the amount was to be ascertained, but was inaudible.

MR. BARING admitted it would be a great improvement to know the amount of the issues. There was one part of this plan to which he personally had a great objection—an objection founded on his experience of such matters, as well in this as in other countries. His opinion, however, upon this point, was not very likely to find much favour at the present time. What he alluded to was the publicity to be given to the affairs of the Bank. He feared it would have the effect of cramping and limiting the operations of the Bank for the purpose of preserving appearances, and thus produce much inconvenience to the public. He should like much to know what were the opinions of the directors upon this point. He knew there were one or two in the committee who saw no objection to it. He feared it would have the effect of creating alarm when there was no ground for it, and increase the tendency of the public to feel alarm. A bank, like every other commercial concern, might have its available funds low this week, though with ample means of setting itself right the week following. This, however, the public would not take into consideration, but commence a run that might be productive of the most serious evil. Take the case of 1825. In fair weather every boat might go to sea: but in this country they must have a vessel strong enough to weather every storm. If this principle of publicity had been in operation in 1825, the Bank would have been obliged to stop payment over and over again; for they were at one time reduced to a few thousands, or, he believed, a few hundreds. The Bank was certain of supplies in the following week, and the whole thing would have righted itself. But could this be done if the principle of publicity was in operation? What would it signify in such a case if the Bank had a million or a million and a half by them, which would be taken off in a few hours? There was no inconvenience felt from the present mode of proceeding in this respect, quite the contrary. He knew that the principle of publicity was acted upon in other countries, but he knew also that many serious inconveniences resulted from it. So high was the credit of the Bank in this country, that there was no occasion for such a course. In this point he believed the noble Lord yielded a little to popular feeling. The inconvenience would certainly be diminished by having this publication made only once in three months. It was not true that the amount of bullion in the Bank was regulated by the exchanges. It was more regulated by circumstances of domestic alarm than by any other. He ventured to suggest to the noble Lord, that it

would be better to make his averages about the middle of each quarter, than either at the beginning or at the end. It would make a material difference if they were made immediately before or immediately after the issue of the dividends, because in the former case they would be far too high, in the latter far too low. The second resolution might be more judiciously worded than it was. The noble Lord said, the Bank of England would be obliged to pay their notes in specie, not only in London, but in their branch banks. He would be disposed to limit the payment in specie to London. This would be sufficient protection against depreciation. It was the proposition of Mr. Ricardo, that payment in specie should be limited to London, and to no less an amount than 100l. He supposed it was the intention of the noble Lord to confine this liability, so far as regarded the branch banks, to the amount issued by the branches themselves, not extending to all notes of the Bank of England. He would not venture to suggest any time for considering this most important subject. To give it all the consideration it deserved would take till Christmas, and he must again express his regret that it was brought forward at so late a period of the session. He would not pledge himself to any particular course, but wait till the subject came in detail before the House.

MR. GROVE said, he was not disposed to quarrel with the regulations proposed by the noble Lord. The noble Lord insisted much on the utility of publicity; but in what he proposed upon this point he deviated much from his own principle. There was no security to the public except by giving publicity to the affairs of the Bank from time to time. A quarterly publication was not sufficient. It appeared the weekly averages were to be sent into the Government, and he thought it desirable that these averages should be made public every quarter. It would be most important to have such a series of returns from time to time to compare with each other. It would perhaps be better to make the period six months in the place of three, and at the end of six months to give all the weekly averages. He saw no objection to the other parts of the plan. Making bank notes a legal tender appeared to him a great improvement.

MR. J. SMITH was nearly inaudible in the gallery. We understood him to say that the Bank need be under no apprehension of a run in consequence of the state of the exchanges. It might arise from causes at home, not from the exchanges. When this measure was in operation a run could not take place except from causes which no human foresight could prevent. In 1825 the difficulties of the Bank were occasioned by their liberality in support of the country bankers, which reflected the greatest credit on them. They could have then met their own engagements with the greatest ease; but what they advanced to the country banks was returned to them again. Under the plan now proposed the country

bankers would not come to London, for they could be at liberty to pay in notes of the Bank of England. This was a circumstance of great importance. The Bank was subject to great losses in the payment of the dividends. At one time they sustained a loss of not less than half a million in this way; and he did not think they were over-liberally paid for their trouble. The sum of 120,000*l.* was anything but liberal. In the year 1816 the directors gave a proof of their disregard for their own selfish interests which he believed the conductors of no other banking establishment in Europe would give. Their affairs were obdusted with prudence and liberality. The plan as it regarded country banks was one of great complexity, but he could not agree with his hon. friend (Mr. Baring), that the object was to put an end to the issue of country bank paper, which was a great convenience in manufacturing towns. The people preferred it to the paper of the Bank of England, with which they were not so well acquainted. He hoped that publicity would have the effect of reconciling the public to the plan. He had no doubt that it would, as it ought, give general satisfaction to the country.

Mr. O'CONNELL hoped the committee would excuse him for asking an explanation as to the working of the plan as regarded his country. He wished to know whether the noble Lord proposed to make Bank of England notes a legal tender in Ireland? If not, did he intend to propose that the notes of the Bank of Ireland should be a legal tender in Ireland? And further, he wished to know whether the noble Lord meant to bring forward any proposition as to the charter of the Bank of Ireland this session; and if so, when?

Lord ALTHORP said that his proposed plan was not intended to extend either to Ireland or Scotland. As to the charter of the Bank of Ireland, that did not expire till 1837, so that nothing could be done with regard to it, excepting to pay off what was due to the Bank, and give notice of an intention to make alterations in it.

Mr. O'CONNELL: The noble Lord has said nothing upon the subject of making Bank of Ireland notes a legal tender in Ireland.

Lord ALTHORP: I have said that I do not intend that the act shall at all apply to Ireland.

Mr. HUME was opposed to the plan of the noble Lord. He was opposed to all monopolies, and he was convinced that if the Bank of England monopoly had not existed, and been greatly mismanaged, the panic of 1825 would not have occurred. He was sorry to hear that the country would be subjected to ten or eleven years more of this monopoly, which had already done so much mischief. He thought the Government of the country should so manage that no body of individuals should have power to raise or lower the currency at pleasure. He thought, also, the country ought not to be deprived of the profit of management, to the extent of 600,000*l.*, enjoyed by

the Bank of England. He was sorry that it was intended to continue the Bank monopoly for sixty-five miles round London. Such a plan was contrary to all the noble Lord's principles of freeing the country altogether from monopoly. The bargain mentioned by the noble Lord appeared to him a laughable concern. It was giving an additional advantage to the Bank. The effect of making the Bank paper a legal tender would be as assuredly to drive the gold out of the country as the existence of one-pound notes had been. At present every banker that issued Bank of England notes was obliged to keep gold to answer the amount of the issue. Under the proposed alterations that would not be the case; and then what would become of the gold? It would not lie idle. Why ought not the business of banking to be open to competition like all other businesses? The hon. Member for Essex (Mr. Baring) said that mischief would follow from a rival bank. On the contrary, he held there could be no possible danger, but much greater security; for one would act as a check upon the other. He did not think that any danger could arise from the publicity of the affairs of the Bank. He hoped the noble Lord would reconsider his plan, and especially that part of it which continued the monopoly of the Bank of England for sixty-five miles round London.

Colonel TORRENS did not think the Bank of England was to be trusted with the powers proposed to be given to it by the noble Lord. The evidence of the Bank directors before the committee proved that so far from decreasing, the Bank had augmented the fluctuations of the currency. Even upon the showing of the noble Lord the Bank was to have only one-third bullion as compared with their paper circulation in its coffers; so that if there was a paper circulation of thirty millions, there was to be a golden deposit of ten millions in the Bank coffers. If then a bad harvest or any other cause were to reduce the quantity of gold to five millions, the paper circulation must be reduced suddenly to fifteen millions.

Lord ALTHORP thought the honourable and gallant Member had entirely misconceived the plan of the Bank. Their object, as stated by themselves, was to keep their securities level, but always to have one-third of their liabilities in gold. If five millions of gold were drawn out of their coffers to go abroad, they would reduce their paper circulation five millions, but no more, and certainly not fifteen millions, as supposed by the hon. and gallant Member.

Colonel TORRENS explained.

Sir. M. W. RIDLEY wished to know if, when a country bank issued nothing but Bank of England paper, would they be required to publish the amount of their issues? He took that opportunity of stating that the making five-pound Bank of England notes a legal tender was no boon to the country banker, and had not been sought by him.

Lord ALTHORP said that a country banker who only issued Bank of England notes could have no circulation at all.

Mr. Baring and Sir M. W. Ridley said a few words which were not audible in the gallery.

Mr. BARING then observed upon the inconvenience of not including Scotland in making Bank of England notes a legal tender. It would be a great inconvenience that these notes should be a legal tender in one part of the country and not in another. Thus in Newcastle how inconvenient for a man to be paid by his English debtors in a currency which did not circulate across the border, so that he could not pay his creditors north of the Tweed in it.

Lord ALTHORP said that to make the Bank of England notes a legal tender in Scotland would be to exclude a bullion circulation in that country altogether.

Mr. FORSTER was of opinion that the plan of making Bank of England notes a legal tender would promote rather than prevent panics.

Lord ALTHORP stated, in answer to a question, that he should propose bringing on the further discussion of this measure on Monday next night.

The House then resumed, and the chairman reported progress.

Mr. BARING moved for copies of the correspondence between the Government and Bank directors, respecting the renewal of the Bank charter.—Ordered.

NEW BANK CHARTER.

ON Friday week a meeting of the proprietors of Bank stock was held at the Bank, for the purpose of considering the subject of the Bank charter. The room was excessively crowded long before two o'clock, the meeting having been originally appointed for twelve.

At two o'clock the Governor and several directors entered the room.

Mr. RAIKES, the governor, stated, that the reason why the meeting had been postponed from twelve to two o'clock was, that Lord Althorp had written to him begging him to do so, because he feared that if the meeting took place at twelve o'clock, the evening papers would take an account of the proceedings, and members of the House of Commons would have them in their hands before he could make his statement in the House. His Lordship thought, that by postponing the meeting till two o'clock, this would be utterly impossible. The minutes of the last meeting having been read,

A proprietor asked, as it was Lord Althorp's wish that the proceedings should not be reported in the evening papers, whether the Court should not take some steps to prevent the report getting into those papers?

The Governor said, that the Court had always been open to the press, and having complied with his Lordship's wish, he did not see that it was necessary to take any further steps.

A proprietor said, that if the Court were to express a wish on the subject, he should imagine that the editors of the evening papers would not report the proceedings.

The subject was here dropped.

The Governor then read a letter from Lord Althorp, of which the following is a copy:—

“Downing-street, 2. May, 1833.”

“GENTLEMEN,—After duly considering the conversation which we have had with you, the substance of which I have reported to my colleagues, his Majesty's Government have directed me to make the following proposals to you, for the purpose of renewing the Bank charter:—

“1. We propose to renew the charter for twenty-one years, subject, however, to this condition, that if at the end of ten years, the then existing government should think fit, they may give twelve months' notice to the Bank, that the charter should expire at the end of eleven years.

“2. That no banking company, consisting of more than six partners, shall issue notes, payable on demand, within the metropolis, or within sixty-five miles of the metropolis. Banking companies, however, consisting of any number of partners, established at a greater distance from the metropolis than sixty-five miles, shall have the right to draw bills on London, without restriction as to the amount, and to issue notes payable in London.

“3. Bank of England notes shall be a legal tender, except at the Bank of England, or at any of its branches.

“4. Bills not having more than three months to run before they become due, shall not be subject to the usury laws.

“5. An account, similar to that laid before the Bank committee, of the amount of bullion and securities in the hands of the Bank, and of the amount of notes in circulation, and of the deposits in the hands of the Bank, shall be transmitted as a confidential paper, weekly, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; these accounts shall be consolidated at the end of each quarter, and the average state of the Bank accounts for the preceding quarter published quarterly in the *Gazette*.

“6. A bill will also be introduced into Parliament, with a view of regulating country banks. Provisions of this measure will be such as to hold out an inducement to the establishment of joint-stock banks, which will not issue their own notes.

“His Majesty's Government direct me to call your attention to the advantages which these different propositions are likely to confer upon the Bank; their tendency must be to extend the circulation of its notes, and by relieving bills at short dates from the usury

laws, to facilitate its operations, which is, on the other hand, the only relaxation in its exclusive privileges, as they at present exist; what is required, is the permission given to joint-stock banks established at a greater distance than sixty five miles from the metropolis to draw bills or to issue notes payable in London.

"His Majesty's Government, therefore, think they have a right to expect some considerable pecuniary advantages from the Bank in the management of the Government business. They, consequently, propose that Government should pay to the Bank 25 per cent. of the debt of 14,500,000*l.* now due, and that the Bank shall deduct from the payments made to them from the Government, for the transactions of the Government business, the annual sum of 120,000*l.*

"I hope that this proposal will be satisfactory to the Bank directors, and that by making this arrangement, an end may speedily be put to the suspense now existing.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

"Your most obedient humble servant.

"ALTHORP."

A proprietor asked whether the directors had acceded to the plan thus detailed?

The Governor replied that if the measure respecting the country banks spoken of by Lord Althorp were passed, the directors had resolved to accept of the proposition made.

The Chairman said that the directors felt themselves justified in recommending the adoption of the propositions, supposing that the measures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer be carried into effect by the Parliament. What the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed respecting the country banks, in which an encouragement was given to joint-stock banks, must increase the circulation of the Bank of England, and, therefore, if the measures be carried into Parliament, the Directors would recommend that the propositions be adopted.

Mr. LLOYD then rose, and said if he understood the answer of the chairman, the plan of the Government, as detailed, was recommended for the adoption of the proprietors by the unanimous voice of the directors. (Loud cries of hear, hear). After such an expression of opinion on the part of the Court of Directors, it would naturally be expected that some expression of opinion should emanate from that Court of Proprietors. As the question of the Bank charter had been fully before the public for the last twelve months, he did not see any reason why they should not at once consider the plan. (Hear, hear). It was evidently founded upon the evidence which was given before the committee of the Commons, by men of the greatest experience; and as he thought every one present had well studied that evidence, they would now be well acquainted with the plan, and of course ready to come to a conclusion, which, in his opinion, would be at once to give it their cordial approval. (Hear, hear). The principal question

was, would the plan place the monetary system of the country upon a safe, sound, and satisfactory basis? (Hear). A secondary question was, whether the plan was founded upon the true principles of economy? The first part of the plan was the renewal of the charter. Exclusive privileges of any kind were not, at the present day, in good favour with the public; but no one would now like to see the liberty of coining in the power of every individual. Surely the same principle ought to be carried into effect in the monetary system of the country, which was a subject not less delicate than that of the coin. Surely it was most proper that the whole management of such a delicate business should be placed in the hands of a company which was at all times responsible—upon whom the responsibility might at once be fixed. The proper control over any body was unquestionably found in publicity of the concerns of that body. It was, therefore, with satisfaction that he saw the Government of the country dealing with such a delicate subject under the control of publicity. By these means the greatest benefit must be secured to the public, who would also derive an advantage from this fact, that they would have reason to keep a watch upon the future fluctuation of the currency. His views of the propositions and of the principles by which they were characterised were, that they were wise, salutary, and efficient. They were calculated to give greater power to that body in the discharge of their duties. The first was, that which make Bank notes a legal tender by all parties except by the Bank. That was an important, wise, and judicious regulation; for, if it be expedient that a paper circulation, for the purposes of economy and convenience, be substituted for gold, every person for the public good, should be compelled to receive it. (Hear). The next regulation was rather of a more prospective character, viz, that by which the effect of the usury laws was suspended, so far as related to bills having three months to run. It was unnecessary to use any arguments, in order to show that those laws were founded entirely in ignorance. There was a great inconvenience experienced at the Bank at times when the demand for money was so great as to make its value exceed five per cent., for at that time it was clear, that the Bank was either compelled to refuse or limit its discounts, or to extend its issue, both of which were evils that ought to be avoided. He thought, upon the whole, that the proposed management of the monetary system of the country was founded on sound and just principles, as it would be placing that management under one body, and that body controlled by sound and salutary regulations. As a matter of secondary importance, he would now advert to what were to be the pecuniary matters between the Government and the Bank. The first proposition was, that 25 per cent. on the present capital of the Bank should be repaid. It was of essential importance to the

public that the capital of the Bank should be of that amount which should secure its responsibility. He believed that the capital, as now proposed, would be found fully adequate to the public service. The next regulation that was proposed was, that Government should from henceforth pay to the Bank 120,000*l.* less for transacting the public business than they had hitherto paid. That was a large deduction certainly from the sum that was now received by the Bank, but all that that body could reasonably expect was, such a remuneration as would compensate them for the employment of their capital. Upon this point he would say the proprietors might place a full confidence in the discretion of the Court of Directors. Under all the circumstances of the case, it appeared to him that the plan was one that the court might satisfactorily adopt. It placed the monetary arrangement on the same footing, and it was characterised by those principles of fairness and liberality which were due to the Bank of England. He gave the Court of Directors his most full and unqualified approbation for their conduct (hear, hear); and whatever might have been their conduct upon other subjects, upon the present one it had elicited sound and honest principles. The hon. proprietor concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

“That this court fully approves of the course pursued by the Court of Directors in their negotiations with the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the renewal of the privileges of the Bank of England, and authorises them to come to a final arrangement, founded on the letter this day read by the chairman.”

Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL seconded the resolution.

Mr. F. YOUNG thought it was a subject of great alarm to throw all the responsibility of providing gold for paper upon the Bank of England. (Hear, hear). He looked at it with great alarm, because he saw that no part of the country was to be compelled to hold a single guinea; to pay any engagement but the Bank of England; and they were to be compelled to pay not only in London, but at all their branch banks throughout the country. They all knew well what was the consequence of an alarm—in those cases the people thought their best means of defence was to run for gold; but now all that the country banker would have to do, would be to give Bank of England notes when money was demanded of him, and the Bank of England would have to find gold for those notes. As to the return of their capital, he objected to its being paid back in small proportions. He hoped that they would have ample time to consider propositions which went to affect the whole monetary system of the country.

An hon. proprietor concurred in the views taken by the last speaker.

Mr. HAMMOND wished to know whether the plan had been adopted with or without any

correspondence with the Chancellor of the Exchequer?

The Governor said that he and the directors had had many interviews with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but no correspondence, and the plan had been founded at these interviews.

Mr. WINTER said the plan proposed by Government, in his opinion was greatly objectionable; it would effect great alterations in the monetary system; would throw the great weight of procuring bullion on the Bank, and would have a tendency to increase panics in the country. He saw no benefit to the Bank, and it would, in his opinion, be better for them that their charter should be put an end to. But could it be put an end to. The charter must either be continued, or the debt due from the Government must be paid to the Bank (hear, hear); and if it were paid, the Bank would possess a capital that would defy all competition. (Hear). The measure proposed was, in his opinion, preposterous. The Bank notes were to be made a legal tender to a certain extent, and in the same breath the Government took one quarter of its capital from the Bank, on which the issue of notes was founded. The proposition, with respect to certain bills not being subject to the usury laws, gave, in his opinion, great benefit to the country banker, by allowing him to discount notes at a larger discount; but the old lady in Threadneedle-street, who was to provide every thing, would derive no advantage whatever. He therefore urged the expediency of an adjournment to a future day.

Mr. WEDON thought it would be monstrous on the part of the Court of Proprietors to come to an immediate conclusion on this measure. What was the proposition of Ministers? Why, that the Bank should have all the risk of a run for gold, and no benefit in return. They were to be deprived of 120,000*l.* annually. What would become of their dividend of eight per cent. if such an event took place? The proposition ought not to be adopted without great deliberation; and he should therefore move as an amendment, that the papers should be printed for the use of the proprietors, and that the meeting should adjourn to Monday. (Loud cries of “Wednesday.”) He would name any day that would be most convenient.

After a few more remarks by the Governor and some of the proprietors, the meeting was adjourned to Wednesday next, at twelve o'clock.

PEEL

LET PEEL and ALTHORP and the “expungers” read the two following petitions, one to the King, and the other to the House that rescinded its vote on the malt-tax; and they will see, that

"expunging from the Journals" and "expunging" from men's minds, are two very different things. Let them also read the *speeches* that were made at the Meeting at NEWCASTLE, when these two petitions were agreed to by the unanimous vote of ten thousand men; and then let them resolve to unite against all these "*speculators in confusion.*"

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE, your Majesty's dutiful subjects, inhabitants of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Gateshead, and the surrounding districts, in public meeting assembled, are under the necessity to come before your Majesty with our complaint of grievances, in hope and expectation of receiving from your goodness, early and effectual redress.

It had, Sire, always been the birth-right of your Majesty's subjects, of the productive classes, under the designation of the commons of this realm, to be legislated for and taxed alone according to their own consent, solemnly and publicly given by such representatives as they should themselves depute, within their own, the Commons House of Parliament. But, for the last eighty years past, at the least, this right has been substantially and virtually annulled and abrogated, as perfectly as if it had never existed, by means of scandalous and general abuses in the system of election, to the effect of utterly depriving them of all power of choosing for themselves the persons so to act and legislate for them in Parliament.

This effect, Sire, has been produced solely by ambitious encroachments, devices, and intrigues of peers of Parliament, and of their friends, relations, and dependents; together with such proportion of the more wealthy commoners, as either aspired to be peers themselves, or to share, at any rate, such benefits and power as an actual control over the representation of the people was too well calculated to supply.

The practical abuses and oppressions

which resulted from this perversion of the people's right to settle their own laws and taxes, have been of magnitude so monstrous, and severity so dreadful, as to have become at length, apparently, no longer capable of co-existence with the ancient public institutions of the country. For, by this means has not only been at length created a system of public prodigality, unequalled in the history of all the world; but, when, may it please your Majesty, all the dexterity of financiers, and the rapacity of tax-gatherers, were unable to supply, by annual exactions, the demands of a profusion more insatiable than death itself, a debt of eight hundred millions was borrowed in as little time as it might take to count it, and the lenders of this debt, instead of being paid by those who borrowed it, were quartered for its annual interest of thirty millions on the public taxes, such taxes being, may it please your Majesty, imposed in such a manner as to fall entirely on the productive classes of the people.

We humbly beseech your Majesty's attention to the fact, that, by the payment of such interest from such public taxes, these productive classes, in addition to having been made, as it should seem, a property, a spoil, and heritage to aristocracy, are even made a property and heritage to one another; that, though not *assigned by sale*, as are the negroes of the Indies, they are yet, no less, *assigned by mortgage* to such persons as are called the public creditors; and that every labourer of England is thus virtually compelled to support, and, as it were, to carry on his back, an idler who produces nothing, and who, though he share not in that labourer's toils, must share one half, it may be, of his daily meals!

But in order to assure your Majesty, on good authority, of the terrible extent of this infliction, we beg leave to state it on the authority of one who was himself the principal instrument by which it was imposed. Let us state, then, to your Majesty, on the authority of the too fatally celebrated William Pitt, that it amounts to sixpence out of every shilling which is earned or spent

by the labourers and poor men in this kingdom!

May we not, then, may it please your Majesty, too justly say, that we have been made not only slaves to lords, but slaves to those who are themselves but slaves, in being thus bound and manacled by cruel mortgages to our own brethren, and one another?

Even this, your Majesty, has not been deemed enough. The merciless aristocrats who ruled us, not content with the enormous augmentation of their enormous wealth, by exclusive appropriation of all the profitable abuses which they had established in the church and state; not content with the enormous increase of their rents, occasioned by the increase of the population, which operates as an additional, though, a perhaps, inevitable burden on the productive classes; not content with even this advance, this all-insatiable aristocracy contrived, by laws expressly fitted to that end, to augment still further their too-much-before augmented rent-rolls, by an additional oppression on the persecuted people.

Yes, may it please your Majesty; as if the monopoly afforded by the sole possession of these peopled islands were not monopoly enough, they have forbidden the people from setting at least some limits to their measureless extortions in the price of all which constitutes the food of man, by forbidding them to feed themselves with foreign bread and foreign meat, even loaded as they must have been with all the charges of a distant freight, except on payment of most monstrous taxes!

Take it not amiss, Sire, that we are unable to refrain from crying out aloud, that whosoever else may refuse to hear our pleadings in this cause, the King of kings himself will hear them, and will avenge your people.

May it please your Majesty, still more bitter and more endless are your people's wrongs! The public debt, so please your Majesty, was lent in paper-money of but half the value of the sums it nominally stood for. Our task-masters have, however, ordered us to pay the interest in gold of standard purity and

weight: thus doubling its effective weight and pressure by a single blow!

And at the same time, and by the self-same law, that bill of Peel's—so fatal to thousands of your subjects—and not unlikely, may it please your Majesty, to be even fatal to the institutions of the state—they no less doubled every other tax, besides those levied for the public debt; all tithes; all rents; all taxes; and assessments whatsoever!

This last act of wanton and unprofitable, nay, even of blind and of insane affliction, should almost seem, may it please your Majesty, to have been sent by Providence. By filling the cup of public suffering too full, it caused it to overflow. By rendering the public sufferings and burdens physically unendurable, it of necessity enforced a change. Accordingly, that particular faction of the aristocracy which had been so long in power, was driven from the helm of state by an explosion of the public rage, and your Majesty was graciously and wisely pleased to appoint a Ministry, composed indeed of members of the aristocracy, but composed of individuals who by liberal professions, by long denunciations of constitutional abuse, and by promises to relieve the people's sufferings, had won their confidence and love. And, under your Majesty's most gracious auspices, that new administration brought in, at length, and carried what was called an act of representative reform.

What, then, may it please your Majesty, what must have been the bitter disappointment of your people, on discovering, after ample trial, that this so-called reform is, to all intents and purposes, a mockery? Nay, what indeed, must be their feelings, when it became at last apparent, that by a deep conspiracy, a combination and a juggle, between the two great factions of the state, who, however much they hate each other, should seem to hate your people more, it had been actually contrived, intended, and so brought to pass, that nothing but a mockery it should be? For, after the refusal by both Ministry and Parliament, to grant the abolition of all and every great abuse;

after the refusal of the repeal of taxes ; after the refusal to reduce the debt in due proportion to the altered money, or to restore the former state and value of such altered currency or money : after the assumption of the power to supersede the fundamental principles of public liberty, and their actual supersession in the case of Ireland, what other conclusion could your people form than that which we have stated ?

Under these circumstances, may it please your Majesty, it would be deeply criminal, from fear to give your Majesty the pain of hearing it, for us to conceal the dangerous extent of your people's discontent. There is, then, let us be permitted frankly to inform your Majesty, a terrible struggle in your people's bosoms, between expiring patience and awakening rage. May we not then presume that your Majesty will pardon us for presuming to suggest such measures, as seem to us alone effectually adapted to allay this rising tempest, dangerous, as it must be, to many objects which we would very willingly preserve.

We think, then, may it please your Majesty, that it is indispensable to the attainment of this object, and we therefore humbly pray your Majesty to that effect, that your Majesty should dismiss the present Ministry, appointing in their stead such other persons as may be internally disposed, as well as by your Majesty empowered and ordered, to effect another and a true reform in the election of the people's representatives, upon the principle of extending the elective franchise to every man who in any way contributes to the service and the burdens of the state, and of taking such elections by the method of the ballot, and for no longer periods than one single year.

And we further think it needful, and therefore, humbly further solicit your Majesty to that effect, that your Majesty should cause it to be perfectly and generally understood, that the object of such constitutional reform, is nothing else than the attainment of the abolition of such practical abuses as oppress, impoverish, and degrade your people ; particularly, may it please your Majesty,

the abolition of those odious corn-laws, and such other laws as have imposed taxes on such part of the necessary food of man as your people might import from other countries ; the equitable adjustment of the public debt, in due proportion to the change effected in the public money, or else the restoration of that money to its state and value at the time such debt was borrowed ; and, finally, the general reduction of the total taxes of the state to the amount collected previous to the year 1793.

We beg leave finally to assure your Majesty, that we are confident your people would be contented to abide by whatever should be done by a Parliament so reformed, with respect to all the great objects to which they have above referred, and that we are equally persuaded that they are not, and that they will not be contented with leaving things upon their present footing, and in the hands of such a Ministry, and such a House of Commons as exist at present. And, therefore, earnestly beseeching your Majesty to take all these things into your Majesty's gracious consideration, they conclude with the expression of a prayer for the welfare, honour, and safety of your Majesty and your dominions.

Showeth,

That your petitioners struggled for the passing of that Reform Bill, under the operation of which your honourable House was elected, not from any vain wish to obtain for themselves some privileges of which they were before destitute, but solely with a view to national welfare ; as a means to an end ; in short, that by the agency of a reformed House, which they fondly hoped might really represent the Commons of England and Ireland, and carry their wishes into effect, the country might be lightened of those enormous burdens laid on by former Governments, of which it is difficult to say whether the profligacy or the stupidity was greatest ; which burdens are now become too intolerable to be borne much longer, or to be attempt-

ed to be continued with safety to the existing form of Government.

That your petitioners behold with disappointment extreme, not unmixed with feelings of deep indignation and alarm, that your honourable House has turned a deaf ear to the multitudinous petitions of the people for financial reform, and for the immediate mitigation of that unparalleled scale of expenditure, which if continued much longer must, as was the case in France, plunge this country into inevitable revolution; and that your honourable House still suffers to remain those flagrant abuses, those swarming sinecures, that multiplication of useless and expensive offices, those unmerited pensions, that misapplication of public property of all descriptions, and that corrupt and mercenary church, especially as existing in Ireland; their tolerance of all which has ever been held to be the great stigma, the damning plague spot of former corrupt Houses of Commons, and the tolerance of which, if continued by your honourable and ostensibly reformed House, must strike the people with utter despair, and tend to destroy effectually their remaining affection for the present form of Government.

That your petitioners will now earnestly strive to impress upon your honourable House the utter, the entire, the hopeless impossibility of the present scale of taxation, or anything like it, being continued much longer.

That your petitioners would remind your honourable House, that during the darkest period of the late war against the liberties of France, when that *unjust load upon posterity*, which is, in your petitioners' opinion, most falsely called the "*national debt*"—but for neither interest nor principal of which your petitioners deem themselves liable either in law, equity, or common sense—had arrived at its height, the amount of taxation, in the then depreciated money of the country, never exceeded eighty millions in the one year. That the taxes raised at present, including the enormous and appalling poor-rates, amounts to fifty-six millions of pounds in a year, the value of which pounds is, in accord-

ance with Peel's bill, measured by standard gold, and which are worth fully one hundred and twelve millions of the depreciated money as it existed before Peel's most ignorant or else most wicked measure was adopted. And, that, as if this horrible pressure of taxation were not enough, these taxes are in many instances laid on in the most cruel and partial manner; avoiding the rich landed aristocracy, sparing the leviathan capitalist, but pressing to the earth the industrious classes, robbing them of their earnings, and curtailing even their means of supporting life. That, in short, the war taxes on *property* are *repealed*, those on the *necessaries of life unrepealed*.

That, as the absurd consequence of this iniquitous system, the agriculture and commerce of the country are in a state of rapid ruin and decay, increasing their dreadful speed with every progressive step. That the property of the tenants of farms is nearly exhausted; the capital invested in manufacture in many cases valueless; and the returns of foreign commerce and the commercial marine nothing. That hundreds of thousands of the agricultural labourers and manufacturing operatives are in a state of deprivation amounting really to a slow starvation. That the falling off in the use of animal food, has since the passing of Peel's bill amounted to as much as eighty thousand tons of meat in one single year, being a quantity sufficient with care for about a million of grown persons, or for two hundred and fifty thousand families. That this amount of diminution took place in the year 1829, and has probably increased. That, lastly, the poor-rates are now above eight millions a year, worth sixteen millions of the depreciated money as it existed during the war, that is to say four times the actual amount of poor-rate levied during the worst period of the war, and that this enormous sum, which cannot continue to be much longer collected, is insufficient—a state of things which if it be not cured by legislative interference, must of necessity cure itself by a national convulsion, and

the violent subversion of the present system of Government.

That your petitioners, therefore, implore your honourable House to take the now awful and critical state of the country into immediate consideration, and to lose no time in adopting remedial measures of the most efficient, extensive, and decided character,—to withdraw your support from Ministers, who are destitute either of sense or courage sufficient to enable them to rescue the country from its present dangers; to insist upon an immediate adjustment of the national engagements, real or supposed, with the national means of meeting those engagements—upon the application of all public property, including church property, to national purposes—in fine, upon the reduction of public expenditure, at the very least to the standard of 1793, including in such reduction, the repeal of the unjust, not to say, cruel corn laws, the repeal of all taxes upon necessities of life, and the repeal of all taxes which press severely upon the productive and industrious classes of society, either with regard to their bodily or intellectual wants—measures, without the adoption of which, or of measures nearly similar, this country must either fall a prey to anarchy or sink into a state of degradation as yet unknown to the most degraded country on earth; and in order to enable your honourable House to carry these indispensable measures more easily into full effect, your petitioners implore your honourable House also to carry into full effect that great measure of reform which the late bill was only one step; to enact the *taking of vote by ballot*—to give the *right of suffrage to every man of twenty-one years of age of sane mind and unconvicted of felonious crime*, and to *repeal the unconstitutional Septennial Act*, and cause a new Parliament to be elected every year.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

&c. &c.

THE TWO DONS.

We have been everlastingly dinned about the perfidies and cruelties of Miguel. I have always thought it very strange that the Portuguese should still adhere to, and fight for him, if he were what he has been represented to be. But, perhaps, the following extracts, which I take from a book, entitled “A Warning Voice to the British Nation,” by a Captain White, will account for Pedro’s ill success. The book contains a great many facts relative to the conduct of Pedro, any one of which would be sufficient to justify the conduct of the Portuguese. But, besides all this, they have the ancient *laws* of their country on their side. This book explains the whole matter in a very clear manner, and is well deserving the attention of those who feel interested in the matter. With respect to Pedro, it is enough for me, *that the people will not have him*.

The revolution ended in establishing Don Pedro as the Emperor of Brazil; and the 1. of December, 1823, the anniversary of the glorious revolution of 1640, the delivery of Portugal under the House of Braganza from the yoke of Spain, was chosen to set the seal to the final independence of the empire; and on that day Don Pedro was crowned.

Don Pedro, sensible of the heavy penalty that would attach to him if he attempted to divide his father’s dominions, for a considerable time concealed the bold project he entertained of establishing Brazil as an independent empire. With the most profane, prodigal falsehoods and deceit, he endeavoured to the last moment to blind his august parent of his views. In a letter dated the 4. of October, 1821, but a few months before the independence of Brazil was openly proclaimed, he thus addressed his father:—“It is wished to “secure the independence through me “and the troops; but neither have these “ends been obtained, nor shall they be, “because my honour and that of the “troops is a greater object than all Brazil. “They wished, and still say that they

"wish, to proclaim me Emperor. I protest to your Majesty that *I never will be a perjurer*; that I never will be false to you, and that they may do so mad an act if they choose, but it shall not be till after I and all the Portuguese have been cut to pieces. This I swear to your Majesty, at the time writing, in this letter, with my own blood, the following words:—*I swear to be ever faithful to your Majesty, to the nation, and to the Portuguese constitution.*" How he supported and maintained all these voluntary protestations, and oaths, written in his blood never to "*be a perjurer, never false,*" but "*ever faithful to the Portuguese constitution,*" may be collected from his subsequent proclamation to the Brazilians, in which he cries out, "**TO ARMS, BRAZILIANS! INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH IS OUR WATCHWORD!**" and in another he declares, "he had identified himself with the Brazilians, and was determined to share their fate whatever it might be."

What was this but perjury, treason, and rebellion, by binding himself to the fate of the Brazilians, and declaring independence or death? Subsequently, he swore to the charter of Brazil, and by the oaths and pledges therein given, he renounced for himself, for ever, all those rights he might previously have had; but which, without those renouncements, were irrevocably destroyed by his rebellion, and violation of all the fundamental laws of the Portuguese nation. His own letters show the contemptuous manner in which he thought and spoke of Portugal, and that he "*wished to have nothing at all to do with her*;" is confirmed by the daring and treasonable manner in which he addressed his father, the King; telling him that he, "*as Emperor, and his Majesty, as King, were at war,*" and that for his "*own interests*" he had better acknowledge the independence of Brazil, "since the Brazilians and he, as their Emperor, would never alter their purpose; and would rather die with their swords in their hands since they had sworn independence or death!" Telling the King that the "ministers and counsel-

lors," by whom he was surrounded, were "*assassins,*" going on, plunging him and his kingdom into an abyss of misfortunes, one after the other.

"Rio de Janeiro, July 15. 1824."

"My Father,

"Filial duty and the love which, as a man I devote to your Majesty, urge me, laying aside the crown which has been placed upon my head by the generous Brazilian nation, to manifest to you,

"Your Majesty ought now, as soon as possible, to acknowledge the independence of Brazil, for your own interests. Of the stability of the empire no further doubts can be entertained; it goes on slowly (notwithstanding some reverses, which I do not enumerate) sustaining itself, and gradually acquiring more physical and moral strength, which can never be subdued by old and hoary Portugal, who, the more she seeks to conquer Brazil, the more will she annihilate herself; since, without Brazil, she has no commerce, and divested of commerce she is nothing. Thus may I be allowed to express myself as of Portugal. I have already told your Majesty that I wish nothing at all.

"Your Majesty is deceived by your ministers and counsellors, who tell you to conquer Brazil; with words like these, they think that they flatter your Majesty, whereas, they only go on plunging you and your kingdom into an ocean of misfortunes, one after the other. Your Majesty has seen that Brazil expelled the whole of the Portuguese forces, stationed at various points, and which were in a situation mutually to aid each other: How then are fresh ones to be introduced, when no point d'appui can be had, unless they are under a blind discipline, which certainly is not the case? Your Majesty sees that Brazil has aggrandized herself, whilst Portugal has been sinking, and your Majesty has, unhappily, always found yourself surrounded and molested by parties which, if, for the present, they have not triumphed, have nevertheless

"taken the field on various occasions, &c.

"The acknowledgment will be completed, sooner or later, since the Brazilians and I, their Emperor, will never alter our purpose: we would rather die with our swords in our hands, since we have sworn to *independence or death*. Do not think that what I here state to your Majesty is intended to intimidate you; no, my Father, examine the truth; and you will find that it is because you have a son who desires to free you from the daggers of the assassins, by whom you are surrounded. I, as Emperor, and your Majesty as King, are at war, and it is our duty to sustain the rights of the independent nations of which we are the chiefs; but, I, as a son, and your Majesty, as a father, ought to love each other. Your Majesty is in the exercise of all your powers—save yourself; act according to the dictates of your own heart, which most assuredly will be to acknowledge the independence of the Brazilian Empire; in a son, so much your friend; in a son, who did not make himself an Emperor, since it was done by the love of the Brazilians, in payment of services, and through circumstances foreseen by your Majesty according to the recommendation which your Majesty yourself forwarded to me, in your letter of the 31. of March, 1842, when you said—hence will you regulate your conduct according to the circumstances in which you may find yourself, arranging every thing with due prudence and precaution."

"PEDRO."

Now this is Don Pedro, the dutiful and affectionate son of John the Sixth, who, "*with his own blood*," wrote to his father and King, "I swear to be ever faithful to your Majesty, to the nation, and to the Portuguese constitution"—"I never will be a *perjurer*"—and the Brazilians "*never shall secure their independence through me, until I and all the Portuguese have been cut to pieces.*"

CALTHORPE-STREET JURY.

I HERE insert an excellent address to the Calthorpe-street jury, agreed to at the meeting at Newcastle. My readers will bear in mind, that Coroner's Courts are a part, and a most important part of the "*ancient institutions*" of the country.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Assembled for the purpose of petitioning the House of Commons, and of addressing the King for the further reform of that so-called reform in Parliament which has proved, in our opinion, to every practical intent, a mockery; and for the dismissal of those most incapable, dangerous, and arbitrary Ministers, by whose contrivance and device it has, we think, been principally made so, we cannot separate without a testimonial of the honour in which we must for ever hold you, on account of the judicious, independent, and conscientious manner in which you have discharged your duty, in the character of jurymen, called upon to investigate the circumstances and cause of the death of the late policeman, Robert Culley.

"We deem it foreign to our duty, gentlemen, in this address, to enter into the question of the legality or illegality of that public meeting, in the dispersion of which, by, as it should seem unnecessary, and certainly most indiscriminate and brutal violence, the death of Culley, together with so many other deplorable and shameful circumstances appears to have taken place. The question of that legality is yet to be determined, before tribunals of which we should not be able to wish better things, than that they may perform *their* duty as conscientiously and accurately as you have certainly performed *yours*. But, seeing too clearly in these transactions, the evidence of a policy, and principles upon the part of the present Government, identical with those out of which the Manchester massacre arose, and remembering, as we do, that in consequence of the alarm and indignation which the enormity excited, the

"people of this district in particular, did not deem it safe or feel contented to go to public meetings of a legal character, except with arms for their protection and defence. We cannot but feel not only a general, but a peculiar obligation to a jury whom neither the dictation of a coroner, as at Oldham, nor the scandalous attempts to bias and corrupt their judgment, on the part of the ministerial newspapers, nor any servile dread of misconception or of slander, as favourers of violence or illegality, could turn from a decision which teaches us to feel ourselves still safe in armour of the laws alone, and under the protection of those English juries, whom, one of their own scribes has lately charged some members of the Government with an habitual, though private expression of dislike to.

"Gentlemen, we persuade ourselves that we have said enough to heighten the satisfaction which the testimony of your consciences must have already yielded you, by suggesting to your reflections the extent of irritation, strife and bloodshed, even, possibly, to the degree of general convulsion, which it is the obvious tendency, and which we pray it may also be the actual effect, of your most just and and constitutional decision, to hinder and prevent."

Friday morning.

The House of Commons came to a decision last night in favour of the Ministers. The division was:

For the vote of confidence.. 361

Against it..... 98

Majority.....263

The King's answer was read to the Lords. I take the following report of it from the *Morning Herald*.

THE KING'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

As soon as Earl Grey had taken his seat on the Ministerial Bench,

The Marquis of Wellesley, as Lord Steward of the Household, advanced to the table, and said, as well as we could hear him in the gallery, that he had been commanded by his Majesty to communicate to the House his Majesty's most gracious answer to the address of the House of Lords, of the 3. of June, which he would now read.

There was a cry of "order!" and "hats off!" several peers having inadvertently neglected to uncover; a custom which is always observed when any communication is made to the House from the King.

The noble Marquis then read the following answer from his Majesty:

"I have already taken all such measures as appeared to me to be necessary for maintaining the neutrality which I had determined to observe in the contest now carrying on in Portugal.

(Signed) "W. Rex."

The address was then laid on the table.

A great number of the Members of the House of Commons who had crowded at the foot of the throne and below the bar to hear the answer of the King to their Lordships' address, now retired, and several Peers also quitted the House.

DUDLEY AND ITS REPRESENTATIVE.

THE following correspondence between Sir J. Campbell, the Solicitor General, and Mr. Cook, of Dudley, is not uninteresting.

MY DEAR SIR,

In the Birmingham paper of Monday last, there is a report of a speech you made in moving for a rule against Joseph Russell. Are the annexed sentiments such as were delivered by you on the occasion? Your reply will very much oblige

Yours respectfully,
SAMUEL COOK.

Dudley, May 16, 1833.

"It seems to me there never was a greater occasion for the interference of your Lordships. My Lords, there is a notion about that the law may be disobeyed, and that if a person disapprove of the Government, that he may refuse to pay any taxes which the law imposes.

"This, my Lords, is the first instance of passive resistance in England. I hope that your Lordships will feel it your duty to see that the law is enforced, and that we may not have such scenes as disgrace the neighbouring country, Ireland."

"To Sir John Campbell, M.P.,
His Majesty's Solicitor-General,
House of Commons, London."

London, May 17, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was actually on the point of writing to you about Russell's case, when I had the pleasure to receive your letter. I had been told that you and many of my friends in Dudley were under a mistake, which I was desirous of clearing up, in supposing that this was an ex-officio or Government prosecution. Government had nothing whatever to do with it, nor had I any power or discretion to exercise respecting it. I merely as a private barrister received a brief, to move the Court of King's Bench for a criminal information, and I could not refuse to make the application. What I said upon the occasion I really do not recollect, but I was not speaking in my own person or my own sentiments. I spoke from my brief according to the instructions I received, as any other gentleman at the bar might have done.

The freedom of the press I have maintained and ever will maintain.

I remain yours faithfully,

J. CAMPBELL.

Mr. Samuel Cook, Draper, Dudley.

PORTUGAL.

(From the Morning Herald, 7. June).

We observe that the charitable feelings of the British public are appealed to

on behalf of the suffering inhabitants of Oporto, and that a public meeting is called for Saturday, at the City of London Tavern, with a view to the opening a subscription for their relief. It is seldom that any endeavour to alleviate the afflictions of humanity, from whatever causes they may have arisen, meets with a cold reception from the British public. The appeal, indeed, which was made about a twelvemonth ago, and repeated since, on behalf of the refugees Poles—a people entitled to, at least, as much sympathy as the Portuguese, for their heroic virtues—their wrongs and their misfortunes, was not answered in a way that reflects much credit on the boasted generosity of England. It seemed as if the Russian influence, that paralysed our public councils, tainted the very atmosphere of private life, and blighted the virtue of charity in the English heart, so barren was the compassion of the people of this country of any substantial relief to the exiled victims of Russian oppression. In that case the French people, as contra-distinguished from their Government, acted in a manner which places their conduct, we are sorry to say, in advantageous contrast with that of the British public. We hope the Portuguese will be more fortunate—we are sure they are not more deserving.

But while we admit the claims which the inhabitants of Oporto, so long exposed to the hardships, dangers, and privations of a state of siege, have upon British sympathy, we feel it our duty to object to the exclusive character of the proposed subscription, at a time when our own countrymen, who have fought and bled under the banners of Don Pedro, are returning to our shores wounded, naked, destitute, begging their bread, or perishing for want of the common necessities of life. Why, we ask, are not the crippled and mendicant English, Irish, and Scotch soldiers, who have been sent back from Oporto, included in the intended measure of relief? Should the foreigners' blood be dearer to us than our own? Are the suffering inhabitants of Oporto entitled to more compassion than its brave defenders—

the natives of our own soil—who, after more than once preserving that town from the vengeance of the infuriate besiegers, by the prodigal effusion of their blood, are now thrown upon our shores disabled and penniless? Let any one read the following statement, which we copy from a paper very zealous in the cause of Don Pedro (the *Courier*), and say if it be right that the charity of Englishmen should be limited to the case of the inhabitants of Oporto, while numbers of the heroic defenders of that city are in a state of starvation in their native land?

“DOVER, JUNE 5.—Came in yesterday the brig *Phylertia*, of Scarborough, with about 100 invalided men, from Don Pedro's army, mostly in a crippled or diseased state; some without a leg or an arm, and some badly wounded and dying, not a shilling to keep themselves, turned adrift without any pension, and 60 of them not entitled as British soldiers, though Englishmen, to a billet, and are, therefore, houseless, wandering, depending on the charity of passers-by for relief, the parish-officers here having declined to afford any, and there is not a street in the town where you will not see groups of them crawling along. It is most disgraceful in the agents of Don Pedro not to have furnished these poor fellows, after fighting his battles, with the means of returning home, particularly as many of them declare they had upwards of 20*l.* due for pay. We have heard that the Deputy-Mayor of Dover intends to procure them lodgings for the night; but how such a number of them will be able to make their way to London, where most of them belong, without money, is doubtful. The French, about forty in number, will be sent to Calais.”

The above statement presents a melancholy picture of the fate of the sick and wounded combatants for “Portuguese liberty;” the men whose chivalrous intrepidity more than once repaired the otherwise fatal errors committed by Don Pedro and his advisers, and saved Oporto from the sack and pillage of the furious masses of the enemy, which unaccountable blunders had nearly let in

upon the town. We have done much to assist the constitutional cause in Portugal: but we should betray our duty to the public, and forfeit our character for honest impartiality, if we were to shut our eyes to proceedings which tarnish that cause, and deaden the lively interest which the British people once took in its success. If charity is to begin at home, let the perishing warriors who starve upon their barren laurels at Dover, be first provided for. If there are others similarly circumstanced at other ports, let them, too, be rescued from their immediate misery, and let the surplus of the subscriptions to be raised go to the inhabitants of Oporto, in which defence our crippled soldiers lavished their blood.

THE following will be amusing to my readers:

HOUSE OF LORDS, FRIDAY, MAY 31.

The Bishop of DUREHAM presented a petition against the Irish Church Reform Bill. The Right Rev. Prelate protested against the measure, on the ground that the rights and privileges of the church were *inalienable*.

The Earl of SUFFOLK asked how, if the rights and privileges of the church were *inalienable*, had it become Protestant?

The Bishop of EXETER remarked that the church was *the same as ever*, except that it had become more pure.

The Earl of SUFFOLK: What! then the taking possession of the property of the church by Henry VIII., was, after all, only making it more pure.

FIELD SEEDS.

TO BE HAD AT BOLT-COURT,
FLEET-STREET.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10*lbs.* 9*d.* a pound; and any quantity above 10*lbs.* and under 50*lbs.* 8*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50*lbs.* 8*d.* a pound; above 100*lbs.* 7*d.* A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper

bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 31, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BILTON, G. Bridge-street, Yorkshire, tailor.
BRAND, J. E., Nelson-place, Old Kent-road, fishmonger.
BUCHANAN, M. C., Golden-square, boarding-house-keeper.
DICKINS, W., sen., Northampton, plasterer.
DURANT, J. P., Plymouth, chemist.
ELLING, J., Warminster, butcher.
HAZELDEN, W., Goudhurst, Kent, butcher.
SHERWIN, T., Loudon-wall, cheesemonger.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

THOMSON, A. Edinburgh, gun-maker.

TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

PEARCE, W. L., Dartford, Kent, ironmonger.
ASHBY, R. and S., Upper Thames-street, mealmen.
CORNISH, J., Shepperton-street, New North-road, stonemason.
GLOVER, G., Kingston-upon-Hull, grocer.
HARVEY, J. A., High-street, St. Giles's, clothes-salesman.
JACKSON, T., George-street, minories, wine-merchant.
MILLEDGE, H., Milton-street, Dorset-square, Marblebone, carpenter.
SMITH, S., King William-street, Strand, saddler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HANNAY, J., Edinburgh, writer to the signet.
LAW, R., Newton of Mearns, vintner.
WEBSTER, A., Leven, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 3.—The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morning's market from the home counties, were very moderate. Fine runs were scarce, and maintained Monday's quotations; but as there appeared few purchasers at market, all other descriptions hung heavily on hand at their former currencies. Irish Wheat was difficult to sell at from 41s. to 46s. and 48s. The fine weather prevents much demand for old Corn, the quotations therefore are nominal. Nothing doing in bonded Wheat.

Barley was in limited supply, and the refreshing rain of yesterday evening has again checked the speculative demand for spring Corn, though prices of Barley did not recede from Friday's improvement, yet the demand was by no means so animated.

Little doing in Malt, and the rates unaltered. Oats, from the same cause as Barley, experienced a slow sale, and Friday's advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter was barely maintained for fresh good feed; stale and inferior parcels were nearly unsaleable.

Beans were in request, and must be noted 1s. to 2s. dearer than on Monday.

There were few Peas offering, and the article was worth fully 1s. per pr. more money. Flour in moderate demand. Ship qualities maintain Friday's quotations.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	26s. to 31s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	14s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 34s. to 36s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 38s. to 40s.
Pork, India, new ... 110s. to 115s.
— Mess, new ... 60s. to 63s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast ... 60s. to 62s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 54s. to 65s.
— Cork ... 64s. to 66s.
— Limerick ... 64s. to 66s.
— Waterford ... 50s. to 66s.
— Dublin ... —s. to 60s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 40s. to 66s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 46s. to 58s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 40s. to 46s.
— Edam ... 40s. to 50s.
— Gouda ... 40s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ... 44s. to 54s.

SMITHFIELD.—June 3.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves was moderately good; the supply of Porkers, as is usual at this season, limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, rather dull. With prime small Lamb and Veal at an advance, with Mutton at a depression of about 2d. per stone, with Beef and Pork at Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were Scots and Norfolk home-breds (principally the former), about a fourth short-horns, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh rants, and Sussex beasts, with a few Herefords, chiefly (say about 1,200 of them) from Norfolk, with a few from Essex, Suffolk, Kent, Sussex and Surrey, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and our western and midland districts, and about 50 Town's end Cows, a few Staffords, &c., fed in the neighbourhood of London.

At least three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal proportions of the South Down and white faced crosses; about one-fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of pulled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few horned Norfolks and Dorsets, old Leicesters, and Lincoln, horned and pulled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. About four fifths of the Lambs appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South Downs and new Leicesters; the remaining fifth chiefly of Dorsets.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 7.

The arrivals this week are short. The prices fall as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	89½	89½	90	89½	—	—

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N.B. The second edition of No. I. is just published.

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(From *the Standard*).—The *Examiner* has called our attention to an evening journal, (the *True Sun*), which, with considerable ability, gives expression to the feelings and opinions of the ultra-liberal or republican party. We believe the writers of this journal to be perfectly honest men, and we know that they are men of talent.

(From *the Morning Herald*).—Our able contemporary, the *True Sun*.

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(From *the Examiner*).—On the merit of the *True Sun* it is unnecessary for us to dilate; it became conspicuous in a very short time; indeed, no paper within our recollection, has obtained such high distinction for ability with such rapidity. At once it took its place in the foremost rank of the champions of truth and justice, and became recognised as a leading paper. It is an able and honest journal.

(From a letter by *E. L. Bulwer, Esq.*)—I should conceive it a public loss to all classes, but, above all, to the class which men of my

opinions are the most anxious to serve, viz., the working class, if your admirable journal fall a victim to its own honesty.

(*From the Lancaster Herald*).—That excellent paper, the *True Sun*, which is rapidly rising to eminence among the London journals.

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(*From the Wexford Independent*).—The *True Sun* is a paper, which for talent, integrity, and popular principles, stands at the head of the English metropolitan press.

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(*From the Staffordshire Mercury*).—Nearly the whole of the provincial press, more particularly that portion which advocates the cause of national reform, are more indebted to the *True Sun* than to any other paper published. Since it was started, there is a marked and easily perceptible difference in our country contemporaries. There are no longer visible the same crude and imperfect notions of the first principles of political science, nor the same absence of knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of government. The *True Sun* has completely upset many of the favourite and leading fallacies of the economists, and disseminated sound and judicious opinions in their stead. The honesty and utility of the *True Sun* are indisputable.

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(*From the same*).—At a meeting of the Irish volunteers, held yesterday, Mr. Barrett moved a vote of thanks to the *True Sun*, which was unanimously carried. In the course of his speech, Mr. Barrett said,—The great struggle in which they were all engaged was one in which the principles adopted in the *True Sun*, and the talents with which those principles were enforced, were peculiarly valuable. The struggle in which they were all embarked,—a struggle which agitated the civilized world, was a struggle of principle, of opinion; it was a struggle for existence, and for everything which rendered existence valuable. It was a contest between the oppressing few and the oppressed many. The people,—the people of every country should unite, for the oppressors of all have conspired. The *True Sun* has clearly discerned, and nobly followed up this great principle. The Irish people, though treated as aliens by the British legislature, have been adopted as countrymen by the editor of the *True Sun*. On any occasion where ruthless power would trample, the *True Sun* defended us; and on no occasion more fearlessly than on that of the bloody and brutal bill, about this day to consummate its full iniquity.—(Hear, hear, and loud cheers). The benefits derived from the advocacy of the *True Sun* have already been as great as the motives have been excellent. Its exertions have been most effective in drawing closer the ties between the people of both countries. It has taught the people of Ireland to distinguish between Englishmen and their mis-rulers.—(Cheering). It has taught those who have common rights and wrongs, common wants, grievances, and oppressors,—in a word, who have common interests, to feel a common sympathy.—(Hear, hear, and loud cheers).

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gout on its first approach, as I always keep a box of them by me.

"I am, Sir, yours gratefully, "T. W.
"No. 164, Fleet-street, and No. 3, Buxton-place, Lambeth, late of Nassau-street, Cavendish-square, April 30, 1833."

"To Mr. Prout, No 229, Strand.

"Sir—The pills you recommended my husband at your shop have repelled the attack of gout, as you anticipated; and so satisfied am I of their efficacy that I wish you to send me two boxes by the bearer to send my mother in the country, who has been a martyr to gout for several years. I hope her great age (65) will not prevent her feeling the good effects of this medicine.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant.

"MARY MASON."

"Friday-street, Cheapside, Nov. 7, 1832."

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THE NAVY AND THE NEGRO AFFAIR.

TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 12. June, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,

I HAVE to address you upon two very important affairs: first, *the cost and the management of the navy*; and, second, *the expense, the tax upon your labour*, which is at last brought upon you by the hypocrites and the deluded people engaged for so many years in bawling about negro slavery, while a very great part of them were in much greater slavery than the negroes themselves. I shall take these two subjects distinctly; and request you to endeavour to make yourselves well acquainted with them, and particularly with the former.

THE NAVY.

We used to look upon this affair as something perfectly necessary to the maintenance of the honour, the interests, and even the independence of the kingdom: it was so in fact. There might be, and there doubtless was, some unnecessary cost in the upholding of it; but still the cost was moderate compared with the importance of the thing. Now the cost is become enormous; perfectly enormous, and the persons who receive the greater part of the money, are so numerous, so connected and interwoven with the

aristocracy and the clergy of the country, that they form a great branch of power, a great order in the state. The army, which is quite a new thing in England, forms another great branch or order, and is equally connected and interwoven with the aristocracy and the clergy. Indeed, there are now five branches, or orders in the state: the royal branch, the nobility and great landowners in general, the clergy, the navy, and the army. All these are intimately connected, except the first, which has a foundation of its own to stand upon, and which takes, comparatively, a mere trifle of the money which is raised from us. The clergy may take a little more than they used to take, but they are of long existence. The other three branches are now become one and the same; or, are all so interwoven with one another, that, if you touch one you touch the whole. The aristocracy do not stand before us as a body *costing us money*; but, if we look into the navy and the army, we shall see how closely this branch is connected with these two latter. I am, however, at present, to speak of the navy as a thing which costs us immense sums of money, and to show particularly what is the description of persons of which this body is composed.

It is to cost us this year four millions, six hundred and fifty-eight thousand, one hundred and thirty-four pounds; a sum much larger than ought to be expended upon navy, army, and ordnance, all put together. In the year 1792, the whole of the annual expense of the navy, including charges of every description, amounted to only *one million*, nine hundred and eighty-four thousand, four hundred and eighty-two pounds. Now, then, what are the causes of this immense difference? We have now *five thousand and seventy-two* officers in the navy, of whom a *hundred and seventy* are ADMIRALS, and *one thousand, six hundred and eighty-four* CAPTAINS and COMMANDERS;

and three thousand, two hundred and eighteen LIEUTENANTS. In figures as follows :

Lieutenants.....	3,218
Captains and Commanders..	1,684
Admirals.....	170

Total, 5,072

Now let us see how this matter stood in 1792. Let us see how the numbers of this body have increased. What should it be increased for? We have been at peace now nineteen years; and we have been told every year that there is not the smallest prospect of war with any power upon earth. Let us see, then, how this formidable body stood in that year.

Lieutenants.....	1,441
Captains and Commanders..	622
Admirals.....	54

Total, 2,117

Here were quite enough, God knows; but what has the increase been for? We have to pay a hundred and seventy admirals, and we have 12 afloat; we have to pay 1,684 captains, and we have 54 afloat; we have to pay 3,218 lieutenants, and we have 414 afloat. We have to pay 5,072 commissioned officers, and we have 480 afloat. We have a goodly company on shore, then, of these sea-gentlemen. It is pretty curious, that we have more admirals now, more captains, more commanders, more lieutenants, than we had in the very height of the war! Let us take the numbers of 1810, the height of the war.

Lieutenants.....	3,097
Captains and Commanders..	1,582
Admirals.....	170

Total, 4,949

All these statements are made out from a return moved for by Mr. Hume and laid before this present House of Commons. What, then, can be the reason for keeping up this immense body of officers, who would seem to be immortal, physically as well as in fame?

We have often been told of their "immortal glory," of their "imperishable renown;" but we have never been accustomed to hear of immortal and imperishable bodies, except, indeed, of clergy, of monasteries, of corporations, and of select vestries. These, to the grief of our unreasonable impatience, our "ignorant impatience of taxation," as CASTLEREAGH called it, we find never to die! It is curious, too, that it is the commission which appears to communicate immortality to the body; for, upon looking back, we perceive, that the warrant officers and seamen have died off from upwards of a hundred thousand to twenty-seven thousand men. Alas! poor souls! they are gone to their long home; but the bearers of commissions, like the wearers of aldermen's gowns, never die; for here are our admirals in precisely the same number that they were in 1810, while the captains, commanders, and lieutenants, seem actually to have increased, as suckers grown out from the sides of the bulb of a tulip. In plain words, there have been made, since the peace, a hundred and ten admirals, six hundred and sixty-nine captains; besides these three hundred and forty-five superannuated commanders made from lieutenants, and these are to be added to the promotions that have taken place since the peace. There are also thirty-four superannuated rear-admirals made out of captains. These two numbers put together make 144 admirals, made since the peace; and 814 commanders since the peace; and thus the whole number of officers that we have to pay amounts to 5,249, while we have 480 afloat. Thus it is that we are made poor. Thus it is that we are so well stocked with gentlemen and ladies in England; thus it is that the weaver is obliged to live upon water-porridge, and the ploughman upon potatoes; and thus it is, that tradesmen and farmers are fast sinking down into the ranks of paupers. Not only are all these officers to be thus maintained; but their widows and children, and sometimes other relations, are to be maintained also. Out of this sum of 4,668,184*l.*, 1,625,608*l.* are paid for pensions, allow-

ances, and other things of that sort, including what is called half-pay. It is useless to rail: railing and swearing, and even praying, are useless in such a case. All that we can do is, to make the thing well known to one another; and to think seriously about the means, the real practical means, of endeavouring to effect a change in this state of things. This body of men; this never-dying corporation, is one of the great estates in the kingdom; and, therefore, to touch it, is a matter of no slight moment to the party who ventures to make such touch. 5,249 gentlemen have, at least, five times that number; I might say ten times that number of brothers, sisters, brothers and sisters-in-law, and fathers and mothers-in-law. So that you will find, that here are fifty or sixty thousand *gentlefolks*, who are more or less interested in the upholding of this corporation. The "*country gentleman*" seems, if you look at him and at his house and his fields, to be as independent as the rock of BEN LOMOND; but, if you can find me one of these in this whole kingdom; aye, if you can find me *one single man* of them, who is not, on the right or on the left, by the head or by the tail, connected with navy, army, church, or Downing-street, I will suffer you to fry me alive. Either he is a tax or a tithe-eater himself (which is not unfrequently the case), or he has some one connected with him who is. It seems downright madness in Sir JOLTERHEAD not to demand, that the tax shall be taken from the barley that grows in his fields; but when the Squire begins to put two ideas together, or is taught by his wife, who has been taught by the attorney or apothecary, how to perform the difficult work of putting two ideas together, the Squire smells out that he shall lose more than he shall gain by taking off the malt tax.

Lady Jolterhead (meeting the Knight at the door). Well, my dear, what good news do you bring from London?

Sir Giles Jolterhead. Oh, my dear, most excellent news! We shall get the malt tax off.

Lady J. Indeed! That's a very good thing.

Sir G. Yes, yes; we shall get it off.

A rap at the door. Enter Mr. LANCET.

Sir G. Ah! how d'y'e do, Mr. LANCET?

Lady J. Oh, Mr. Lancet, Sir Giles tells me, that we shall get the malt tax taken off. What a fine thing that will be! It will save us fifty pounds a year in the house.

LANCET musing.

Sir G. Ah, but that's a mere trifle. All my farmers will save a good deal, too; and the labourers will all brew at home; and the poor-rates will come to next to nothing. I dare say, that it will be a matter of a couple or three hundred a year difference to me.

Lady J. What a dear good honest man that Lord Althorp is!

Lancet. But, Sir, pray think of "*national faith*!"

Lady J. Oh! Faith, indeed! We can be very good Christians without paying a tax upon our malt.

Lancet. I beg your Ladyship's pardon; but I meant the payments to the fundholders (of which I am one). [*Aside.*

Sir G. Poh! Fundholders! don't tell me about fundholders!

Lady J. Why you know, Mr. LANCET, that it's the land that supports every thing.

Sir G. Very true, my dear; and the devil's in't if we that own the land ought not to be able to make beer of our barley, without paying for it to the fundholders.

Lancet. Very true, very true, Sir GILES.

Enter servant with a letter.

Lady J. Oh, dear, here's a letter from Tom, dated off *Teneriffe*! Where is *Teneriffe*, Doctor?

Lancet. Oh, my Lady, it's a great way out in the ocean.

Lady J. Well, poor boy, he is getting on famously in the service.

Sir G. Ah, Doctor, that boy's provided for at any rate; soon have five hundred a year; and, you know, they have it for life.

Lady J. And so there's his share, you know, Doctor, to give to his sister.

Sir G. Aye, Doctor, and she'll not get a husband the later for that.

Lancet. Very true, *Sir GILKS*; but you know, that, if the honest Minister do not get the taxes, your son can't have the five hundred a year!

Lady J. What? What dy'e say *Mr.*

Lancet. I say, my *Lady*, that Lord ALTHORP can't pay money without having it first. Very honest man without doubt; but if he don't get the money how is he to pay it?

Sir G. Oh! but he can get it out of the house and window tax, and such taxes as that, which produce so much, and of which we pay so little.

Lancet. Yes, *Sir*, but if you will not give the malt tax, the shopkeepers will not give the house and window tax, and then poor Lord ALTHORP will have no money at all; and then how is your son to get the five hundred a year, and how is your daughter to get the addition to her portion? Oh, no! *Sir Giles*, it is not for your interest that the malt tax should be taken off: the present system is the system for such folks as you: let those clamour for the taking off of taxes who live by their industry of one sort or another.

Sir G. Why, *Mr LANCET*, now I think of it, it's best to be cautious what we do in taking away taxes from the Minister.

Lancet. Yes, yes, *Sir*; say you nothing about the matter; you get more than you lose by the taxes. Let those grumble at them who pay them, and who receive nothing back out of them.

Lady J. (who has been in a brown study for some time). Very true, *Mr. LANCET*! I see, I see how it is!

Lancet. Yes, my *Lady*, it would be a levelling system.

Lady J. Yes, and there's my brother WILLIAM, who is a distributor of stamps, and there's my father, poor man, who has so long had his quiet little place.

Lancet. Yes, my *Lady*, it would disturb the happiness of so many respectable families.

Lady J. Aye, and as *Dr. TITM-*

FIG says, it would destroy the institutions of the country; and

This is the sort of conversation that is going on amongst them continually; and here it is that people ought to see where lies the impediment to their being relieved from their burdens. I should like to see one single country gentleman in England who is not bound up in this way; and the people being well apprized of this truth, they ought to be assured, that they never will or can receive relief through the instrumentality of this description of persons. As to those who are actually in receipt of taxes, it is absolute madness, it is idiocy to suppose that they will vote for the lessening of their amount; and, unless the people be convinced of this truth, and act accordingly, there is no remedy but in the extremity of the evil.

Now, from this digression; if, indeed, it be much of a digression, I return to the subject of that great corporation commonly called the navy. I have asked before what this immense body of officers can be kept in pay for; and for what reason new men are continually brought into it, in order to keep it up to the full amount? We had, in 1825, 3,773 lieutenants. Now, while there was only about 420 of these in employment; while there were 3,773 in pay, and only 420 in employ, what reason was there for making Lord GREY's son, the Hon. Frederick William Grey, a lieutenant? What reason was there for adding this one more to that already over-number? I do not pretend to characterize the act; but I have a right to ask for the reason of it, and ask for that reason, I will. Then again, while, in 1829, we had 3,712 lieutenants, and only about 400 in employ, if so many, what reason was there for making the Hon. George GREY a lieutenant? What REASON was there, I say, for making this addition to the prodigious number? Since the times here mentioned, these two gentlemen have been made, one a post-captain, and the other a commander, though there must have been about 3,000 lieutenants who stood before them upon the list. Very likely, there may be others intro-

duced under much about similar circumstances; and again, I ask, what reason was there for making this addition to the long list and to the nation's expense?

Great, indeed, is the error of that man who imagines that this endless multitude of officers adds at all to the strength or the security of the kingdom. On the contrary, the prodigious, the frightful expense of this establishment in time of peace, tends to enfeeble and cripple the nation, and to render even this establishment of comparatively little use in time of war. We had this prodigious establishment of officers, as we have seen, in the year 1810. In the year 1812, we were got into a war with the United States of America upon this ground: namely, that the officers of our navy boarded American merchantmen on the high seas, and took out of them any seamen whom they chose to claim as subjects of the King. This was the real and the only ground of that war; and it was, not only a right that no nation had ever attempted to exercise before; not only a thing which no nation had ever thought of tolerating; but it was a thing not the least in the world necessary to the interests of this kingdom, or to the success of the kingdom in the war which it was then carrying on. That war, which began in 1812, almost immediately took that turn, which left us no other enemy to cope with; and it really was a war in which America fought us *single-handed*. She had no allies, and she scorned all alliance in the war. There were we, then, with our *hundred and seventy* admirals, and with our 554 ships of war; and there were the Americans, with their six frigates, each of 44 guns, and with twenty-three small vessels of war; and, in the course of that war we took from them one frigate single-handed, and two by squadrons; and they took from us three frigates single-handed; they took two twenty-gun ships by one frigate. We, with our five hundred and fifty-four ships, including seventy-one ships of the line, took from them *seventeen* vessels of war altogether, while they took from

us *twenty-three* ships of war on the seas, besides *two whole squadrons* on the lakes. So that these myriads of officers do not give strength to a nation; and there is something or other, besides the everlasting pouring of money out of a treasury, that can secure the liberty and independence of a state. Let it be observed, that the men who commanded the ships of America were not only not "sirs" and "honourables," but that, *not a man of them had ever before been in a battle in a ship of war!* This shows clearly, that there requires none of this college-work to make men fit to command ships of war. It requires that native courage, to be sure; it requires that hardihood which is acquired by real seamanship; that is to say, by long encountering the dangers and difficulties of the sea; and it requires, above all things, men to be promoted on account of their fitness for the station, which is utterly impossible, as long as men have the frailties of men, unless some certain rule be established for promoting men in the service. The rule in the American navy comes, perhaps, as nearly as possible to perfection. "Once in each year a board of officers for the examination of midshipmen requesting promotion is instituted. The rule was introduced in the regulation of the navy, at the suggestion of the navy commissioners. The officers constituting the board are selected by the secretary of the navy. It consists of three captains, aided by a mathematician. Public notice of the place and time of sitting of the board is given, and all midshipmen deeming themselves qualified for examination, are requested to attend for that purpose. The examination is very rigid, and is conducted with so severe a scrutiny in the acquirements of the applicant, that it is presumed, that all passed by the board, are, from a full knowledge of the duties of their profession, qualified to take the command of a ship." After this, as midshipmen are wanted for lieutenants they are taken by *seniority*; and not *picked out* for the purpose; some of them promoted, and others left to draw out

their lives as midshipmen. In case of there being no midshipmen that have already passed, the commissioners proceed by seniority, in the following manner. They take the three next in seniority, one after another, and examine them; and, for that turn, they take that of the three which they think best qualified, always preferring the first, if there be no real and solid objection. When another is wanted to be promoted, they call before them the two whom they called before, and one other: and thus they proceed in all cases, until they come to higher ranks and particular expeditions; and, then, peculiar fitness must decide their choice. The accursed word "*interest*" is not known in their service. There are no dejected mortals pining upon their quarter-decks, feeling that they are doomed to experience injustice, and yet dare not complain. Each young man is sure to have his fair chance: he has no shipmates to envy; nobody to be afraid of; no one at whose report of him he trembles for fear of his life: he feels, that he is not only a freeman; but he is delighted in the thought, that his life is to be spent, and that he is to attain honour, in defending the freedom of his kindred and his country. This is one of the great causes of the wondrous exploits of the little American navy. The lad upon the quarter-deck of an American ship has no lord or lady to look up to for *patronage*. The accursed word is unknown to their language; and, as I have said a hundred times over in print, unless the accursed word become unknown to our language too, that which we experienced during the last war, is a mere trifle to what we have yet to witness.

But, humiliating as the comparison is, if we look at the affairs of the war with America; provoking as it is to an Englishman; calculated as it is to fill his breast with feelings not very easily described; what must be his feelings, upon viewing the contrast between the two armies in time of peace, and at this present hour; and to view the wretched situation of our own industrious people, and the situation of the same class of

persons in America! We have seen, that our navy costs us very nearly approaching *five* millions of pounds sterling every year. The navy of the Americans costs them 437,000*l.* a year! Not a tenth part of what ours costs us. But this is not half a view of the matter; for, in this expense is included the money which is expended every year in gradually increasing the navy. The book that I refer to relates to the state of things four years ago (not having an account of a later date). And three-fourths of this expense arose from the building of new ships during the year; and at that time there were five ships of the line on the stocks, and five forty-four gun frigates on the stocks, in different dock-yards on the Atlantic; and also two seventy-fours on the the stocks on *Lake Erie*, and both under cover. We have seen the Americans begin a war with six frigates and a parcel of smaller vessels. They have now, it appears, fourteen seventy-fours, about twenty frigates, and great numbers of smaller vessels in the Atlantic as well as on the *Lakes*. Now, is there any one who will venture to say, that we can safely enter upon another war with this great republic, and another war we must have with her unless we choose to resign the dominion of the seas; is there any one who will say, that we can venture upon another war with this republic, without first making a very great change in the manner of managing the affairs of our navy? If the result was before such as I have described it to be, what is to be the result of another war?

Another very important difference is to be noted; namely, the PAY of the officers and the seamen; and not only the positive pay, but the relative pay; and also the relative proportion of PRIZE-MONEY. The pay of a captain in our navy, taking all the six rates, and making an average of them, is *forty-three pounds five shillings* for a lunar month. The pay of a seaman in our navy is, on an average of able seamen and ordinary seamen, *thirty shillings* per month. The pay of an Amer-

mean captain, taking an average of all the rates down to a twenty-gun ship, as in our own case, is *nineteen pounds thirteen shillings and nine-pence* a lunar month; and the pay of an American seaman is, upon an average, *three pounds twelve shillings* a lunar month. These are the *positive pay*; but now look at the *relative pay*, and see how a republican government treats the poor man. The English captain gets *twenty-eight times and two-thirds as much as a seaman. The American captain gets five times and a half as much as the American seaman!* Look at that, you that have to pay both captains and men. It is much about the same proportion as to the prize-money; but, as I find no particulars about that in the American books, I will state the facts as to that matter when I return to the matter again, as I certainly shall; for, this is a subject that I am determined not to suffer to rest, till I have made the nation see the manner in which it is treated as to this matter. If I be told, that no *gentleman* would be in the navy, if our captains and officers were to be paid as the Americans are, I answer, that we do not so much want *gentlemen*, as we want *fighters* and *beaters*; and as low-paid officers and high-paid sailors make *fighters* and *beaters*, I am for low-paid officers and high-paid seamen. If, indeed, we had beaten the Americans, I should have been for the high-paid officers and low-paid seamen; but, as the contrary was the case, and as we may have to fight JONATHAN again, I am for fighting him in his own way; I am for having tools such as he fights with. It is very curious, that we have built *ships* to resemble those of JONATHAN, in point of rate and force. Ah! let us have some ships to resemble his in point of PAY, and in point of manner of promotion; and, then, we may defy JONATHAN, and not before.

The Americans have not relied upon innumerable officers: officers countless as the sands by the sea: they have not thought that the strength of the nation was likely to be promoted by having five thousand naval officers in pay. *There is the good old rate of keeping*

no more cats than are wanted to catch mice. To keep five thousand gentlemen to do little besides helping ladies to breed gentlemen and ladies, to be kept in their turn, in some way or other; out of the earnings of the industrious part of the people: this appears to be no part of the policy of those republicans, who seem to think, that those who do the work of the country and supply it with science, ought to have the fruit of their labour left in their own hands. These republicans can see no reason why a clerk in their Navy-Office should receive pay when he is no longer wanted in that office; and, except there be sufficient cause, they can see no reason why, in any case, a man, who has been duly paid while he was serving, should be paid after he has ceased to serve, making, doubtless, due exceptions as to extraordinary cases.

The consequence of this difference in the policy of the two countries, or, rather in the manner of ruling the two countries; it is this, and it is nothing else, that produces this striking, and, to us, humiliating, difference in the situation of the industrious classes in the two countries. It is by no means in the navy alone that this monstrous expenditure is to be found: in the army; at Whitehall; in the Colonial Department; in every branch of the whole concern, similar principles seem to prevail. Who would imagine, now, that this burdened people, who have frequently their beds taken from under them in the payment of taxes; who would imagine that this wretched people are compelled to pay upwards of sixty thousand pounds a year sterling money to men who have been ambassadors, not men who are ambassadors, but who have been ambassadors, and who are thus kept in great wealth for the rest of their lives, merely because they have been ambassadors for a few years, during which time they have received enormous salaries. An American ambassador, and they have the ablest that Europe has ever seen; an American ambassador is paid as an ambassador as long as he serves, and no longer. Thus it is, that that is, a rich

and well fed-and well-clad people, and that this is a people of a wholly different description : this is the reason that *there* the weaver eats meat three times a day, and that *here* he lives upon miserable water-porridge, that is, a little oatmeal stirred in water. Owing to their just and cheap Government, there are the Americans always prepared for war. Owing to our lavish expenditure and unbearable burdens, we are less prepared for war, than we were in the third year of peace. Owing to their wise policy and just and cheap Government, they have ridded themselves of their debt ; while we are encumbered and embarrassed more than we were when we signed the treaty of peace.

I had long thought of publishing these observations on the state of our navy, and on the consequences likely to result from the mode of its management ; at all times, it is a subject of great importance, and most desirable to cause to be understood by the people ; but, at this particular time, the thought has been revived in my mind, and I have been led to make these observations upon the subject, by circumstances which have arisen out of my having presented a petition to the House of Commons, a few days ago. The public have seen, that the petition was *rejected* by the reformed House ; but, most men will be of opinion, that it is not entirely deprived of all interest on that account. Indeed, nothing, when it is well understood can deprive it of its interest with the sensible part of the people of this country ; and, as the matter has not yet been fully and fairly placed before the people, I shall so place it here, it being very intimately connected with many of the observations in the former part of this article ; and I beg leave to request, that my readers in general, and particularly my constituents, will bestow upon the whole matter their sober and serious attention.

A petition was brought to me by Mr. EDWARD EDWARDS, who resides at LAMBETH, and who was formerly a midshipman in the navy. It was signed by divers freemen and electors of the borough of SANDWICH ; amongst whom,

and, indeed, at the head of whom, was Captain OWEN, of the navy. It complained, that Sir E. T. TROUBRIDGE, now a member for that borough, had obtained his commission as lieutenant before he was *of the age required by the orders in Council regulating such matters* ; and it stated, that, as the orders in Council positively required that a written certificate as to his age must be produced, such certificate could not possibly have been true. The petitioners therefore prayed, that the House would examine into the facts alleged ; and, if it found them to be true, that it would act in a manner which justice dictated, and which, indeed, no one (if the facts were proved to be true) could deny to be the proper course for the House to adopt. I received this petition very soon after the meeting of the Parliament. I waited till I had seen Captain OWEN, and had heard his reasons for signing the petition. I next made out a list of several officers in the navy, who, I understood, had obtained their commissions under circumstances somewhat similar. I drew up a motion calling for the orders in Council relating to this matter, and calling for such a return as would ascertain the facts relative to the appointment of these officers. Having done this, I showed the motion to Sir JAMES GRAHAM : indeed I gave it to him, and left him to consider of it for a week. At the end of that time I asked him for his answer : he said he had no objection to produce the orders in Council ; but that it would be wrong to show up these gentlemen after a lapse of so many years. He said that the *frauds* were notorious ; that there was a man at Somerset-house who used to furnish false certificates of this sort both to officers and seamen ; but that those practices had now ceased, and that, therefore, he did not think it right, that there should be any retrospective rummaging into the matter. To this I gave no answer ; and, after duly reflecting upon the matter, I was of a different opinion. I could not help looking at the prodigious number of officers in the navy ; I could not help perceiving how largely this contributed

to the sufferings of the industrious people; and I could not help being of opinion, that these practices had contributed towards the accumulation of the burdens which they had to bear. The petition pointed out one of these numerous cases; and, therefore, I resolved to present it; it being, besides all the rest, a duty which I owed to the petitioners. But, Sir THOMAS TROUBRIDGE being a Member of the House (and if he had not been such, I should have done the same), I gave him the petition to read and to show to his friends, if he chose it; but I never showed it to any other person, either in or out of the House, until the day that I presented it. I gave him notice in writing on Friday, that I should present the petition on the next Monday; and I wrote to Sir JAMES GRAHAM at the same time, giving him the same information, in order that he might be present, if he chose.

Last Monday I presented the petition, reading it all through to the House, stating my reasons why the matter ought to be inquired into, and stating, amongst other things, the injury to the country which must inevitably arise from the investing of persons so very young with naval commands; pointing out, that the most unfortunate occurrences of the last American war took place under Captain DACKES in the Atlantic, and under Sir JAMES YEO on the Lakes, both of whom, I believed, had obtained their commissions before they were of the proper age.

In his defence, Sir THOMAS TROUBRIDGE said, that the petition was false and calumnious, and said that he would not trust himself to speak on the conduct of the hon. Member who presented it. Sir JAMES GRAHAM eulogized Sir THOMAS TROUBRIDGE, eulogized his father, and acknowledged, however, that the fact of under-age, at any rate, as alleged in the petition, was true; but he produced, in the way of apology, a list of *thirty-nine* officers who had obtained their commissions under somewhat similar circumstances, at the head of whom was Lord NELSON himself. But, his main ground of apology was, *that there was sometimes such a*

difficulty of finding a sufficiency of midshipmen fit to be lieutenants, that the Admiralty had been compelled to take some who were under age, or to leave the ships unfurnished. This statement, thus positively made, appeared to give great satisfaction to the reformed House; and Sir JAMES, after very kindly bestowing some admonitory matter upon me, sat down amidst the cheers of the reformed House, which, for a noon-sitting, was extraordinarily populous. He concluded with a motion that the petition be rejected. Admiral CODRINGTON rose to second his motion, and was proceeding to speak, when the hour of three o'clock arrived, which adjourned the debate until Tuesday.

When the House met, and the Speaker had taken the chair, Sir EDWARD CODRINGTON rose at the same time that I did. The Speaker called on me, but I chose to give way to the Admiral, who, after very high praises, very well and neatly expressed, on the whole navy, alive or dead, proceeded to state the apology for the practices complained of; namely, "*THE GREAT DEARTH OF LIEUTENANTS at the time that these practices, complained of, were carried on.*" The Admiral, though without any asperity, also gave me a short lecture of advice. Sir HUSSEY VIVIAN followed; and, in the "*name of the sister-service,*" said he rose to defend the character of the navy; but, while he also was good enough to give me a little admonition, he did not say anything to *invalidate the allegations in the petition.* For this, however, he compensated, by pulling from under his coat, on the side next his heart, A VOLUME OF THE REGISTER (oh! that *Register*!), in which he found a paragraph which he read to the House, and which contained a description of the cause of the great naval triumphs of the Americans, which I, in that paragraph, had ascribed to their bodily strength, their sobriety, their cool intrepidity, and not at all to the great youth of our naval officers. How this could make against the receiving of the petition it is difficult for me to perceive; and, therefore, all that Sir HUSSEY did, was to give me

the satisfaction of knowing that he had, for so many years, been a diligent reader of the *Register*.

It now became my turn, and in rising to address the Speaker, I said, that after receiving these severe cross shots from the two services, I hoped to be allowed to endeavour to say something in defence of this most roughly-handled petition. In the first place, it was not denied, that the allegations contained in it were "*technically true*;" that, with regard to the defence grounded on the example of Lord NELSON and many others, what would be said, if the present Lord Chancellor were to be (which I regarded as impossible) found guilty of taking bribes, and if his friends were to set up the example of Lord BACON, and were to cry out against the accuser as an asperser of the memory of the dead, as a traducer of the greatest philosopher and greatest lawyer that ever existed in England, and were to call upon the House to reject, on that ground, a petition preferred against the Lord Chancellor! But, I said there is one ground of apology, set up yesterday by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and repeated to day by the honourable admiral (Sir E. Codrington), which, though it cannot possibly form a ground for rejecting this petition, may form a ground for indulgent consideration of the mal-practices mentioned, and may have considerable weight, and ought to have considerable weight, with the House and with the country; namely, that there were, at the time when the hon. Baronet, the Member for SANDWICH, was made a lieutenant, a very *great difficulty in finding a sufficiency of midshipmen who were old enough to be made lieutenants*. If this were really the case, here is something like an apology for violating orders in Council. But, unfortunately for the assertion of the First Lord of the Admiralty, here I hold in my hand a return, laid before this House by the Admiralty itself, which shows that, in 1806, when the hon. Baronet was made a lieutenant, there were twenty-six midshipmen who had passed their examination, and produced all their certificates, and who

were not made lieutenants, while the fortunate Member for SANDWICH was! So much for the difficulty in finding midshipmen fit to be made lieutenants. Besides which, there were all the midshipmen who had passed the years before; and I believe that there were hundreds who at that time had passed their examination, and who were not made lieutenants! And now for the assertion of the honourable Admiral (Codrington), that "there was a dearth of lieutenants." Here I have another return, laid before the reformed House by the present First Lord of the Admiralty himself, or under his authority, which tells us, that in that very year, 1806, the nation had in its PAY 2,608 lieutenants; and that it had AFLOAT 1,488 lieutenants, so that it was paying, in that very year, 1,120 lieutenants who were not afloat; and yet the hon. Admiral tells us that there was "*a dearth of lieutenants*;" and he seconds the motion for the rejection of this petition principally on the ground of that apology!

I then turned to the affair of the Somerset-house fabrications, and said: "The First Lord of the Admiralty told me, that there was a man at Somerset-house who used to fabricate certificates to get officers commissions, and to get men pensions, and into GREENWICH Hospital; and I now ask him (he was sitting before me), whether that fabricator of false documents was not pilloried, whipped, and imprisoned? I next ask him, whether the seamen, for whom he got pensions, or places in Greenwich Hospital, had not the pensions taken from them, and whether they were not turned out of the hospital? And then I ask him, whether any one of the OFFICERS, for whom this fabricator prepared false documents, had his commission taken from him, or whether the whole of these officers have been suffered to retain their commissions so obtained? The right honourable Baronet does not answer me. Ah! Sir, it is this difference of treatment between the rich and the poor; it is *this* at which I feel the greatest degree of displeasure. Some years ago there was a

"woman, the widow of an officer, who applied for a pension. She had not been married a year to her deceased husband; and, as it required a year in wedlock to entitle her to the pension, she procured and produced a false certificate of her marriage; for which she was tried and sentenced to transportation. I do not say unjustly, or at all improperly; but, if she were justly punished, is it just to censure the petitioners of the borough of SANDWICH, and to reject their petition? However, let the reformed House now do with this petition just what it pleases. The petitioners have done their duty; I have done my duty; and, having done that, I am totally regardless of any consequences that may arise out of the transaction. If I had had to write the petition, I might have chosen different words in some parts of it, perhaps; but, the facts of the petition having been acknowledged to be true, I will neither withdraw it, nor mitigate its expressions. I applaud the petitioners for their conduct, and particularly Captain OWEN and Mr. EDWARDS; and thus, sir, I repeat, that I leave the reformed Parliament to dispose of the petition as it pleases."

After this there were numerous speakers belonging to the "sister services," who complimented each other to the skies, until I thought that they never would have done. The Secretary of the Admiralty not only acknowledged, that he obtained his lieutenant's commission in the same sort of way, but said he was "*proud*" to belong to that list of persons whom these unmannerly persons had thought proper to accuse! At the close of this famous talk came Sir MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY, the member for NEWCASTLE, who seemed to care less about the parties who petitioned, or those petitioned against, than about me, who presented the petition. He gave me a real good scolding, and concluded with advising me to read a pamphlet, which he said he had read that day or the day before, entitled "THE TEN CARDINAL VIRTUES." My readers, who know that this is a compilation of abuse against me, published at MAN-

CHESTER last fall; that it is one of about one hundred of such publications, which envy, hatred, corruption, and the basest of villany have set forth against me during the space of twenty long years, will know how heartily I despise every thing that can be said against me by any man, who can affect to believe in the truth of any of these infamous publications; but, what will they think of the House when they are told, that the reference to this pamphlet by RIDLEY was deemed matter worthy of its *cheers*? Alas! how little is the NEWCASTLE knight capable of estimating my feelings in such a case! I heard him with great delight, because, his having been led to do such a thing, would be proof to all the world, that what I was doing was the right sort of thing; that it was efficient; that it hit a sore place; and that I had not been labouring in vain. I never resort to the use of personalities; I never show anger, and seldom do I feel any; and, if there be a man that I dislike, let him, oh God! be unable to answer me except by personalities. This MATTHEW RIDLEY had received no provocation from me to call for his applause upon the pamphlet of "The Ten Cardinal Virtues;" and, if he had received provocation, this was not the way to make me feel the effects of his resentment.

I should stop here; but, I must not omit to state, that, before this second debate began, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, officially, as First Lord of the Admiralty, got up to produce something to make against the character of Captain OWEN and Mr. EDWARDS. I protested against his being suffered to speak again. He said he had had official documents to produce, a knowledge of which was necessary to enable the House to come to a right decision on the subject. The Speaker having decided that he might produce them, but without saying anything in the way of speech, he was suffered to read that which he said would show what the characters were of Captain OWEN and Mr. EDWARDS. I insisted, as every reasonable man will also insist, that the characters of petitioners can have no,

weight where the allegations of the petition be acknowledged to be true; but, at the same time, I expressed my firm belief, that nothing could be stated to that House, if truly stated, would take any thing from the spotlessness of the characters of the two gentlemen mentioned; and thus it proved, as the reader is now about to see.

The case of Captain OWEN is this: Sir JAMES GRAHAM charged him with two things; first, with having given a *false account of his own age*; because, in a return made to the Admiralty, in 1822, by Captain OWEN himself, it appears that he was two years *younger* than he was stated to be, by himself also, at the time when he was made a lieutenant; and thus, said Sir James Graham, he has done the very thing of which he has accused others. Now, observe, this must have been a mere mistake at one time or the other, on the part of Captain OWEN, a mere *unintentional mistake*; because it could answer him no purpose; for he was, according to the representation of 1822, and according to the fact, *one year older* than it was necessary for him to be, in order to be legally made a lieutenant. Here, then, there was no fraud at all: he did not get to be a lieutenant a moment sooner than he would have done if this mistake had not been committed, he being of the full age at the time, even according to his representation of 1822. How, then, is he in the same situation as the parties whom he has accused? Then with regard to his court-martial: he was brought to a court-martial for having behaved ill to a man whom he had brought to a court-martial. There was stuffed into the charges, indeed, something about sleeping on his watch; but he was only found *guilty* of having behaved in an "insolent and riotous manner" to Captain Stanhope. Those who know any thing of such matters, will not, I imagine, be much surprised, that this court-martial should find him guilty and dismiss him from the service. But it seems that the Admiralty, who had an opportunity of coolly examining into all the circumstances, did not look upon it

as a hanging matter, at any rate; for it appears, that he was permitted to become again a 'midshipman, and was again made lieutenant; so that there was no irregularity, either in this, or in his former promotion; and he stands, in no one respect whatsoever, upon a footing with any one who got his promotion by partiality or by improper means of any sort. It is impossible for promotion to be obtained by a mere fair, legal, and regular course, than the promotion of this very eminent, this very distinguished, officer has been obtained; and it must, therefore, be clear to every one, that any attempt to put him upon a level with those who may justly stand charged with having obtained their promotion by fraudulent means, is a most gross and abominable calumny. Pressed as the people of this country are, borne down as they are by the weight of taxation, they must feel indignant, when they see their money lavished on those who have not a rightful claim to it; but there is no just man who will grudge that part of it which is received by a man like Captain OWEN, who, out of sixty years of life, has bestowed twenty-seven of them really and truly in the service of his country.

So much for Captain OWEN. Now, for the other petitioner, whom Sir James GRAHAM represented as unworthy of belief, because he had been *dismissed from the naval service by a court-martial*. I have seen a copy of the minutes of the court-martial, for the trial of Mr. EDWARDS; and I find the charge against him to have been this: "That Mr. EDWARD EDWARDS, midshipman, belonging to his Majesty's ship *Tiger*, did, on the morning of the 2. instant (January, 1814), in the middle watch open, in a most riotous and insulting manner, the cabin-door, in the cockpit, of Lieutenant RAMSEY of the said ship, who at that time was in bed, and that he did, afterwards, behave himself with the greatest contempt to the said Lieutenant." After this the minutes go on to state, that these charges having been "very maturely and deliberately weighed and considered," the "court" was of opinion

that the charges had been proved, and did, "in consequence thereof, adjudge him, the said EDWARD EDWARDS, to be dismissed from, and rendered incapable of ever being promoted in, his Majesty's naval service; and that he the said Mr. EDWARD EDWARDS was thereby sentenced accordingly." To be sure, the opening of a door in a "riotous and insulting" manner must be a heavy offence in his Majesty's navy, though it would be very difficult for common mortals to discover the possibility of rioting in the opening of a door; and also to discover much of insult, except to the poor door itself. However, I need waste none of the sensible readers' time upon remarks on this subject. They will judge, and, without a moment's hesitation, they will decide upon, what that cause must have been, which could have resorted to this court-martial as one of the means of throwing discredit on the gentlemen who signed this petition. Those who have been on board of King's ships will laugh at the idea of producing an anecdote like this in disparagement of a gentleman's character. If my readers could hear Mr. EDWARDS'S account of this proceeding, of the character of all the parties concerned in it, and of the motives by which they were actuated, they would think it perfectly natural as well as perfectly just, that Mr. EDWARDS should have taken the part which he has in the business of this petition. But, the main thing on which for them to rest their attention is this: what must that cause have been, and what must its own defenders thought of that cause, how at a loss they must have been to find out a defence for it, when they could have condescended to resort to an anecdote like this, in order to blunt the edge of the accusation.

It was not necessary for me to say one word with regard to the character of any of the petitioners; that character had nothing at all to do with the matter. When a fact is doubtful; when a fact is not known, or not admitted; when the truth of an allegation hangs upon the credibility of a witness; then, indeed, character has a great deal to do

with the matter: here it had nothing to do with it. Here the facts alleged were acknowledged to be true; here the facts alleged were acknowledged by the defenders of the party, to be technically true: the defence was, that the same thing had been done by numerous other parties; and that it was proper to connive at the thing being done. Therefore, the character of the petitioners had nothing to do with the matter; but justice to these gentlemen has induced me to trouble my readers with this explanation of that which was uttered against them; and, they themselves, must console themselves with the reflection, that never yet was there a man who made an attack *in earnest* upon any part or parcel of this system, who has not had to encounter every thing which the system could conjure up against him. Captain OWEN and Mr. EDWARDS have no right to complain of *partiality* in this case, at any rate: the system is perfectly impartial as far as this goes: never yet did human being dare to touch it, being *in earnest* at the same time, without feeling, in a greater or less degree, the effects of its power. It may be added, that Mr. EDWARDS was, at this time, twenty-four years of age, had been three years in the East India service, and six years in the navy; while the lieutenant, whose door he so riotously opened and insulted, was two years younger than himself, and had been less time at sea. Sir JAMES GRAHAM might also have produced a letter respecting Mr. EDWARDS, which he, doubtless, has seen at the Admiralty; a letter complaining, that amongst his judges, one, at least, had obtained his *commission by improper means*. Sir JAMES might also have produced a memorial from Mr. EDWARDS, of so late a date as 1828, to which is attached a letter from Admiral HALLIDAY, expressing his sorrow for having been compelled to apply for the court-martial, and also expressing, and also declaring, that he thought Mr. EDWARDS a gallant and humane young man. Sir JAMES might also have mentioned, that the very lieutenant, whose door was so unceremoniously opened, had stated, in a

letter to Admiral TOLLEMACHE, that he believed that no offence was intended on the part of Mr. EDWARDS; and that Admiral TOLLEMACHE transmitted this letter to the Admiralty in 1821, and said that he should be glad to see Mr. EDWARDS restored to his Majesty's service.

Now, I leave the reader to judge as to the character, not of Mr. EDWARDS, but of this great Herculean defender of the party accused in this petition. If any document were brought from the Admiralty relative to the character of these gentlemen, every thing ought to be brought, that was there to be found relating to them. Every one will allow this. However, here is quite enough about character of petitioners; though not too much; for the people should see, and should pay great attention to the treatment of all persons who, in consequence of doing their duty towards the people, fall under the grasp of this THING, which, next to the thunder of Jupiter itself, is most to be dreaded by human beings that fall under its displeasure. The proceeding, in this case, with regard to Mr. EDWARDS, will want no characterizing with this just and sensible people; but the proceeding with regard to Captain OWEN, at his age, and at the end of twenty-seven years of active service, will produce feelings such as it is wholly unnecessary, and such as it is wholly impossible, to describe by the means of the pen. And, *for what*, after all? What had these two gentlemen done? Complain of things unlawful; of things, at any rate, done in the teeth of orders in council; of things which no man could justify; of things which naturally tended to add to the public burdens, and to do injury to the naval service itself.

I might stop here, again; but a great fuss was made by the "sister-services" about my barbarous attack upon Captain DACKES, and upon the memory of Sir JAMES YEO. The truth is, that my *barbarity* was confined merely to an observation, that the great loss of renown, that the great injury to our naval character, and even to our naval

dominion, which arose, out of the last American war, were partly, in all probability, ascribable to the want of due discretion on the part of those two very young men. That is to say, that their having obtained their commissions at so very early an age, and before they could be entitled to them by the orders in Council, might fairly be presumed to have been the cause of some indiscretion in them; but, not one word fell from me which could at all be construed to mean that they were destitute of bravery, or of devotion to the service of their country. Yet, there was a prodigious clamour raised upon this score; and I was told, that the Americans did not talk of Captain DACKES in the way that I did. Captain YORKE brought JAMES's Naval History, and he read parts of it to account for the capture of the ship of Captain DACKES. But, above all things, I was told to look at the American account of the battle; and, I must confess, that I was very much pleased to observe, that both the "sister-services" spoke of our friends, the Americans, *with great respect!* So true is the maxim of the witty poet, which maxim, for fear of the "sister-services," I think I may as well not repeat here! However, since I was so repeatedly referred to the American account; since I was so much taunted on this score, I will refer to the American account; and it shall not be to a history like that of poor JAMES, who got confoundedly *thrashed* for having given what was deemed an account not favourable enough of the conduct of some naval officer, I forget whom, and who it was I am sure I do not care; but whom, I recollect, poor JAMES brought before a justice of the peace, and bound over for the assault, he having, it appeared, imprinted marks of his prowess upon poor JAMES's shoulders. It is not from a work like this, written under the terrors of a cane or a horse-whip, to which I shall refer; but, to the official letter sent by the American captain, HULL, to the Secretary of the American Navy, giving an account of the capture of Captain DACKES' ship;

and, that the public may see it as well as I, here it is :

United States' Frigate *Constitution*,
off Boston Light, 30. Aug. 1812.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 19. instant, at 2 P.M., being in latitude 41, 42, longitude 55, 48, with the *Constitution* under my command, a sail was discovered from the mast-head bearing E. by S. or E.S.E. but at such a distance we could not tell what she was. All sail was instantly made in chase, and soon found we came up with her. At 3 P.M., could plainly see that she was a ship on the starboard tack, under easy sail, close on a wind; at half-past 3 P.M., made her out to be a frigate; continued the chase until we were within about three miles, when I ordered the light sails taken in, the courses hauled up, and the ship cleared for action. At this time the chase had backed his main top-sail, waiting for us to come down. As soon as the *Constitution* was ready for action, I bore down with an intention to bring him to close action immediately; but on our coming within gun-shot she gave us a broadside and filled away, and wore, giving us a broadside on the other tack, but without effect, her shot falling short. She continued wearing and manœuvring for about three quarters of an hour, to get a raking position, but finding she could not, she bore up, and run under top-sails and gib, with the wind on the quarter. Immediately made sail to bring the ship up with her, and five minutes before six P.M., being along side within half pistol shot, we commenced a heavy fire from all our guns, double shotted with round and grape, and so well directed were they, and so warmly kept up, that in 15 minutes his mizen-mast went by the board, and his main-yard in the slings, and the hull, rigging and sails, very much torn to pieces. The fire was kept up with equal warmth for 15 minutes longer, when his main-mast and fore-mast went, taking with them every spar, excepting the bowsprit; on seeing this we ceased firing, so that in 30 minutes after we got fairly along side

the enemy she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull below and above water so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down.

After informing you that so fine a ship as the *Guerrière*, commanded by an able and experienced officer, had been totally dismantled, and otherwise cut to pieces, so as to make her not worth towing into port, in the short space of 30 minutes, you can have no doubt of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command. It only remains, therefore, for me to assure you, that they all fought with great bravery; and it gives me great pleasure to say, that from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman, not a look of fear was seen. They all went into action, giving three cheers, and requesting to be laid close along side the enemy.

Enclosed I have the honour to send you a list of killed and wounded on board the *Constitution*, and a report of the damages she has sustained; also, a list of the killed and wounded on board the enemy, with his quarter bill, &c.

I have the honour to be,
with very great respect,
Sir,

your obedient servant,

ISAAC HULL.

The Hon. Paul Hamilton, &c.

Killed and wounded on board the United States frigate Constitution, Isaac Hull, Esq., Captain, in the action with his Britannic Majesty's frigate Guerrière, James A. Dacres, Esq., Captain, on the 20. of August, 1812.

Killed—W. S. Bush, Lieutenant of Marines, and six seamen.....	7
Wounded—Lieutenant C. Morris, Master J. C. Aylwin, four seamen and one Marine.....	17

Total killed and wounded.. 24

U. S. frigate *Constitution*,
21. Aug. 1812.

ISAAC HULL, Captain.
T. I. CHEW, Purser.

*Killed and wounded on board the
Guerrière.*

Killed—3 officers, 12 seamen and marines	15
Wounded—J. A. Dacres, Captain, 4 officers, 57 seamen and marines	62
Missing—Lieutenants Pullman and Roberts, and 22 seamen and marines, supposed to have gone overboard with the masts	24

Total killed, wounded, and missing 101

The *Constitution* rates 44 guns, and mounted 55, her complement 450 men. The *Guerrière* rates 38 guns, and mounted 49, her complement 300 men.

Three days before the engagement with the *Constitution*, the *Guerrière* spoke the *John Adams*, Captain Fash, from Liverpool, and endorsed on his register the following lines :

"Captain Dacres, commander of his Britannic Majesty's frigate *Guerrière*, of 44 guns, presents his compliments to Commodore Rodgers, of the United States frigate *President*, and will be very happy to meet him, or any other American frigate of equal force to the *President*, off Sandy Hook, for the purpose of having a few minutes *tête à-tête*."

Captain Hull saved him the trouble of going so far for the desired *tête à-tête*, which resulted not quite to the satisfaction and pleasure of Captain Dacres.

Now, if there be anything mortifying; anything unpleasant to the friends of Capt. DACRES in the revival of this subject, and in the publication of a document that never was published in England before; but which I have had in my possession for about eighteen years: if there be anything unpleasant in now looking at this challenge, written upon the register of an American ship; if there be anything unpleasant in seeing the challenger's ship thus knocked to pieces in thirty minutes by the party thus challenged; if there be anything unpleasant in seeing a hundred and one English officers and men destroyed in those thirty minutes, while the ruthless destroyer lost only seven killed and had seven wounded; if there be anything

painful in this; if it bring up a sigh from the bosom of the First Lord of the English Admiralty, let him ascribe it, as he justly may, not to his attack upon me, for that I most heartily despise; but to his attack upon Captain OWEN and Mr. EDWARDS.

I made one mistake in speaking of Captain DACRES and his ship: I said she was demolished in *twenty* minutes. I was corrected by many voices: I beg his pardon; it appears that it was *thirty* minutes. I know I read of a story of his putting a broom at the mast-head, and I mentioned that. That was an error, too; but I think, that the challenge written on the register of the "*John Adams*" is well worth a broom. Now it is not prudent, in cases like this, for men not to take advantage of the circumstance of their being surrounded by a crowd, unless they could carry the crowd always about with them. It is natural to like to triumph; but, unless the triumph can be made lasting, it is better not to have it. The House of Commons was not the only place in the world where this affair was to be heard of, and talked of. It was utterly impossible to rub out and get rid of the truths contained in the SANDWICH petition; but it was quite possible to let them go quietly into the petition bag, and to be carried upstairs afterwards, there to be stowed away, and to rest in everlasting oblivion. The First Lord of the Admiralty has chosen, that they shall not be suffered to make so obscure an exit from the world: he has chosen, that the whole story, his exploits and all (bright as the sword of his illustrious ancestors) shall be put upon record where they shall remain, and where they shall be read long and long after he will have no chance of being remembered, except in consequence of the record which he himself will have principally caused to exist.

In conclusion, I cannot help observing, that these gentlemen of the "*sister-services*," appear to think that we, the people, have no right to make any inquiries whatsoever into their conduct; they seem to think that we have no in-

terest, either in the honour or the safety of the nation; and that all that we have to do with the services, is to **PAY** for them. I do not subscribe to this view of the matter. I think, and, indeed, I know, that we have a full and perfect right to inquire into all their conduct, as much as any master has to inquire into the conduct of his servants. We inquire pretty freely into the conduct of the Ministers; and we have a right to inquire into the conduct of every man who receives a part of the public money; and, particularly, have we a right to inquire into the conduct and character of those, who are engaged in that service, on which the power and the safety of the nation must always mainly depend. For my own part, I am always glad to discover matter for praise in the conduct of the officers of the navy, and of the seamen too. I have always been ready to bestow my share of expressions of admiration of their bravery and good conduct; but I consider those who are kept back, as well as those who are pushed forward: I have all my life long heard their bitter complaints; and, placed where I now am, I should not be pleased with my own conduct, I should think myself guilty of a cowardly dereliction of duty, if I were not to give utterance to my sentiments upon the subject, and to do my best to cause justice to prevail in the management of the navy in future.

WM. COBBETT.

NEGRO AFFAIR.

On Tuesday night, the 11. instant, the House of Commons resolved to give the West Indians **TWENTY MILLIONS OF ENGLISH MONEY!** After the gallery had been cleared for a division, there were *five* divisions, first, not to give the second half of the money until the negroes should be quite free; second, not to give any money until it was seen whether the planters lost any thing by the adventure; third, not to give the money to so large an amount; but to what amount, I for-

get; fourth, to give fifteen millions instead of twenty. *I voted with the Ministers against all these*; and then I voted against them when the question was finally put upon the twenty millions; and before I did that, I told them that I had pledged myself to my constituents to vote for the *freeing of the blacks*; but, that I had also pledged myself to them, and they had instructed me also, not to vote one single farthing to those who had kept the blacks in slavery. So that my votings upon this occasion were perfectly consistent; for, if either of the amendments had been carried, the slaveholders would have got something; and I was resolved that, with my consent, they should have nothing out of the labour of the people of England. I am not one of those who would strip the planters of their estates and the merchants of their property. But, neither am I one of those who, to humour thoughtlessness and folly; to gratify and aggrandize hypocrisy, would lay a burden upon the backs of the already overburdened people of England. From the bottom of my soul I believe, that this measure will do infinite injury to the negroes themselves. I challenge all those who have seen freed negroes in any state of society, to deny the fact, that when made free, they instantly become worse off than they were before; and my opinion now sincerely is, that, if we pay the twenty millions, it will be so much paid to render the negroes miserable; to insure great waste of life amongst them; and to destroy the colonies as far as relates to us. A very short time will determine what are to be the effects of this measure; but, I cannot help foreboding all sorts of mischief to arise out of it. At any rate, I never will give my consent to make white men work like slaves, in order to make black men free. If the Lords agree to this monstrous measure, the present Ministers will soon have added *forty millions to the national debt*, which will cause many and many an Englishman to have his bed sold from under him to pay the taxes which this debt will occasion.

THE WHIGS AND SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE.

(From Cobbett's Magazine).

LOOKING at the present distressed condition of the Whigs, and at the element upon which they are embarked, we think of LUCAN's description of CÆSAR in the fisherman's boat. What fearful ups and downs, what pitchings and rockings, has their frail bark already been doomed to exhibit in its short, but devious, dubious, and crazy course! What with the distractions of their own party, and the alternate aid and opposition of their brothers out of place, and the variety and vehemence of opinions that their own "*advent*" to power (as the *Morning Chronicle* would say) has given rise to among the people, their boat has at least as many blasts contending to its destruction, as that in which CÆSAR sat. CÆSAR's assurance to the fisherman was, that *he need not fear, because he bore the person of CÆSAR*. They are a boat-full of CÆSARS, a whole crew of captains. But have they the same assurance to give one another, and will they, too, sail into port and be hailed by mouths wide-opened to greet with welcome, and eyes pouring out tears of congratulation: or, will they share one of several fates, so dreaded by the fisherman?—will they expire under some moderate Whig wave; will they be engulfed and go down clinging to their brother Tories to the last gasp; or will they, tossed on the stormiest surge of all, be dashed to pieces, a declared, unpitied faction, upon some breaker of their own popularity? Now for "*a pilot to weather the storm!*"

Things are moving; they move slowly, but they move; and every trifling move now is an indication of another to be expected, while the thing which suffers is the faction that rules. How has the reform *worked*? Not at all, some say; every thing, others say; *badly*, many say. It has greatly disappointed the nation; that cannot be doubted; for there never was a time of greater uncertainty, greater want of confidence, than the present. We were never sanguine of the present House of Commons.

The people were deceived; they had conceived so good an opinion of the Whigs from the circumstance of having gained reform through their means, that the Whigs put forth a claim to gratitude such as the nation, in its generosity, could not deny. The electors, therefore, went in favour of the Whigs purely upon the credit of the Reform Bill; purely because the people could not be made to suppose that men who had done so much of what they wanted, who had stood the buffetings of the Tories in both Houses so vigorously, would desert them and abandon their own profession when they had assembled a House upon their own bill. Their professions were, "*cheap government*," and this, too, from the premier himself down to the lowest of the scribes of the Whigs. Their practice has been precisely the same as that of their predecessors: if any difference, worse.

Looking, therefore, merely to the acts of the Whigs since the assembling of the present Parliament; contrasting the accounts with the accounts of former years; the acts passed, with those passed by the Tories, and the sentiments spoken, with those spoken in former Parliaments,—we should certainly say that nothing had been gained by the Reform. But, although there be no visible change in the Government, there is, nevertheless, a great change in the people, and such a change as *must* affect the Government itself in some way before long. The name *Whig*, which was of itself sufficient to get a man elected member of Parliament only six months ago, is now sufficient to get him rejected. The *name* is no longer of any use to the faction; but, on the contrary, is a misfortune to it: it marks out those who bear it for the people to suspect, and we can speak about them and write about them with perfect freedom of language, without any fear of their Attorney-General.

The state of parties is more and more curious every day. That the Whigs are helped by the Tories, is clear almost one day out of every seven of the week. That the Tories gave them back the malt tax after having aided to take it

away from them, is clear to every eye. The Whigs are carrying on the system, in short, under Tory inspection, advice, and assistance; but the question is, how long will the Tories suffer this, without helping to reap the spoil; how long will the Tories aid the Whigs without being rewarded for it? Rumours abound, of coalition between Whig leaders and Tory leaders, and we believe that there are leading men of both the factions that are anxious, the one side to strengthen itself in Tory influence, and the other side to prosper itself in Whig place, by a junction of their forces. The obstacles are many, however, both out of doors and in doors. Each party has its train of followers, rivals of one another in talent and activity, gaunt and fierce, always opposed to one another, (by reason that there is never room for both), and which go under the denomination of "the friends" of the particular party to which they are attached. Under coalitions, the *in-door* strife is between these; from these come the artful opposition, the direful exposures and rippings-up of character which aid and direct the efforts and the opinions of men out of doors. A coalition between Whig and Tory leaders now would produce the divisions above named, and it would add (if that be possible) to the discontent of the country. The Whigs have gained nothing by coalition already, and those who have ventured to join them have been so damaged that the warning is perfectly awful.

It was a matter of some surprise that they should seek to ally themselves with their old formidable enemy, Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE; but it was a matter of much greater surprise to see him consent to be their ally, for, if there was one man who more than any other had been the adversary of the party and persons of the Whigs, it was this Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE. He knew their history; he had not only spoken it from the hustings at Covent Garden, but he had written it in an excellent pamphlet called "*A Defence of the People*;" and both in speaking and in writing he

had accused them of being a party always pernicious to England, and always actuated by selfish motives. Not contented with appealing to their counsels and their conduct within our memories, he traced back their history to the time of the revolution, which every Whig looks upon as his charter of right to the people's favour; and, first stripping them of the honour of having brought about that revolution, he next proceeds to show how they did all that lay in their power to render it inefficient, imperfect, and even mischievous. Do we not recollect how he and his colleague becalmed them in the face of Mr. GEORGE LAMB (by the side of whom Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE was sitting when the electors of Westminster shook him off), for "arrogant," "overbearing," "selfish," "false," "boasting," "interested," "tricky," "mean," "shallow," "deceitful," "jealous," and "impotent?" And is it not "too bad" that he should have joined the very men of whom he had spoken and written such things? It is great folly to suppose, that, as the condition of the country gets more and more seriously bad, the people will look to the conduct of public men with the same indulgence, or rather, facility, with which they have too long looked upon it. The country is suffering greatly, it has struggled hard to gain the reform which Sir J. HOBHOUSE has been a foremost man in demanding, and it now looks for the benefits which he, amongst others, taught them to anticipate from the reform. Luck threw the ball down at the toes of the "tricky" faction, and they gave the reform when they dared not do otherwise; but it became a man of Sir J. HOBHOUSE's knowledge of the faction not to join it just at the moment when it was about to practise its old deceits upon the people. He had shown that it could not be trusted, and he should not have trusted it, nor have done any thing to gain it the confidence of the people. Every body who knew them suspected that the Whigs would do no more for the people than they

were compelled to do, and that, as far as they could do it, they would even break all the promises that they had made, or pretended to make.

Besides, the main part of *reform* itself yet remained to be brought before the Parliament, and it is (and was when Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE took office) very doubtful, indeed, how the "tricky" faction will act with regard to that main part; we mean the *duration of Parliaments*. Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE had, we know, made up his mind upon that point, for he had promulgated his opinions in the widest manner in the pamphlet above quoted, and which is worth any man's reading, for the information it contains upon the subject. He clearly shows in the pamphlet that the Whigs spoiled the revolution, that they rendered nugatory that work which it is their great boast was all their own, by tricking the people out of *annual Parliaments*, after having, as an inducement to the revolution (that is to say, as an inducement to the people to let in the Dutch Stadtholder), held out promises to the nation that it should have a *free Parliament annually chosen*. He says, "It was the *PACKING of Parliaments* of which the revolutionists chiefly complained, and it was the convoking of a free representation of the people which was the great object—I may say, the only avowed object of the friends of WILLIAM and of WILLIAM himself. The Duke of MONMOUTH may have been supposed to know what would tempt the people, and he promised them the *annual election of their representatives*." And he quotes Lord BOLINGBROKE, who inserts a part of a discourse published in 1693, which contains a narrative of the complaints against the managers of the revolution, "that the assurances given at the revolution had led them to think that the ancient legal course of annually-chosen Parliaments would have been immediately restored; and the particular circumstances of King WILLIAM, who had received the crown by the gift of the people, and who had renewed the original contract

"with the people (which are precisely the circumstances of the present royal family), were urged as particular reasons for the nation to expect his compliance;" and then Mr. HOBHOUSE follows up his quotation by pointing it out to his then Whig antagonist in this sort: "So you see, my Lord" (ERSKINE) "that parliamentary reform, radical parliamentary reform—a reform which would make the House of Commons emanate solely from the people, and be chosen every year—was in view of the contingencies of the revolution, and was expected to have been obtained, owing to the ASSURANCES given by the managers of the revolution. The patriots, or if you please the complainants, of that day, soon found that the frequent sitting of Parliament had been provided for, and that annual parliaments had been found necessary for the sake of raising annual supplies. But the 'ancient legal course of annually-chosen Parliaments' was so far from being established, that, on the contrary, it soon was established by law, that the King might keep the same Parliament together for three years." Mr. HOBHOUSE details what were the consequences of the then Whig policy, and it is remarkable how nearly it resembles what we see at the present moment. "The Whigs lost the good opinion of King WILLIAM before he had been a year on the throne—'by the heat,' says BURNET, 'that they showed in both Houses against their enemies, and by the coolness that appeared in every thing that related to the public, as well as to the King in his own particular.' It appeared, that, before a year and a half had expired, they had also lost the good opinion of the people: for, in the new Parliament that met on the 20. of March, 1690, the Tories were by far the greater part returned." And again: "Whatever principles of action were laid down by the Whigs, it is certain that their conduct was similar to that of the opposing party, and that the great master-spring of their policy was selfishness. They liked neither

"King WILLIAM, nor cared for the people—except as appendages to their own power and dignity. It is an undoubted truth, that a year or two after the revolution, several leaders of that party had their pardons sent them by King JAMES; and had entered upon measures to restore him, on account of some disobligation they had received from King WILLIAM."

In short, the effect of this pamphlet, as it was the object of its author, is to show that the Whigs, while they falsely boasted of having always been the friends of the people and of their liberties, had been their real oppressors in all times since the word Whig was known in its party sense; that they had not so great a hand in the revolution as they pretend; but that they marred that great change, and that they had been the principal means of bringing about the corruption of Parliaments both as regards the rotten-borough influence and the unfrequency of elections. And it is because we know that Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE knew their history well, and had warned the people against them, that we were astonished to see him join them. Had he made a bargain with them to carry through the scheme of Parliamentary reform which he had advocated (or even which they had advanced), it would have given comfort to all England; but he joined them in the ordinary routine of a placeman, we know it only from the *Gazette*, and the motion for a new writ for Westminster, and, at the fresh election, the electors seemed to have lost all enterprise and spirit more from their surprise than from any defalcations natural or political.

The reasons for his at last resigning his place and his seat are wrapped up in much mystery; but we can easily conceive that, to remain on the ministerial bench, obstinately voting with the present Ministry, would have been more than enough to damn such a patriot. He not only had the house and window taxes to vote for, but he had yet to oppose his own principles as laid down in this pamphlet—principles which he must have deserted in the

same disgraceful manner in which others had deserted them, and for which this pamphlet was written to point them out to the scorn of the country. He must have become a *real Whig*, and would have found his ugly picture drawn in every page of his own work. What could he have done when the motion for triennial parliaments came on? and which, by-the-by, is not *hurried* on. For we have our apprehensions that the Whigs will be Whigs so far as to refuse a shortening of the duration of the parliaments *now* as they did at the revolution. They'll not be Whigs if they don't; and it is very likely that apprehensions of this dilemma drove Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE to quit his seat, and attempt to whitewash himself thoroughly by getting re-elected to Parliament. But, let us see if we have any hold upon them. Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE has given a summary of the principles and arguments laid down at the revolution in favour of *annual parliaments*. What did the Whigs say upon the subject when they ousted the Duke of WELLINGTON, and were called upon to speak out upon the question of reform of Parliament? We will take the most authentic document that we can find on this point, namely, Lord JOHN RUSSELL's speech in introducing the Reform Bill to the Commons; and, in the "corrected report" of that speech, Lord JOHN speaks these words: "Having now, Sir, gone through the principal provisions of the bill which I propose to introduce, I cannot but take notice of some particulars in which, perhaps, this *measure will be considered by many to be defective*. In the first place, there is no provision for the shorter duration of Parliaments. (Hear). That subject has been considered by his Majesty's Ministers; but, *upon the whole, we thought that it would be better to leave it to be brought before the House by any Member who may choose to take it up*, than to bring it in at the end of a bill regulating matters totally distinct. (Hear, hear). Without saying, therefore, what is the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers respecting that ques-

tion, which I myself think to be one of the utmost importance, and to deserve the utmost care in its decision, we shall keep the *large measure of reform*, which this bill comprehends, *separate from every other question*, and leave the subject of the duration of parliaments to be brought before the House by some other Member at a future time. (Hear). For my own part, I will only say, that whilst I think it desirable that the constituency should have a *proper control over their representatives*, it is, at the same time, most inexpedient to make the duration of parliaments so short, that the members of this House should be kept in a perpetual canvass, and not be able deliberately to consider and to decide with freedom any great question. (Hear, hear, hear). Sir, I do not think it behoves the people of a great empire to place their representatives in such dependance. (Hear). What the point then is, at which we may fix the proper control of the constituency, I do not think it necessary to discuss at present. When the question comes under the consideration of this House, I shall be ready to deliver my opinion. I have now only to state, that the King's Government are satisfied that, in providing a popularly-elected representation, they ought to abstain from embarrassing that question with any other, which is encumbered in its own doubts, difficulties, and obstacles. (Hear)."

Now, it is clear that a change in the duration of Parliaments was in the contemplation of the Ministry when this was spoken. The whole tenor of this passage is as an apology for not having the Bill for the shortening of Parliaments mixed up with that for the other reforms. The consciousness that the measure will be considered defective; the thinking "*upon the whole*," that it had better be left to some other member to bring in such a bill "*than to bring it in at the end of a bill regulating matters totally distinct*;" the thinking it of great importance to be kept separate from all other questions; the strong hint

that a "*proper control over representatives*," (triennial?) "might be had without such a shortening of Parliaments as would keep them in a "*perpetual canvass*" (annual?); and the declining to state at what point they would fix the "*proper control of the constituency*,"—are all so many clear indications that the Government had been considering the matter, and, if they did not come from the Whigs, we should almost rely upon them as so many promises that they would accede to a proposition for some shortening of the duration of Parliament. They certainly were so many pegs stuck up for our hopes to hang upon, and no man at the time thought any other than that Triennial Parliaments, at any rate, would be reverted to.

But, if the Whigs of the *Reform* should do by us as the Whigs of the *Revolution* did by the people of that day, what could Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE have done, sitting beside them or even behind them? Of all the "mean figures" that ever were described by SWIFT, or any one else, he would have sitted the most deplorably mean; and, if a knowledge, or even a suspicion, was in his mind, that, on the bringing of a motion for short parliaments, the Whigs meant to resist that, too, as they did MR. GAORE's motion for the ballot, by a hardy averment that the Reform Bill was accepted as a "*final measure*," then he did wisely by resigning both his seat and his place; for, nothing, assuredly, could wash him clean of the Whig stain but a fresh election to Parliament. And, unless something be done to "act upon their prudence," we have very little hope that they will grant this, which they evidently intended when they brought forward their plan of reform.

It will not disappoint us if they do not; it will be only one more instance of the cruel and incurable inveteracy of Whig character. DANIELL says of the spaniel, that, if it have one drop of harrier blood in its veins, it will deceive you at last. Go on for days and days hunting as steadily as dog and do within call, and obedient even to a

look; but at some unlucky moment that latent drop will prevail; your spaniel crosses the course of a hare, dashes from your side, and is a yelping harrier for the rest of the day. So it is with the Whig: he is all public-spirit, is one of the "friends of the people," devoted to their good, will curb the prerogative at every turn; till an unlucky whiff of place comes athwart his nose, and then he is for "order," "subordination," "the kingly office," "obedience to the laws," and is, in short, a dirty, place-loving tyrant.

INQUEST ON CULLY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. ROEBUCK said he had to present a petition to the House of much public importance. It was from the jurors who sat on the coroner's inquest on the body of Robert Cully, the policeman, who was killed in Calthorpe-street. The hon. Member then read the petition at length. He then said the object of the observations he had to make was directly to charge his Majesty's Government with a dereliction of duty. This he should do by first charging them with having created a riot, instead of preventing one; secondly, by charging them with bringing into disrepute a useful body of men; and thirdly, by pursuing an illegal line of conduct in what they might term the administration of justice. These, he would admit, were grave charges, but he had ample evidence to support him. Some persons of the National Union of the Working Classes had issued a placard, calling upon their countrymen, as the House of Parliament would do nothing for the people, to form a national convention. Any person who knew anything of the working classes must be aware, that the persons calling this meeting had but little weight with the working classes, and were a very small knot of persons, whose opinions were rather peculiar than general. (Hear) Scarcely any one would have attributed power to these few, until the right hon. Secretary issued his anonymous pro-

clamation. This, it was probable, would be referred to by the right hon. Secretary as an official document, but it was not an official proclamation in the proper sense of the word, because it bore no stamp of authenticity—it was printed by nobody knew whom—struck out by nobody knew whom—and signed by nobody. (Cheers). But this placard, emanating from a richer source than the other, was stuck up in greater numbers, and read, of course, by more persons. To put down the meeting the right hon. Secretary had recourse to 1,700 policemen, and the consequences that resulted he (Mr. Roebuck) should state, not only from evidence adduced at the trial, but also from information which he had received from several most reputable men who were present on the occasion, and whose names he was at liberty to mention. The hon. Member then went into a detail of the transactions at Calthorpe-street, which did not in any material point differ from that already before the public. He had, he said, already declared that the conduct of the Government was unjust, impolitic, and illegal. It was also in direct opposition to the course that they had adopted on previous occasions, when those at the head of his Majesty's Government had not only sanctioned but encouraged the people to meet in large numbers for the purpose of effecting an alteration in the constitution. (Hear, hear, hear). To what did the great meeting at Birmingham lead but to a revolution? For he would contend that the passing of the Reform Bill was, strictly speaking, a revolution. (Hear, hear). Yes; how differently had the Government acted when they excited the people to aid them in keeping their places, and carrying the Reform Bill! (Hear). Of all Governments, the present ought to have been the last to have attacked the people. It might be said that the Government had no desire that the people should have been attacked; if so, he would ask, why they had not taken proper precautions against it. No danger had been proved to property or person by the meeting, but still Government had thought

proper to sanction a violent attack on the people, evidently for political purposes. He admitted that Government should be intrusted with great powers, but those powers ought to be exercised by it with prudence. (Hear). He would wish to give them all the power they could possibly wield, but in doing so he hoped they would wield it with mercy. He deprecated in this instance the conduct of a Government when the country was led to believe they had the interests of the people at heart, but who by their conduct had proved the very reverse. The honourable Member then went on to argue the legality of the meeting. He admitted that an assemblage of persons met for the purpose of resisting the payment of taxes, was illegal; but the meeting at Coldbath-fields had no such object in view. (Hear, hear). From the placard that had been issued, it was too much to say that the meeting had really taken place to form a national convention, it might have been that they had met, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to form a national convention, and in that case the meeting was a strictly legal one. In his opinion the proceedings on the part of Ministers were most impolitic and illegal. (Hear, hear). He would now come to the proceedings on the Court of King's Bench to quash the verdict of the jury. That verdict was the verdict of the country; the jury, on their oaths, had come to the opinion they had: and what did the Solicitor-General ask?—Why, to quash the opinion of the country; and that any other jury who might be called upon to investigate the matter should not be influenced by that verdict. That was, in fact, putting an end to coroners' juries altogether, and placing the Solicitor-General as judge in any case, of what proceedings should take place, and what not, allowing such proceedings as he liked to take place, and putting an end to such as he disliked. (Hear, hear). When the verdict of the coroner's jury had been thought proper to be quashed, why had not the Government taken measures to call for another? If a jury even were called to sit in trial of the individuals supposed to have been

concerned in the affray by which Cully, the policeman was killed, they would be placed in a situation in which they could not give a verdict according to law. He sincerely hoped that an explanation of all the circumstances would be given by the right honourable Gentleman, which would induce him (Mr. Roebuck) to proceed no further with the case; if not, however, he should feel himself bound to move for a copy of the inquisition laid before the Court of King's Bench for the purpose of enabling him to determine what ulterior proceeding he should adopt.

The petition being read,

Mr. LAMB rose, but before he had addressed the House,

Mr. COBBETT moved that the House be counted. (Cries of Oh, oh). He was determined that such an important question should not be brought before the House in empty benches. (Oh, oh).

Mr. ROEBUCK entreated the hon. Member not to persevere in his motion. If he had contemplated such a proceeding, he most certainly would not have made such a charge at so great a length without an opportunity for the right hon. Gentleman to explain. (Hear).

The SPEAKER said the hon. Member for Oldham ought to have moved that the House be counted while the hon. Member for Bath was addressing the House, as it was in consequence of the importance of the subject that he wished it to be brought before a fuller House. As the benches were in the same state now that they were when the hon. Member for Bath addressed the House, an opportunity should in fairness be given for Government to explain. (Hear).

Mr. COBBETT did not know that it was allowable to move the counting of the House while an hon. Member was addressing it.

The SPEAKER said the hon. Member was quite unacquainted with the forms of the House; it not only was quite allowable, but was most frequently done. (Hear, hear).

Mr. COBBETT (a number of Members having now entered the House from one of the committee rooms) begged leave to withdraw his motion.

Mr. LAMB then proceeded. The hon. Member for Bath had so guarded himself against any unfair and unnecessary imputation upon the police force, that he (Mr. Lamb) should not think it necessary to detain the House with any lengthened vindication of that useful and effective body. He would shortly refer to the facts of the case; there was, however, so much of law mixed up with it, that in some points he must leave it to his learned Friend, the Solicitor General. The charge against the Government was certainly not a light one—it was twofold, and involved first a dereliction of duty, the allegations in support of that being, that they had decidedly created a riot. It was very easy to charge Government with a dereliction of duty in the means they had used to prevent or quell tumultuary meetings, which were, unfortunately, thought too strong or too weak for the occasion; but it was not so easy, in anticipation of such assemblies, to adopt measures which might not be liable, in some quarters, to such a charge. (Hear). It was said that the meeting in question was quite contemptible. He called on the House to look at the placard that had been issued; and although the hon. and learned Member for Dublin had called it elsewhere a matter altogether of “tomfoolery,” he was quite convinced the real intention of the meeting was to adopt some means of upsetting the Legislature of the country. This was what they meant, he had no doubt, by their National Convention. Stripping it of all special pleading, attempted to be introduced into the subject in common parlance, it amounted to this—their object was, and he believed if any of them had been asked they would have declared their real intention to be, the organization of a body which was to take on itself the duties of the legislature. If the meeting had been really contemptible their object was seditious, and it was the duty of Government, while such objects were contemptible, to crush them. (Loud cries of Hear, hear). It might, by quibbling argument, be shown that the meeting was contemptible, but he fully believed that there was not one

concerned in putting forward that placard, but would openly avow that their intention was to call a meeting of delegates from every part of the country, who were to take upon themselves the duties of the Legislature. There was another circumstance to be taken into consideration—that was that that placard was accompanied by another bill, which was signed by a person who called himself Lloyd, editor of the *Republican*, which, among other things, called upon the people to send their own representatives—to represent themselves, which was the easiest and the shortest way of settling the business. It also called upon them to meet in that place, which was then filled with the nominees of boroughmongers, or of those national nuisances, the Lords. (A laugh). That was a species of tomfoolery which it would not do for the Government, or any Government, to laugh at. The hon. Member said that the intention of the meeting was to petition Parliament to call a National Convention. A very likely thing that they were to petition that House, to call a body who were to set aside themselves; it was too ridiculous to be thought of for a moment. Then the next charge was, that the notice for it was not a proclamation—it was not signed. Such notices had been frequently issued before, and had generally been found effective—it was a mere notice to the people that the meeting was decidedly illegal, and the same kind had been issued when the meeting was called at White Conduit-house, and there it was not signed, and still it was sufficient. Then again, upon the fast-day, when the Unions intended to march through the City, a similar notice was issued, upon which the police acted, and nothing was then said about the illegality of it. It would be degrading to the kingly authority if he was called upon to exercise one of his highest prerogatives—the issuing of a proclamation—upon every occasion of that sort. Now there was one thing in the face of that notice, which carried authority with it; it was printed by the King’s printer; and the hon. Gentleman, as a lawyer,

was aware that it was a misdemeanour in any one imitating that. The next charge was, that these notices were more widely circulated than the placards. He could say nothing as to the truth of that; but certainly it was the duty of the Government, if they thought such a notice necessary at all, to see that it received very wide circulation, in order that it might be effective. Then the hon. Member asked why the police did not take possession of the ground. That appeared to him (Mr. L.) to be the very method by which a crowd would have assembled; besides, what right had they to say to any person, "You shall not pass through this thoroughfare, or you shall not stand here," before any meeting was constituted; before any illegal act had been committed? That, in his opinion, would have been the worst plan possible; the result of it would have been first to create a crowd, when none might otherwise have been, and in the next place, it would have driven the mob away to some other place, where they would have held their meeting. Besides, it was the duty of the police to take care that no part of the mob should separate from the rest, and go somewhere and commit mischief, as was done by a part of even a loyal mob, that went down to congratulate the King: a part of it detached itself, and committed an infamous attack upon the house of the Duke of Wellington. Then, said the hon. Member, where was the use of 1,700 policemen to put down 500 poor persons who were unarmed? Now there were 1,700 police out, but they were scattered all over the town; a part was even so far distant as Greenwich, which was rendered necessary, as the Union had declared their intention of marching in in bodies from different quarters. Besides, the number that attended was no criterion of the numbers that might have been there, and it was the duty of Government to be well provided in any case. He had no hesitation in declaring, that the instructions of the police were to do nothing till the meeting was constituted, and then to press on and secure the leaders, or ring-leaders. Government

owed more to the State than merely to prevent a meeting of such a nature—they owed it to the country to secure those who were the instigators of such measures. The hon. Member had put off this discussion on account of his (Mr. L.'s) illness; he thought in that he done a benefit even to himself, for if newspapers were to be relied upon, he had used language in another place which he did not now repeat; he had charged upon the Government the crime of giving the police spirits to drink in order to stimulate them beyond their duty.

Mr. ROEBUCK had not used such words; what he said was, that they had been supplied with beer.

Mr. LAMB said even that was a grave charge—a most grave, and, in his conscience he believed, a most unfounded charge. Of course he could not say that none of the police had taken any refreshment, after being there some hours; but one thing he could say, that the whole of the division which were first in contact with the mob, had not more than one can of beer amongst them.

Mr. ROEBUCK.—It was sworn at the inquest.

Mr. LAMB was not aware that it was so—one man had certainly said that the police generally were drunk, but that was too preposterous for belief. The instructions were given to the police on the spot, and did not emanate from the Home office. The instructions that were given on the spot from Col. Rowan to the police were, "Be firm, be moderate, and strike nobody unless you are resisted." It had been represented that the police had rushed in pell-mell. Now on this part of the case the most satisfactory evidence could be produced. In all his inquiries, and from the previous character which the police had borne, he believed that not one policeman offered the slightest injury until (as it was proved before the Coroner, by Colonel De Roos and others) a number of stones and other missiles had been thrown by the mob. They advanced up one street in order to clear it, and there was plenty of room to retreat towards Bagnigga

Wells, and when in Calthorpe-street, the superintendent finding his men took up the whole breadth of the street, contracted his division so as to leave room for the mob to go away on either side, and many persons did so go away. He did not believe that the intentions of the mob were quite so orderly as had been represented by the hon. Member. That hon. Gentleman relied greatly on the exclamations of a person who called out to take care of his wife and children (hear, hear), and he said that was not the speech of a man wishing to subvert the constitution; perhaps not, but it was the speech of a man who might have gone quietly away if he pleased, and he did not choose to do so. He was glad to hear that the hon. Gentleman had not gone so far as some others had in depicting the horrors and slaughter on that occasion. The only slaughter he (Mr. Lamb) knew of, was that inflicted on the police. It was certainly unwise to argue that a man having arms to defend himself, refusing to use them when he was being assailed with stones. The man who did so must be more than mortal, and have possessed more than even military forbearance. As to wounding women and children, there was no proof, either in what appeared before the Coroner, or at the Home office; it was stated in general terms before the Coroner that such was the fact, and indeed if females had been in the pell-mell of the affray, it would be impossible to say that some were not hurt, but he wholly disbelieved the charge that any woman or child was wilfully injured. With regard to the coroner's inquest, and the setting aside of the inquisition, it was far from his intention to cast imputations upon the jury. He would leave that part of the subject to his honourable and learned Friend. He hoped and trusted that the jury meant to do, and did do, their duty satisfactorily to themselves, but considering the farrago of evidence that was brought before them, it was a very lucky thing the verdict was quashed. He did not feel that the least blame was attributed to the Government, and he was sure it would ultimately appear that there was

not the slightest blame to be attached to the police for the manner in which they had discharged their duty. He could say now, on more mature reflection, that he could never have reconciled to himself as one who was responsible for the peace of the community, and for the supremacy of the law, to have allowed that meeting to take place; it might have been possible to have passed off quietly, if they were let alone; but although their plans might not have been organised, their object was illegal; and, as long as he held office under the Crown, he could not reconcile it to the duty of any Minister to permit a meeting, the object of which was decidedly illegal, to pursue that object quietly, and without taking means to bring the ringleaders to justice, and in order to prevent effects which no man could say would not be injurious.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL said, as he had been attacked for the share he had taken in this subject, he was anxious to vindicate himself. The petition of the jurymen was entitled to the greatest respect, but he regretted that such a discussion should be brought on so very inopportunately. There were various trials to take place arising out of this transaction; in the course of a fortnight one man was to be tried for his life on a bill of indictment which had been found by the Middlesex grand jury, and there were other trials for misdemeanours, in which both the law and the facts must be investigated. (Hear, hear, hear). He had a very high estimation of the superintending power of that House where there was a failure of justice, when judges misconducted themselves, or where Government had been guilty of any misconduct, and then let Government be impeached before the House; but it was inexpedient to appeal to that House on the law or the fact,—those ought to be tried by the ordinary courts. The petitioners complained on two grounds—first, that a slur had been cast upon them; and secondly, that the trial by jury had been brought into discredit by the inquisition being quashed. Now, in fact, no slur whatever was cast on the jury. When he applied to the

Court of King's Bench to quash the inquisition, he distinctly expressed his sincere respect for the jury, and for the intentions by which they had been actuated. This case was spoken of as if it were unusual for the Court of King's Bench to set aside the verdict of a jury. He would say that such occurrences took place at least 50 times a year, and not only were the verdicts of juries set aside, but also the judgments of the courts, and even the unanimous judgment of the judges, upon appeal to the House of Lords. It was no slur, then, upon the jury on this inquest, that the verdict had been set aside. (Hear). This could not bring the trial by jury into disrepute; but the improper findings of juries, unchecked by a higher court, would have a direct tendency to bring the trial by jury into disrepute. The verdict was contrary to law, and it was the bounden duty of his Majesty's legal advisers to move that it should be quashed. The hon. and learned Member for Bath, however, sets up his knowledge in those matters in opposition to that of the learned judges, and, he believed, of every lawyer in that House. He had been surprised to see the hon. and learned Member for Dublin stand by, when the judgment of the King's Bench was impugned. He would tell the hon. and learned Member for Bath, that it was not for any informality that the verdict was set aside, but because the finding of the jury was in opposition to the evidence. The hon. and learned Member then went on to argue, that the jury could only have found a verdict of justifiable homicide, if the evidence had shown that Robert Cully had attacked some person, and that that person could only escape from being slain by slaying his aggressor; this, he contended, the evidence by no means evinced. After commenting on the special finding of the jury, which he also contended was not such as the case warranted, the hon. and learned Member said that the most mischievous consequences might arise from such observations as were made by the hon. and learned Member for Bath and the hon. and learned Member for Dublin, during

the time the jury was sitting. The hon. Member for Dublin had laid it down as a law, that no public meeting could be dispersed without the previous reading of the Riot Act. This he (the Solicitor-General) had protested against at the time, and he now argued that it was not necessary that the Riot Act should be read previous to the dispersing of an illegal meeting, as a magistrate or constable was quite competent to the dispersion of the meeting. The Riot Act having been read, any person remaining on the ground for one hour afterwards, commits an act of felony; and that was the intended operation of the Riot Act. Assuming all that had been stated of the conduct of the police to be correct, he would ask if the hon. and learned Member for Bath meant to say that the violence of any of the police in one part of the ground or in many parts, could justify the slaying of another policeman in a different part of the ground. To this it was that the assumptions of the hon. Member for Bath would lead. He hoped to God the case would have a fair trial, and that the individual, having defended himself, would have a verdict of acquittal; but he must say, that upon the fact, as stated before the coroner's jury, their verdict ought not to have been justifiable homicide, but murder. With respect to the application to the Court of King's Bench to quash the verdict of the jury, it had been made by him in concurrence with his hon. Colleague the Attorney-General; that court by qualifying the verdict of the jury had decided upon its impropriety, and upon the illegality of this meeting, and he thought that the House would take the opinion of the honourable Court in preference to that of the hon. member for Bath. The House would be surprised when he told them that some portion of the public press had advised persons attending these meetings to arm themselves with knives to meet the police, and that advice had been sanctioned by the verdict of an English coroner's jury, who said it was justifiable homicide to put a policeman to death while on duty.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

ACTION, P., Manchester, joiner.
BLINKORN, J., late of Manchester, commission-agent.
BOND, P., Worcester, wine-merchant.
BOWERING, T., Devizes, Wiltshire, baker.
HOAD, F., and **J. Wade**, Prospect-place, St George's-fields, bricklayers.
HUBBARD, J., Oxford, grocer.
MELLOR, B., Morton, Yorkshire, shop-keeper.
NEVILLE, W., Earl's-court, Kensington, surgeon.
RYAN, W., Strand, carpet-dealer.
TIPPET, R. E., Marazion, Cornwall, broker.
WESTON, J., jun., Albemarle-street, draper.
YOUNG, G., and **J. Hancock**, Hatton-garden, card-makers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

SMITH, D., Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WILLIAMS, J. M., otherwise **J. Williams**, Lambeth-road, bill-broker.

BANKRUPTS.

BARLOW, G., Stepney-green, iron-merchant.
BETTS, G. H., Langport Eastover, Somersetshire, linendrapier.
GIDLEY, G., Cateaton-street, button-maker.
HAYNES, C., Mitcham, carpenter.
LEWTAS, M., Liverpool, painter.
MOREY, J., Nantwich, Cheshire, corn-dealer.
STAMMERS, J., Jernyn-street, St. James's, cabinet-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MONTGOMERIE, R., Glasgow, potter.
REID, J., Rutherglen, Lanarkshire, baker.
WINGATE, R., Glasgow, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 10.—We had but moderate supplies of English Wheat last week, and but a small show of samples up this morning. The town millers were eager buyers of the best descriptions, at from 1s. to 2s. per qr. advance, and we experienced a better sale for ordinary kinds, at some improvement on the terms of this day week.

We had a good sale for fresh ship Flour, at the present quotations.

The weather having continued hot and

dry about the metropolis for the last week, and some apprehension being excited for the spring-sown crops, Barley, Beans, and Peas advanced 1s. to 2s. per qr.; and we had a brisk demand for Oats, at a similar improvement. Heavy Oats are in much request.

Wheat.....	54s. to 61s.
Rye.....	32s. to 34s.
Barley.....	21s. to 23s.
— fine.....	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White.....	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers.....	36s. to —s.
— Grey.....	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small.....	—s. to —s.
— Tick.....	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato.....	22s. to 23s.
— Feed.....	14s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack.....	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... —s. to —s.	
Pork, India, new... 110s. to 115s. 6d.	
— Mess, new ... 60s. to 63s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast ... 62s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 54s. to 65s.	
— Cork ... 64s. to 66s.	
— Limerick .. 64s. to 66s.	
— Waterford.. 50s. to 56s.	
— Dublin ... 50s. to —s.	

SMITHFIELD.—June 10.

In this day's market, which exhibited the best supply, especially as relates to the bullock part of it, both as to numbers and quality, that has been witnessed in Smithfield, at a similar season, for some years past, trade was, with each kind of meat, exceedingly dull. With Beef (with the exception of a few of the very primest Scots, producing their Friday's quotations) and Mutton at a depression of 2d., Veal 6d., and Lamb 4d. per stone; with Pork at barely Friday's prices.

About three-fifths of the Beasts were Scots and Norfolk home-breds (principally the former); about one-fifth short-horns; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Welsh runts and Devons, with about 60 Sussex beasts, and as many Herefords; about the same number of Town's-end Cows, a few Irish Beasts, Staffords, &c. The Scots, home-breds, and short-horns, chiefly (say about 2,300 of them) from Norfolk, with a few of the different breeds from Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, our western and midland districts, the London marshes, &c.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters of the South Devon and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to four of the latter; about an eighth South Downs, and the remaining eighth

about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breeds, and polled Norfolks, Somersets, and Dorsets; horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs appeared to chiefly consist of about equal numbers of South Downs, Kentish half-breeds, new Leicesters and Dorsets.

There were among the beasts a considerable number of good Pembrokehire runts, wintered, and wholly fattened on grass.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 14.

The arrivals this week are fair. The prices rather higher than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

Consols for Account..90½.

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This I have written by way of

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such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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MAPS;

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Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

JOURNAL

OF

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AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

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AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES R. COBBETT.

PATENT BRANDY *versus* PREJUDICE.

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Fifthly—That, for the foregoing reasons, all the faculty, who are acquainted with the intrinsic merits of the **PATENT BRANDY**, recommend it in preference to any other spirit for medicinal purposes.

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"To Mr. Betts."

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"**JOSEPH HUME,**
Chemist to his Majesty."

"J. T. Betts, Esq."

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Professor of Chemistry in the University of London."

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* A liberal discount to the Trade.

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CHANGE OF MINISTRY. TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 18. June, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,

It is not about a mere party matter that I am now going to address you, but upon matters which concern the well-being of you during your lives, and of your children after you. It is not of a change of Ministry, in any party sense of the word; it is not a change which will have been produced by any court-intrigue or cabal; it is (if it take place) a change which will have been produced by the general feeling of the people of the whole kingdom, influenced by the soundest judgment, and by a sense of their own rights, and of the manifold wrongs that they have had to endure. I need hardly advise *you*, who have always shown so much sound discrimination, totally to disregard the appellations of *Tory* and of *Whig*. I hate all party appellations: I hate *Radical* as much as the other party-names; because nothing is more delusive than the use of these names. Nothing is more easy than for a man to call himself this, or to call himself that. Weak, indeed, are the people who place any reliance upon such appellations. But, unfortunately, they have too great an effect with a considerable part of the people; and, at the last election, many and many a man was chosen merely because he called himself "A REFORMER." Instead of insisting upon his pledging himself to take off taxes, which was the chief thing that we wanted a reform for, a great part

of the people were quite content with a man's calling himself "A REFORMER." Let us, therefore, disregard these names, and talk about things.

The King has a right to choose his servants; a right as complete as that of the people to choose their representatives; and the Lords have a right equal to either of the other two, to reject any measure sent to them by the House of Commons; and I shall, before I have done, show you that, if they had not this right at this moment, our situation would be most desperate, indeed. It is supposed that they will reject certain measures which the Ministers are sure to carry in the House of Commons; and, in case of such rejection, it is supposed that the Ministers will quit their places. It is supposed that, in the Lords, there is a majority of fifty against the Ministers, the only remedy for which is, the creating of peers in such numbers as to overpower this majority, the new peers being ready to vote with the Ministers. It must be very manifest to you, that it would be quite as well to abolish the House of Lords at once as to do this. Therefore, we are to regard the thing as impossible.

The next thing to consider, then, is, the consequence of not making this increase to the peerage; and, that consequence certainly is, the turning out of the Ministers at no very distant day; for, whether this took place upon the particular measure of the Irish church or not, the Ministry *could not go on*, with such a majority against them. Now, then, the only question in which we are interested is this: *whether it would be for the good of the people for the Ministry to be dismissed*; and then will follow the question: *what ought to be our conduct with regard to this matter?*

The Whig faction put forward high claims to the *gratiæ* of the people on account of their having brought in the Reform Bill, and caused it to be passed. In answer to this claim, we say, that it

does not exist; that they were compelled to bring it in, or to bring in some measure of reform; that they could not have come into power without promising to do it, and that they could not have stayed in power if they had not done it; that they did what they did very slowly and very reluctantly; that they gave what they gave very grudgingly; that, with the exception of abolishing the rotten boroughs, they made the bill as little as possible favourable to the rights of the people; that they showed every disposition to shuffle out of a great part of what they had done; and that, if they had not been held up to the mark by the formidable attitude of the people, they would, at last, have abandoned the bill altogether, and have kept their places, if the Tories would have consented to such a bargain.

We owe them, therefore, no gratitude on account of the passing of the Reform Bill. Now, what did we want the Reform Bill FOR? It certainly was, that it might do us some good; that it might better our situation; that it might cause us to be better off. And, how was it to do this? Why, by the lopping off of pensions, sinecures, grants, and other emoluments; by reducing unnecessary establishments; and by suffering us to keep our earnings instead of giving them to the tax-gatherer; and thereby to be enabled to live better, to have more and better victuals and drink, more and better clothes, better lodging; that we might be enabled to lead, in short, easier and happier lives. This was what the people wanted the Reform Bill for, and not for the gratification of any abstract or metaphysical whim. Now, then, has the Reform Bill brought us any of the things which we expected it to bring us? It certainly has not; and the Ministers tell us, that they have no intention that it shall. No taxes worth naming have been taken off: tradesmen and farmers are in a state of ruin, and their work-people pressed down to the earth. Two things only have we asked: taking off the house and window taxes and the half of the malt tax. This reformed Parliament, at the suggestion of the Minis-

try, have rejected them both. Nay, in the case of the malt tax, the House voted for the taking it off on the Friday; and, on the next Tuesday, upon the motion of the Minister himself, it voted that it would not take it off. By a vast majority it rejected the motion of the vote by ballot. On the motion of the Ministers, it passed a law for causing men to be tried in Ireland by military officers, instead of being tried by judges and juries. These Ministers have proposed to make us pay twenty millions of money to those who have held the negroes so long in slavery, in order to induce them to let the blacks be only a little more free than they now are; these same Ministers have proposed to make us pay another immense sum to be given to the Irish clergy because they cannot make the people pay tithes.

Now, these facts are wholly undeniable. No one thing have these Ministers done to better our lot; and, if they be suffered to proceed with their projects, they will have added forty millions to the national debt during this one session of Parliament. There were many persons who expected, though I did not, that this Ministry and Parliament would have taken off the tax from newspapers; would have repealed the Six Acts, which they so much condemned when these Ministers were out of office; would have abolished some, at least, of the unmerited pensions and sinecures; would have done something to lessen the burden of tithes: many persons thought that they would do these things, at the least. I never did; but I did not expect that these Ministers would hardly be brazen enough to refuse to take off the malt tax and the house and window taxes; still less did I suppose that they would have added forty millions to the national debt in the course of one session of Parliament; and, less than all the rest did I suppose, that the first thing done by the first reformed Parliament would be the establishing of red-coat courts of justice in Ireland.

Well, then, can any movement of the Lords make our situation worse? Is there any cause for us to "arm our-

selves for the fight," as the hireling writers call upon us to do, in order to keep these men in power, and to prevent this Parliament from being dissolved, as it assuredly would be if a change of the Ministry were to take place? To my ears the sound of the word WHIG is like that of the death-watch to the sick man; but, at any rate, is there anything in the word TORY to make me afraid of a dissolution of that House of Commons which passed the Irish red-coat court-of-justice bill; which voted that it would not take off the house and window taxes; which voted that we should not have the ballot; which voted off half the malt tax on Friday, and which voted it on again the next Tuesday? Is there anything in the sound of the word *Tory* to make me frightened out of my senses at the prospect of a dissolution of a House of Commons like this? Is there anything in that sound to make me tear my hair off my head, and to bite my own flesh, from rage at the mere idea of the King's being graciously pleased to send this House back to render account to its constituents? "*Tory*," indeed! Before they attempt to frighten us with the word *Tory*, let them tell us of something that it is possible for the Tories to do us, some disagreeable thing that the Whigs have not done, and are not still prepared to do: let them tell us of some good to us that the Whigs have done and that the Tories would not do. Or, rather, let them tell us of any good that the Whigs ever did to the people since the hated name was first heard in England: yet, the partisans of these wretched and perfidious Whigs would fain persuade us, that we ought to fight, that we ought to rebel, that we ought to devote ourselves to destruction, rather than suffer a change of this Ministry, and run the risk of losing this reformed and precious House of Commons; seeming to forget, always, that a dissolution of Parliament does not *kill* the members. The word *dissolution* being frequently applied to that state of things in which the body is separated from the soul; some persons seem to imagine,

that a dissolution of the reformed House implies the physical death of the "*reform*" members; and, the rage against the Lords, amongst certain persons, is such, that one would almost imagine this opinion to be entertained by the "*reform*" members themselves. Begging their worships' pardon, I must, with all the respect that I have for them, observe, under correction, that the word means no such a thing: it merely means, their being told by the King, that they are no longer members of Parliament; and that they cannot be such again, until some body of persons duly authorised for the purpose, shall have given them authority to be such. Why, then, be in such a rage? It is only going again to an election; to be applauded to the skies; to receive the thanks and the blessings of their constituents; to be carried in a chair decorated with ribands; to be toasted and boasted and dinned till they can hardly breathe: and though this is a good deal to be undergone by men so modest and so abstemious, still it does not kill, and might be borne without such a deal of rage against the Lords.

The *Times* and the *Chronicle* are the desperate partisans of this Whig Ministry. You know that the "*True Sun*" has been prosecuted by these present law-officers. I am now going to show you what these two papers have been saying, within these few days, relative to the Royal Family and the Lords. The "*True Sun*" has been prosecuted for endeavouring to bring the House of Commons into contempt. I will now, then, state to you, in substance, what these two papers have been saying; how they have dealt by the Royal Family and the Lords, because it is supposed that they intend to turn out the Whig Ministry. At the end of this letter I will insert all the articles entire, word for word, from these papers; and I request you to read them all through with attention; and if you find that they be not prosecuted by the law-officers of the crown, you will be well able to form your judgment as to that matter. The reading of these papers will amuse you, and I beg you to observe, that

they come from the partisans of the Whig Ministers. These papers, as you will see, say, "that there are certain branches of an illustrious family, both legitimate and illegitimate, who are canvassing to turn out the Ministers; that the court even is said to be insincere; that the Royal Family ought to read the history of the reign of Charles the First; that a bill will probably soon pass the Commons, to turn the bishops out of the House of Lords; that an address may go from the Commons to remove the Duke of Cumberland from the court and the King; that even greater personages than these, male or female, ought not to suppose that the people of England will submit, without enforcing retribution from the authors of the dangers which impend; that the people ought to buckle on their armour for the fight; that the Tories meditate a direct war upon the nation by bayonet and sabre; that the House of Commons ought to pass resolutions, that the Tory leaders be banished from the presence of the King; that it ought to have a bill ready for disbanding the Guards, and the whole of the army now at home; that the bishops are an insane body, who hang upon the Tory peers, in defending non-residence, maintaining pluralities, perpetuating tithes and church-rates; and an unnecessary band of ecclesiastical drones; that the political unions would act a false part, but would be overpowered by the reformed constituency; that the examples of Charles I., and Louis XVI. ought not to be lost on the court of St. James; that certain members of the Royal Family have an irretrievable reputation; that there is an unavoidable suspicion, that the King himself is not, in his heart, beyond a small fraction, Whig; that the House of Lords is the great deposit of corruption and public robbery; that Toryism and terrorism are equally bastard weapons of sovereign power, and that bastards enough could be found to wield them both; that the Radicals wish the two Houses to quarrel; that the Tories dare not dis-

solve the House of Commons; that the Lords, who are opposed to the Whigs, are a set of hungry and reckless paupers, raised to the peerage by Pitt and Castlereagh."

This is a pretty good specimen of Whig modesty, patriotism, and loyalty; and it is sufficient to show that these writers are duly qualified to censure "Destructives," as they call us, for what they call our revolutionary views. I have observed before on the modesty of the Whigs in entertaining a hope that the PEOPLE will bestir themselves, and even arm themselves, to prevent them from being put out of place. If there were only one single town in the kingdom to discover a wish to keep them in power, the very existence of such town would cover the whole kingdom with infamy. Besides the above abuse, these writers tell us, that all our present difficulties were created by the Tories: "that the Tories made the national debt;" that the Tories "persecuted reformers." With regard to the difficulties and the national debt, they arose out of the French war; and that war was occasioned by the famous Whigs, Lord SPENCER (father of Lord ALTHORP), Lord FITZWILLIAM, and the late Duke of PORTLAND. These three men, aided by the pen of the old hack, BURKE, forced PITT into the war of 1793, and joined him in carrying the war on. One of them became First Lord of the Admiralty; another, Secretary of State; and the other Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Two of them are dead, but the father of Lord ALTHORP is alive. I say, that they forced PITT into that war. And, therefore, this is a false charge against the Tories, at any rate. Besides this, it is notorious that the Whigs made the national debt in the first place, and made it for the purpose of keeping the people of England in subjection. It is also notorious, that the Whigs PASSED THE SEPTENNIAL BILL, and, that the Whigs have uniformly opposed the repeal of it. Then again, as to "persecuting reformers." Are those reformers whom the Whigs have put into jail in such numbers for sending forth cheap publications, or are

they "*conservatives*," or what are they? Speaking for *myself*, though something of a reformer, too, I will not say, that they persecuted me: for I made it a persecution of themselves. However, I was at the time when they prosecuted me, doing my best to cause the Reform Bill to pass; and, every one but myself, wondered what could be their reason for prosecuting me! I did not wonder. I knew their motive well; but, at any rate, here is a pretty good answer to the charge, "that the Tories persecuted the reformers;" to which, however, might be added, the question, whether the "*True Sun*" is not a "reformer," and whether that paper is not *now* under prosecution by them?

These writers tell us, that the Tories, in order to "*cajole and deceive the people*," intend, if they supplant the Whigs, *to take off the malt tax and house and window taxes!* Do they, indeed! Egad, we will have them, then! These are the very things which we wanted the reform for; other things, to be sure: but, let them begin with them, and we will give them time. I, for my own part, most explicitly and positively stipulate, that, if they will take off these taxes, and repeal STURGES BOURNE'S bills and the Septennial Bill, and send the poor-law commissioners, all but the two bishops, to crack stones by the highway, or dig gravel, or scribble philosophical essays in their garrets (and this last I am pretty sure they would gladly do); I positively stipulate, that, if they will do these things, I, for my part, will very quietly give them time to do more. It is not so much our business to know what persons they employ or give money to, as it is for us to take care that they do not take away too much of our money. They cannot alter everything at once; and if they will but begin, by doing that which the Whigs tell us they will not do, I shall be satisfied. I do not care whether it be "*cajolery*" or not: nor will you care. You will find it a very good sort of "*cajolery*" that will give you a pot of strong ale for twopence instead of sixpence or sevenpence; a pleasant sort of "*cajolery*" that will leave six or seven pounds

a year in your pocket, instead of its being taken away from you by the assessed tax-gatherer. If this be the Tory manner of "*cajolery*," give me the *cajolery*, and the Tories along with it.

I shall now turn from these diurnal hacks to something of more lofty origin. A few days ago, there was a debate in the House of Commons on the affairs of PORTUGAL. You will recollect, that the Lords had outvoted the Ministers upon an address to the King; and that this proceeding in the House of Commons was instituted to express an opinion on that matter different from the opinion of the Lords. You will also recollect, that it was then a prevalent opinion, that the Lords had formed a determination to oust this Ministry. During that debate, some very curious and rather strange things were said, of which I shall particularly notice only the following passage from the speech of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, which I take from the report contained in the *Times* newspaper of the 7. of this month of June. He alludes to certain measures which he had, in order to avoid a collision with the Lords, refrained from urging forward. These measures, though not actually named, every reader will perceive to have been, the SHORTENING OF PARLIAMENTS AND THE BALLOT, and now let us hear what the *Times* reports him to have said upon the subject.

"He denied that in doing so they would be seeking to provoke a collision with the House of Lords. His (Lord J's) object—the same had been the object of all his colleagues, *but he had been more prominently forward in regard to the measures to which he was about to refer*—in all his former conduct had been to prevent a chance of such a collision, and if in certain measures he had confined himself within certain restrictions—if he had *abstained from pressing forward opinions which were deeply-seated in his breast*,—if he had abstained in that instance from carrying into effect views and opinions which, the more he considered them, *the more he was convinced of their being most essential*

"to the happiness, prosperity, and welfare of this country, let the House, let the hon. Gentleman, be assured that he did not decline then urging those views in consequence of any change that had taken place in his opinions, or in consequence of any wish to preserve office or place, but because he saw there was no chance of the carrying of them into effect without bringing into collision the two branches of the legislature—a result which he thought they should not wantonly bring on (loud cheers from the ministerial benches, responded to by similar cheers from the opposition); and for the bringing on of which any men who ever took office in this country would be most deeply responsible. (Cries of Hear, hear). Those were the reasons that, in that instance, had guided his conduct and that of his Majesty's Ministers."

Now, my friends, "*cajolery*" here or "*cajolery*" there, this means neither more nor less than that he would have brought forward measures essential to the happiness and welfare of the country, if he had not seen that there was no chance of the Lords suffering such measures to pass. Whether this be a very high compliment to himself, as a representative of the people, I will not say: I will offer no opinion upon that point; but (if his speech be correctly reported, which I by no means vouch for), here is certainly no very high compliment to the House of Lords. There is quite matter enough for us to muse upon, even if we were to stop here. What! *refrain from doing things essential to the happiness and welfare of the country*; refrain from doing these, lest he should bring on a dispute with the Lords! Quite matter enough to muse upon here; and, perhaps, it would take a great many volumes of very decent republicanism to bring men's minds to a conclusion more decided than that to which the mind of man must be brought by this one single sentence. All the raving rubbish of the *Times* and the *Chronicle* weigh not as a feather, compared with the contents of this one sentence, coming from the lips of the son

of a Duke. "What!" will the people of Devonshire exclaim, "there was something ESSENTIAL to our happiness, prosperity, and welfare; and our representative says, that he refrained from proposing it, lest it should produce a dispute with the Lords!"

I am not going to dispute the facts, nor am I going to inquire into the extent of the virtue that could enable a man thus to refrain. It is the extensive INFERENCE that I have to deal with at present; and, certainly, some men might infer from this, that all the things that the Whigs have done, and all that they have left undone, in opposition to the wishes of the people; that all our disappointments; that every thing that we complain of at their hands; that every thing that we accuse them of; that every ground of charge; that every subject of our complaint against them, we ought to ascribe to the Lords, and not to the Ministers and House of Commons. That it was the Lords, the Tory Lords, that wrote the speech for the opening of the Parliament; that the Tory Lords it was who refused to repeal the house and window taxes, and who rescinded the vote relative to the malt tax! What a pity it was, that Lord JOHN and his colleagues did not make their stand THERE! and not wait for the "*Church of Ireland Temporalities Bill*," about which the people either care not a straw; or, if they think it worth their while to understand it, look upon it as a mere delusion, giving to the people of Ireland no relief whatsoever, and, in some respects, actually doing them harm. To make their stand here is the weakest thing ever thought of by mortal men. In this whole kingdom there is not a man of sense, and of independence at the same time, who will care a straw about the rejection of this measure; while I, who have had an opportunity of knowing what it is, and of seeing how it will operate, declare it to be my conviction, that the tendency of it will be to check the progress of all real and useful reforms in the established church of England and Ireland united; that it.

is a real piece of cajolery ; and that its direct and natural tendency is, not to reform any abuse, but to perpetuate abuse till, at last, there will be no remedy but that of violence. If, indeed, the Ministers had passed a bill for the repeal of the malt tax, the house and window taxes, the legacy and probate duties, or of the Septennial Act ; and if the Lords had *then* out-voted them ; in that case, the Ministers might have appealed to the *people* ; they might then have safely made that appeal ; but now their appealing to the people is like howling to the winds ; and, as to their attempt to terrify the Lords with the projects of the radicals, the Lords must be fools, indeed, if they still believe, that the projects of the radicals are the most dangerous to them.

If the Lords were wise, "wise in their generation," they would see this : that their danger arises from the very class that set up an outcry against the Radicals. The further men are removed from them, the less envy they have of them ; that it is not the artisan and the labourer that look with an eye of envy on the Lord's town-house, and on his country mansion and park ; but the money-monger in the town, and the great swelled-up bull-frog farmer in the country. I have known, for many years, and have been a strict observer of all classes of men in this country ; and I have never heard amongst common tradesmen, little farmers, artisans, or labourers, any thing indicating a wish to see the nobility pulled down ; but, amongst those ; amongst the *parvenus*, as the French call them, I have seen one portion aiming at getting to the height of the nobility, and have seen those who despair of ever doing that, always trying to pull them down. The *Liberals*, or those that the French call *Doctrinaires*, a race, whom I hate (oh, God, how I hate them !), are always talking in the same strain ; one of their sayings being, "that men are not born legislators." Why, to be sure, they are not ; but that is not the question : the question, and the only question, is, whether such an institution be, taking the defects along with the

advantages, for the good of the people amongst whom it exists ? For ourselves, we know that our country has enjoyed a greater degree of greatness, of good living, of easy and happy life, for a greater number of years than any other country in the world ; and we know besides, that this institution has been in existence all the while. This is no reason why its abuses should not be corrected, why its encroachments should not be put an end to ; but it is a reason, and a sufficient reason, for restraining us from condemning the institution altogether. The sufferings of this industrious people are not the natural fruit of its ancient institutions ; but the natural fruit of the abuse of them. Whether they can be peaceably restored to their pristine purity, I know not ; but this I know, that, if they be not so restored peaceably, they must be restored in some other manner, in spite of all the charges of revolutionist heaped upon him who would restore them.

I am for annual Parliaments, and universal suffrage, the question of the ballot always having been a matter of comparative insignificance with me, being quite sure, that it would soon be found to be of very little real utility, and to be a mere matter of convenience at the taking of an election. "*Universal suffrage* !" have the Lords exclaimed, and then have gone on to say, that neither ranks nor estates could exist for a year. Never was there a greater error than this. The "*REFORM CONSTITUENCY*," as the *Times* and *Chronicle* call it, is precisely the thing to pull down the nobles. It must produce, if it continue for any length of time, an untitled aristocracy of wealth, and particularly wealth consisting of mere money. This is inevitable, especially while thirty millions a year are raised in the country to be given to mere money holders. It is precisely amongst this species of constituency, that you find all the real and settled enemies of the House of Lords. The working people, the common tradesmen and farmers, have none of the envies that bother the brains of this moneyed tribe : the change that they want is a change from bad living to good

living : a single thought about a change of the constituent parts of the state, has never, even by accident, come athwart their minds : they take the country as they found it with respect to matters of government ; and if they have the means of leading those happy lives, to which their virtues and their industry entitle them, I defy all the *feelosofers* and *liberals* that the devil ever sent upon earth, to persuade them that there ought not to be Lords, or that there ought to be any change at all in the Government. If I were a Lord, I would get universal suffrage as soon as I could ; *coute qui coute*, I would, if I had the power, make the industrious and working part of the people well off. I would not care about *Regent-street*, or *Pall-Mall-East*, or *Sirand-West*, or *Pimlico Palace*, or any of its gate-ways. I would make the millions well off, let what would become of the thousands. Industry in the tradesman should bring the joint of meat upon the table, and in the labourer, it should bring the bit of bacon upon his board, and the Sunday-coat upon his back, as his grandfather had them.

Infinite pains have been taken, by those who really would destroy the Lords, to persuade them that the working people are their enemies. There never was more gross delusion than the belief of this. A little reflection will tell you that it must be so ; but that it is so, I know well. It is just the same with regard to the established church. It is your lovers of order, your education men, your liberals, your "moral-restraint" gentlemen, who are the real pullers down of the church, and who represent it as a monster amongst legitimate institutions. Of itself, and cleared of all abuses, there is nothing more reasonable, nothing more just, than an established or national church. For, what is it ? It is an establishment for the teaching of religion, for marrying the people, for baptizing those who are born and recording their births, and for the burying of those who die. It is, in fact, all these things furnished by those who own the houses and the land, for the use of those who

have neither houses nor land. The church with all these services belonging to it, constitute a great right of the people whether they have property or not : the poor claim their share of it at the hands of the rich : this share is theirs *by law*.

Clear as all this is to the plain understanding of every man, so enormous have been the abuses and the neglects, that even the poor themselves look upon the existence of the church as an oppression, and seem to wish this their share and their right to be taken from them. So great has been the negligence of the clergy ; so flagrant the abuse of non-residence and pluralities ; so much oftener have the working people seen the parson with the sword of justice, than with the Bible in his hand, that they seem to have lost all sense of their rights in this respect, and seem eager to have taken from them that share which the law has given them. Fine state of things for the *Doctrinaires* to revel in ! And, indeed, to such a pass things are come, that it does seem next to impossible that this whole fabric should not now go to pieces ; it does seem impossible that the church-religion should continue much longer to be practised, except upon the footing on which it stands in the United States of America. At two different times in my life, I have written on the dangers which threatened this church. The first time in 1805, an essay, in the *Register*, describing the causes which were at work, tending to overturn the establishment, and predicting, that Sir WILLIAM SCOTT'S Bill of 1802, if not counteracted by some other Act of Parliament, for putting a stop to pluralities and non-residence, must, in comparatively a few years, effect the complete overthrow of the church. The other essay, in 1817, entitled "*A Call upon the Clergy*." I called upon them to *join the reformers*, instead of endeavouring, as they were then doing, to hunt them from the face of the earth. I told them, that the millions were their natural allies ; that the money-monger aristocracy were their natural enemies ; that, in a struggle between them and the money-mon-

gers, which must come, at last, they must be thrown overboard; and that, then, when too late, they would appeal to the millions to help them! I had not thought of this passage, for ten years, I dare say, when it was called back to my mind upon my first hearing the proposition to cast ten Irish bishops overboard.

Let the Lords take warning from the fate of the clergy. The money-mongers are now preparing to cast them overboard; and they have no earthly defence, but in the good will of the *common people*; and the farther these are from them in point of wealth, the more safely may they rely upon their friendship. Who is so blind as not to see, that the infernal phalanx of money has been casting its eyes all around it to see on what it shall first lay its claws? The "*respectable constituency*" has begun, by handing over a part of the church of Ireland: only a little gentle bite: a mere snack to begin with. *L'appétit vient en mangeant*; or, as we say, eating is like scratching, only wanting a beginning. This little snack will give a relish for a full meal; and now the money-monster is casting its greedy Jew-eyes over the whole of the church of England. I know not what scheme; but, in the end, directly or indirectly, the scheme, be it what it may, will tend to transfer the wealth of the church and the patrimony of the poor into the hands of the monstrous money-monger. Having that in his maw, there will remain nothing but the estates of the nobles; and here is a "*reformed constituency*," precisely calculated to hand those over also to the monster. When Lord DURHAM was boasting that there was no fear of demagogues being elected in the Metropolitan boroughs, he stated, as the grounds of his boast, that there were *seventy-three thousand* fundholders living in the city and in those boroughs; and that, therefore, they would take care not to *endanger property* by their votes. No, my lord, not *funded* property, if they could help it; not *their claim upon your estate*; not *endanger that*, I will warrant them, if they could help it.

Ah, my lord! if you had seen the matter in its right light, you would have looked, as far as these boroughs went, to those whom you call the rabble, who have no claim upon your estate, who envy you neither your park nor your coal-mines, and who would rather sit upon a brick-floor and drink a pot of beer, than sit in your parlour and drink your claret.

It is clear as day-light, that the struggle between these landed estates and the funds, has been going on for several years: the common people will naturally take part with that side from which they receive hostility the least visible. With rank and authority they come in contact: they see nothing but these: these compel them to give up their earnings to satisfy the money-monster, who excites no anger in their breasts, because they do not see him, and hardly know of his existence. Oh! how the Lords laboured to get a more "*respectable constituency*!" and, if they do not soon change their course, how bitterly will they and their posterity repent of it! They proposed to have, at least, a *twenty-pound* constituency. A *ten-pound* one has shown them pretty well what it can do: a *twenty-pound* one would have done the work in half the time. They would have been literally the representatives of the thirty millions a year that go into the pockets of the fundholders.

One thing, and with the mention of that I shall conclude; one thing the Lords ought to be assured of; and that is, that the millions will, in this case, as in all former cases, be sure to triumph in the end; for instance, if the *legal-tender paper-money* were to terminate in *assignats*, then all is at the mercy of the millions. Oh, were I a Lord, would I call for the putting down of political unions! Just the contrary would be my course: it is the union in *Thread-needle-street* that I should be afraid of; and the existence of that union I should always think inconsistent with the safety of my title and estate. The present Ministry are pretty nearly *Doctrinaires*; and a *Doctrinaire* is never at rest while there is any thing in existence that is more than a twelvemonth

old. He is everlastingly talking of the "improvements of the age," and the "march of intellect"; and about "institutions keeping pace with the age." He has a great hatred of "prejudices" and of "nationality": for free-trade in every thing else, he is for free trade in national likings and even in allegiance. Anything having existed in former times is, with him; *prima facie* evidence that it ought not to exist now. Above all things, he is distinguished for his disregard and contempt for provender for the belly and the back; except his own belly and his own back, which he is very willing to furnish out of the labour of those whom he dooms to live upon water-porridge or potatoes, being, however, always ready to afford them ample supply of food for their minds out of his inexhaustible storehouse of "useful knowledge," and of "penny magazines"! It is a curious fact, that, within these four or five years, no less than four corn-mills in the neighbourhood of UXBRIDGE, and several in the neighbourhood of MAIDSTONE, have been turned into paper-mills! One would think, that the poor souls had actually taken to eating the books. What a fine prospect for the *Doctrinaires*!

However, it is no joke; it is a serious fact, that these wretched *Doctrinaires* do really endeavour to persuade the working-people, that it is consonant with reason, and particularly with religion, that they should be content to labour incessantly and to receive as reward hunger and rags. I trust, my friends of OLDHAM, that not one amongst you is capable of being thus deluded and cheated; that you are not to be cajoled by the sound of "*liberal Government*" and "*liberal Ministry*," and "*reformed constituency*," and "*reformed Parliament*"; but, that you will judge from their acts; that, if they lighten your burdens, you will praise them; that, if they do not, you will condemn them; and that you will use every lawful means in your power to support me and my excellent colleague, in our endeavours, to discharge our duty

with effect. In the full assurance that you will thus act,

I remain,
your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Upon this same subject of change of Ministry, will be found, a little further on, FOUR LETTERS, which, since the last *Register*, have been published in the *True Sun* newspaper. You will now turn to those letters; and when you have read them, it will be quite unnecessary for me to address you further on the subject. You will understand it all full as well as I; and, understanding it, you will know how to act.

STEAM-BOAT JOB.

GENERAL REGISTRY BILL.

LOCAL COURTS BILL.

IMPRISONMENT-FOR-DEBT BILL.

ABOLITION OF TRIAL BY JURY.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THE public in general are so much and so properly occupied with matters connected with the burdens that they have to bear, that they do not, and, indeed, cannot bestow sufficient attention upon the matters placed at the head of this paper, and divers other matters, tending to introduce Austrian government into England. The House of Commons did two good things yesterday, by demolishing two Whig projects; the one for giving a monopoly of the exclusive use of St. George's Channel to a cormorant Steam-boat Company, which would have been much about the same thing in effect, (as was very well observed by a member of the House) as establishing a corporate company for the running of coaches to and from BRIGHTON, and enabling that company utterly to destroy all competition upon the road. The other good thing that it did, and a thing of prodigious importance, was throwing out the GENERAL REGISTRY BILL. This bill formed a great feature in the BROUGHAM "*law*

reforms," which, if carried into full effect, would be a total abolition of the laws of England.

This bill provided for the erecting of an immense building in London, for the keeping of every man's title-deeds in England and Wales. So that every man who had a farm, or even a cottage, or a little bit of land, or a house of any size, would have been compelled to bring his title-deeds to this place; if he had a mortgage on his premises, it would have been recorded, too; all wills relating to real property must have come to the same shop; an account of every settlement, rent-charge, or other lien upon his property, must have been recorded here; and, to this place, any man might have gone at any time, and seen the condition of every man's property! What a fine instrument in the hands of the Government! They would, at any time, have been able to ascertain every thing relating to any man's pecuniary circumstances, if that man was possessed of real property. There would, have been no possibility of preventing malignant neighbours from prying into the whole of a man's affairs; and all this under the pretence of protecting purchasers against fraudulent vendors: when Mr. Tooke told us, that he, in thirty years' practice, in the conveying of estates, had never known one single instance of a real fraud of this description. Here was to have been an immense swarm of placemen appointed to manage the affairs and superintend this building; and, if by any act of negligence, ignorance, or any thing else on the part of this swarm of persons, any estate-owner suffered an injury, he was to receive compensation out of the consolidated fund! That is to say, out of the fruit of the industry of the people. Lord ALTHAM disclaimed it as a cabinet measure; but every soul on the treasury bench voted for it. Mr. William Brougham moved the second reading of the bill. The opposers of it endeavoured to prevail upon him to take the second reading in quiet, and to let further proceedings with regard to it, go off, till the next session. He would not consent; and, therefore, they demolish-

ed it at once by a majority of eighty-two against a minority of sixty-nine, though the treasury bench voted for it to a man. This was a cruel cut. It is said, that the swarms of officers to superintend this affair, were *already nominated*! What a disappointment: new carriages and new clothes I'll warrant it; and the mouths set to the scale of turtle and venison. What a shoal thus flung upon the beach, without the smallest prospect of a tide to take them off!

"LOCAL COURTS BILL." The great mass of the people have very little idea of what this project really is. The Whig cry is, "*that it will render law cheap to the poor man.*" It will take the poor man's bed from under him in the speediest and most unrelenting manner. It provides one local judge, at least, for every county; and, as far as I can gather (the bill being yet in the Lords), it will go pretty nearly, if not quite, to dispense with the trial by jury. The *Morning Chronicle* of to-day, in answering a correspondent, has the following passage, to which I beg the reader's attention.

It is, no doubt, impossible to decide lawsuits without inconvenience to the community at large. "In the questions concerning cheap justice (says our contemporary), it is often forgotten, that, however cheaply a suit may be determined between the litigating parties, it must often be a great inconvenience to others. We may get rid of jurors, but it must generally be necessary to have witnesses, most of whom are, to a certain degree, inconvenienced by the demand on their time and attention; so that, in order to settle a dispute between A and B, two ill-conditioned persons who ought never to have raised it, it is often necessary to inconvenience a dozen other 'letters of the alphabet.' Juries, no doubt, may be got rid of, and ought to be got rid of, in the local tribunal, as a cumbersome and troublesome piece of machinery, for which, in the superior courts, the only argument is, that in cases between the Government and individuals, they are not so liable to be biased as judges. In all other cases, a judge is to be presumed a better instrument than a juror; and we find, that in the Irish Assistant Barristers' Courts, the people have the plea, have the good sense to prefer a barrister to a jury. With respect to the inconvenience of witnesses, which cannot be got rid of, there can be no reason why rich men should have the power of subjecting others to

inconvenience any more than poor men. The poverty or wealth of the claimant can afford no test as to litigiousness. Besides, it is to be kept in mind that witnesses are generally of the class of the claimants. In a dispute respecting a bargain for a cow or pig, or a contract for a trifling amount, the witnesses are generally also humble, and the inconvenience is not greater to them than it is to one of a superior class, called in a suit for a larger sum.

I have no time to do anything more now than just point this thing out to my readers. The man who writes in this *Chronicle*, has been, for several years, decrying, and endeavouring to destroy, the institution of trial by jury. At every turn he has been carping at this mode of trial; and these local tribunals as he calls them are, doubtless, intended to give this institution its death-blow. Only think of fifty or a hundred judges, always residing upon the spot where they are to administer justice, consisting of underling scribes of whig lawyers, dining and drinking with the parties who have got anything to give them to dine upon and to drink! They will be, and they must be, bribed. It is notorious that they are in France. Partiality and bribes must prevail; and, when such are the means of prevailing, what chance has the *poor man* to have? This job is to give cheap law to the poor man, it is said. The poor man never brings actions: actions enough would be brought against him, only they are so expensive. With regard to the country labourers, this is the case: their low wages and perishing poverty have made them all debtors to the chandler's shop. Perhaps, take England through, they owe three or four weeks' wages to the chandler's shop. To bring our *action* against them would answer no purpose: the first movements would cost more than the sums due; but, pass this measure, their beds are taken from under them in a week, their pigs are taken from their sties; they are left upon the bare floor, or are turned into the lane. It is the most damned invention for oppressing the poor man, that ever found its way from the heart, even of a Scotch "*feelusifer*." If the Lords do not throw out this bill, before they have done with it, they will

show themselves to be that which I will not describe.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION. This is another branch of the same grand project for reducing the country to a species of Austrian government. The plan is, to have *hired justices* of the peace, or judges, stationed all over the country, under pretence of "making property more secure," and "giving cheap law to the poor man." The poor man very seldom wants any law, except for the recovery of wages; and there the law authorises the justices of the peace to decide upon his claims. But the plan is, to have not only justices, but a police all over the country appointed by the Government: to destroy entirely the county governments, the parochial governments, and all those things which kept the direct powers of the Government of the country at so great a distance. The plan is; in short, the Whig plan is, to supplant the ancient English government by this sort of Austrian government. The poor-law commission have appointed a parcel of itinerant collectors of information; and a book has been laid before Parliament, containing extracts from this information. It is impossible to read that book without being convinced that the main object of the whole thing is, to get an establishment of hired justices, and of a half-military police, setting aside the present justices of the peace, and all the peace-officers of the country; to send men in half-uniform, the men themselves being half foreigners, to all the country towns and villages. The people of HORSHAM, in Sussex, having read, in this book, a most false and calumnious account of their situation and their conduct, presented a petition the other day to the House of Commons, through the hands of their member, Mr. HURST, complaining of this account; and through the means of Mr. HURST and Mr. GORING, a very complete exposure took place. In all probability, this scheme will be blown into air; and if it be, we shall be greatly indebted to these gentlemen, and to the spirited, sensible, and virtuous county of Sussex, in which, though there was what was called a

riot in every parish in the county; that is to say, that there was a rising in every parish to demand an advance of wages, there was not a single act of *violence*, a single injury done to the person of any one human being; and it is only doing justice to the rich part of the people of that county, to say, that the instances were very rare when they were vindictive enough to seek the rigid execution of the law on the offenders. In that county, and in Kent and Surrey, the proprietors and the magistrates appear to have had the good sense and the justice to endeavour to make the working people well off, and to have determined to rule by securing willing submission to the law, instead of seeking to rule by coercion; and, it is very curious that, while all is peace and harmony in these counties, these counties are particularly picked out as those which stand most in need of *hired* justices, hired overseers, and a half-military police; and all that goodness and kind consideration of the magistrates and the employers are, by these poor-law runners, ascribed to "INTIMIDATION." Anything more bellish than this never came from the pen or tongue of mortal man. I am sure, that all these whig schemes will be blown into air: if they were not, one half of the nation would soon be set to watch and dodge, and live upon the other half. Englishmen would be a set of slaves, constantly under *surveillance* of spies, and hourly subjected to be knocked about like dogs, or to be crammed into dungeons. Such a scheme can never succeed; and, above all the rest of mankind, it becomes those who own the land, at once to set their faces against the diabolical design.

WHIG SPITE.

READER, did you ever see the picture which represents the famous English Saint, SAINT DUNSTON, whose name has been retained in our kalendar, and in a parish, bearing whose name, I am now writing this; did you ever see the picture representing this famous

Saint taking the devil by the nose with a pair of red-hot tongs; did you ever pay attention to the writhings and twistings of the father of lies; to the glare and rolling of his eyes; to the foam issuing from his distended jaws; to the livid flames going forth mixed with the foam? If you never did, imagine him now to live in *Downing Street*, and the good old Saint there to have him by the nose; and then read in the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day, his words upon the occasion, manifestly edited by a *noisy UNDERSTRAFFER*, who is trembling for his *seat*, as well as for his *pay*: and here the words are:

"Mr. Cobbett *explained* last night in another epistle, and vehemently abjures all alliance with the Tories; but avows that he will approve and support 'any body' for a whole year, at the least, 'who will take off the malt tax and the house and window taxes—who will repeal the Whig Septennial Act—who will repeal Sturges Bourne's bills, and drive all the *Melancholic* devils back to their native bell.' He further liberally says, that he will give time for doing other things to any Ministry or Parliament who would do these commendable deeds. Mr. Cobbett is extremely liberal, and we would recommend him immediately to open a negotiation with the Carlton Club. But he must be extremely credulous, if he really fancies that a Tory cabinet will gratify his wishes in these respects. Indeed Mr. Cobbett knows better, and is only putting a little salt on the tails of the Tories in order to catch them. We have no doubt that the Conservatives will go very far to get back into office. Their recent coalition in Staffordshire with the *currency political unionists* proves their chameleon nature, but they are notwithstanding little likely to give or redeem such pledges as Mr. Cobbett exacts. Mr. Cobbett's abuse is *extremely harmless* and consistent with his well-known habits of vituperation. We only regret that it is *not now* accompanied with the usual portion of sense and spirit which redeem his personalities. But the fact is, that Mr. Cobbett has committed a capital blunder. He should have *kept out* of Parliament, and has entered it *too late*. As an orator he gives the system an *occasional blow in a soft place*; but the reformed House of Commons is not his proper theatre, and what the country gains by his speeches it loses in the *Register*. Moreover, *Marplot* never yet succeeded in the long run. He ought to have taken a *lesson from the fate of Mr. Hunt*, who, with his cunning, was instantly seen through when he began to fight the battle of the Tories under radical colours.

Not another word: this, as Dr. MIL-

now entitles his last book, is, "the end of controversy."

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S

FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

OUT of the very house, and, perhaps, the very room, that Dr. JOHNSON sent his *Dictionary*, I am this day sending the last part of this work to the press; and, therefore, I can promise, that it will be published in the last week of the month of July.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

(From the True Sun of 15. instant.)

SIR,—The *Times* and the *Chronicle*, seeing the probable fate of their patrons, the Whig Ministry, are crying aloud; are menacing the Lords with the *vengeance of the people*; and they even go so far as to threaten that this Ministry will **DISBAND THE ARMY!** Now, Sir, if I had written thus, or if you had written thus, against the Whigs, how soon would those liberty-loving gentry have had us laid by the heels!

But, Sir, as to the matter. Are these writers stupid enough to imagine that there is one single, sensible, and independent man in all England, Ireland, or Scotland, who could feel displeased with the Lords for being the cause of turning out this Ministry! What, Sir, when all the great towns are petitioning the King to turn them out! At a meeting of the county of Surrey, no very many months ago, *mine was the only hand* held up against a resolution expressing confidence in this Ministry. At a recent meeting of that same county, *not one single hand* was held up, expressing a want of confidence in them, and expressing a desire that they should be *turned out!* Want of leisure, and want of means of assembling, is the only reason why all the towns and villages have not backed the great towns in a prayer that they may be turned out. And do these scribbling creatures imagine that they can *spread* the country to a hatred of the Lords for giving effect to its own prayers.

Look, Sir, at the mass of measures that these men have brought into the House of Commons: a bare look at this mass, making part of a revolution at every step, and yet doing nothing to give the people the smallest degree of relief or satisfaction; plunging

everything into confusion, taking all to pieces, and putting nothing together again; unsettling the minds of the people as to everything established, taking care, however, to correct no abuse; exhibiting an inveterate attachment to corruption of every description: breaking asunder all the ligatures of society, and promising nothing that shall give the people cause of content, or that shall promise peace or security for the future.

Why, Sir, were there nothing but this picture for us to look at, it would be the bounden duty of the Peers to interfere at once, in a constitutional manner, to arrest their progress, which, it suffered to go on, must inevitably end in their own ruin and in that of the people along with them. From this Ministry the people have received nothing but disappointment; every man has made up his mind that no good can come from them; and I take upon me to assert (having as good an opportunity of knowing the fact as any man in the kingdom), that to turn out this Ministry, (seeing another turn-out, which would be the natural consequence of it), would go very far towards reconciling the people to that House which some of the Whigs have had the audacity to represent as not being so very necessary to insure the well-being of the people.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

London, June 15, 1833.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

(From the True Sun of 17. instant.)

SIR,—In my letter, which appeared in your paper on Saturday last, I am, by mistake of some one, made to say—"At a recent meeting of that same county (Surrey), *not one single hand* was held up expressing a want of confidence in the Ministers, and expressing a desire that they should be turned out." Now, Sir, this is precisely the contrary of what I did say, which was this:—"Not one single hand was held up against a resolution, expressing a want of confidence in them, and expressing a desire to have them turned out."

Having my pen in hand, let me observe, to the writer of the *Times* and the *Chronicle*, that already more than twenty addresses have come to the KING, praying him to *dissolve this present Parliament*; and yet, if we believe these desperate writers, the KING is to share the fate of "*Charles the First*," if he *enjoins* his right in this respect! In 1831, these same writers threatened the KING with the fate of *Charles the First*, if he *did not* dissolve the Parliament! This is a pretty life for a *king* to lead! "I'd sooner be a dog and bay the moon," than be a King, capable of yielding to such threats as these. The KING will not yield to these threats; but, of course, will despise them, especially as he sees that his people are calling for the very thing that these scribbling hacks appear to be so much afraid of.

"*A Tory Ministry!*" There are no terrors in that sound. Every sensible man in the Kingdom knows, that a Tory Ministry now would not be what a Tory Ministry was before. The Tories see that they are now strong; the Lords see that they are now strong, only because the Whigs are abandoned and reproached by the people; the Lords see that this abandonment and reprobation has arisen from the cruel disappointment of the people; from no regard having been paid to their sufferings; and, of course, the Lords would take care to do *some part* at least, of the things which the people expected to have done. A very little, comparatively speaking, would have satisfied the people for the present. The people were not unreasonably impatient. A repeal of the malt tax, and of the house and window taxes, would have satisfied them for this year, together with a repeal of STURGES BOURNE's bills, and of the Whig Septennial Bill, for which measure the Marquis of Westminster himself moved, in 1817. Speaking for myself, I will say, that these measures would have satisfied me for the present, it being reasonable that time should have been allowed for the removal of such manifold grievances as now exist, and have so long existed.

But, Sir, this Whig thing has done *nothing* for the people; I verily believe from my soul, that a boroughmonger Parliament would have done more than this Parliament has, for the benefit of the people; because that Parliament would have endeavoured to reconcile the people to the representation, such as it was: whereas the Whigs have been emboldened by their immense majority, got together under the name of a *reform*, to refuse to do anything at all for the people, while they are adding millions upon millions to the national debt, the interest of which must be discharged, if at all, by the children yet in the cradle. For my part, Sir, I most sincerely believe, that a turning out of this Ministry would be a great benefit to the country; and, instead of "*the people arming themselves for the fight*," (as the *Times* calls on them to do), in order to keep this Ministry in their places, I say it is the duty of every county, every town, and every village, if possible, humbly to beseech His Majesty to be graciously pleased to turn them adrift.

You, Sir, are, I understand, prosecuted by these Whigs, for *endeavouring to bring the House of Commons into contempt*. I suppose there is no harm in *endeavouring to bring the House of Lords into contempt*. I suppose that the same law-officers who have prosecuted you, would be complained of by the *Times* and the *Chronicle*, if they were to prosecute them for these insolent, these contemptuous, these audacious, and these really and truly seditious attacks upon the House of Lords; for doing which, however, they may probably plead the example of certain persons belonging to a body, which it is unnecessary for me here to name.

I have troubled you uselessly, perhaps; for again I say, that from the north of Scotland to the Isle of Wight, from DOVER to PENZANCE, there is not one sensible and truly independent man to be found, who is not anxious to see the change so much dreaded by these two writers and their greedy patrons.

I should not wonder, Sir, if the Whigs were now suddenly to turn about, and to bring forward something with a view of conciliating the people; for their situation at this moment is truly awful: abandoned by the people, and the heavy hand of the Lords upon them! In all former cases they have had *hope*, even after a defeat; but, if they be driven out now, the door is shut against them *for ever*: it will be absolutely a political death, and there will be nothing left of the Whig faction but the hated name. They will die hard; they will kick and jerk and struggle to the last moment; but, Sir, die they must; and you will allow that it is mercy in me to give them this *pull* by the heels!—[N.B. *Petitions to the King* may be forwarded from the country to Members of Parliament, who can at once, *confer* them to be laid before His Majesty.]—At the least, there is a great probability of a dissolution of Parliament at no distant date. The electors have now seen the fatal consequences of their conduct at the last election. I do beseech them not to be cheated by the name of Whig, or Tory, or Liberal, or Radical, or Reformer, or any other NAME. Let them insist upon these things:—Repeal of the malt tax, of the house and window taxes, of the Septennial Bill, and of STURGES BOURNE's bills. These two last cost nothing to the Government; their existence yield nothing but a plentiful harvest of discontent. I have not the smallest doubt that a change of the Ministry would give us these things, and then we should have time to consider of further changes, without throwing everything into the air at once, like the stupid and greedy Whigs, who, while they are actually making a revolution, while they are tossing bishops, deans and chapters overboard, and bringing the Jews to supply their place, manifestly show that they intend to do no one thing for the advantage of the people. Their hack writers seem to be aiming at producing a conviction in the minds of the people that the *Houses of Lords ought to be destroyed*: but, Sir, let the people reflect for a moment on what their situation would be, if there were nothing *any* where to control the proceedings of that assembly which rescinded the vote on the malt tax; let them consider what our situation would be, if King and Lords were deprived of their real constitutional power, and we were left to be governed solely by that assembly! I need say not another word, the bare thought is enough to drive a man mad.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

WM. CORBETT.

Bolt-court, Sunday, June 18.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

(From the True Sun of 18. instant.)

SIR,—I beg leave to trouble you once more, and that very shortly, on the efforts now making by the *Times* and the *Chronicle* to keep their patrons in power. To-day, they both harmoniously chime in the same sentiment: both *warn* the Tories against the *danger of listening TO ME*; for, one of them clearly points me out, and the other names me. They say that, being anxious to cause a *revolution* in the country, and perceiving that turning out the Ministers would produce such revolution, I am anxious about nothing but the turning of them out.

Now, Sir, as to the premises, that *I want to produce a revolution*. Do I revile the family of the King; do I, in substance, say, that the fate of CHARLES the First shall overtake him, if he do not destroy, utterly destroy, the House of Peers, in order to keep these Ministers in their places? Do I say that it would be right for Lord GREY, like another CATILINE, to "*instantly disband the army at home*," if the KING turn out these Ministers? Do I tell the KING to "*learn the European lesson of the present century*"; to "*day a throne—to-morrow is a prison*?" Do I call the House of Lords, the "*grand depot of corruption and public robbery*?" And is it by men who write thus, without appearing at all to dread the law-officers of the Crown; is it by such men that I am to be accused of aiming at revolution?

If, Sir, I did aim at revolution; if such an event could be looked forward to with delight by me, who can have no one earthly motive for wishing for a revolution; if I did wish for a revolution; meaning a total overthrow of this frame of Government, an abolition of titles, a confiscation, and a new distribution of estates; if I did wish for an event so terrible as this, so destructive of all men of title and of great estate, what could I desire more than to see these Ministers remain in power, and to pursue their present career? Why, Sir, in what have they been engaged for months past, but in politically shaking the kingdom to pieces? Instead of taking off the taxes, which they knew the people expected to be relieved from as the fruit of Reform, they have browbeaten every man who has dared to open his lips with a view of effecting that object. Men, fit to have been intrusted with the affairs of the nation at such a time, would have *pacified* the people in the first place, by taking off the malt and the house and window taxes; and then, they would have gone *soberly* and very *slowly* to work to make such other changes as were necessary; and, at every step, they would have taken care to have *finished* that which they had begun before they had proceeded with anything else.

Instead of acting thus, they have given a shake to everything, abroad as well as at home; and have taken special care to give the people satisfaction in nothing that they have

done. The *Church of Ireland Bill*, which they call a *Reform*, does nothing more than throw obloquy on that church; as good as tells the people that the church ought not to exist: and, at the same time, makes it as burdensome to the people as ever; represents it as an abuse, and declares at the same time that it shall be perpetual.

If I look at the West India project, I see that which was represented as a *violation of all the laws of God*, affected to be *endeavoured* to be put an end to by giving twenty millions of money out of the sweat of the people of England, as a compensation to those who had so long been violating those laws! A measure grounded upon the assumption, that *free labour* would produce more sugar than *slave labour*, and would be *more advantageous* to the planters; then giving the planters twenty millions to compensate them for their loss; and when Mr. BAKING stood forward to expose this audacious inconsistency, I heard him assailed by noises such as I scarcely ever heard in my life. These colonies will be destroyed in all human probability; for it is too much to hope that they can escape amidst the complication of follies, with which this project abounds.

But, Sir, were there nothing but the *legal-tender paper-money project* (which will demand, on my part, a protest more formal than this); were there nothing but this project, what could I, if I wished for a *total revolution* in the country; what could I sigh for, or pray for, more than this one project? This project has been propounded in formal resolutions: let it be carried into execution, and he must be a most unreasonable Radical or Republican, that could desire any thing *more*. In short (and this is my answer to the *Times* and the *Chronicle*), I give it as my *decided opinion* (the reasons for which I have stated in my *Register*), that, if the propositions now *before the House of Commons*, be carried into effect, the whole frame of Government in this kingdom *will be totally changed in less than four years*. So that, if I do desire such revolution, I must be, in my efforts to get this Ministry turned out, the most disinterested and self-denying of all the creatures that God ever made.—I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Bell-court, June 18, 1833.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

(From the True Sun of the 19. instant.)

SIR,—I was in hopes that I should not have been tempted to give you any further trouble upon the subject of the Whigs, the *liberal Whigs*, and their fright at the prospect of being turned adrift; but the poor old decayed *Chronicle* of this morning appears to be extremely angry with me for what it calls, "*joining the Tories*." Now, Sir, I have not *joined the Tories*, and I do not care anything about names. I will "*join*" nobody; but I

will approve, and as far as I am able, support, for one whole year, at the least, any body who will take off the malt tax and the house and window tax, who will repeal the Whig-Septennial Act, who will repeal STURGES BOURNE'S Bills, and drive all the *Malthusian* devils back to their native hell. To any Ministry and Parliament who would do these things, I would give *time* for doing other things; but to those who, so far from having done either of them, have testified their resolution never to do any of them, I will give every opposition that I am able; and I am very sure, that, in this respect, I have the approbation of every man in the kingdom, who does not either live on the taxes, or who is not seeking to live on the taxes.

The *Chronicle* blames me for discovering marks of hostility to the Whig Government, and says, "that it is *now* every thing that is execrable in my eyes." When were the Whigs *otherwise* in my eyes? Seven-and-twenty years I have held them in execration, as adding perfidy to all the bad qualities of the Tories. Amongst the good things which the *Chronicle* says the Whigs have done, is this; they have probed the evils of the poor-laws, with a view to remedy them as far as possible. This *probing* has made its appearance in a book, signed by the Poor-law Commissioners, by STURGES BOURNE, HARRY GAWLER, SENIOR, COULSON, and another, I believe; and contains matter collected by the *itinerant* poor-law men. As to the veracity of this book, Mr. HURST, the Member for Horsham, and Mr. GORING, the Member for Shoreham, most completely proved that it contained a tissue of abominable falsehoods with regard to that part of Sussex. I shall very soon have to show the extent of its veracity as to another part of the country. The objects of this book, and of the whole of this most expensive affair, are, first, to eulogize, and perpetuate, and harden, and extend STURGES BOURNE'S Bills, against which petitions are every day coming from the great towns, and would come from every parish in the kingdom, if the sufferers had the means of sending them. The second object is, to pave the way for a *half-military police*, to be stationed in all the country towns and villages of England, Wales, and Scotland; and these things, it appears to be hoped, would enable the grinders of the working-people to compel them to live upon water-porridge and potatoes. Why, Sir, were there only this one thing, I, understanding the matter so well as I do, should be a most unjust and wicked man, if I did not wish to see power taken out of the hands of this Ministry. As I said the other day in the House of Commons, this Poor-law Commission is, in my opinion, costing more than the whole of the poor-rates of the county of Westmoreland. If this, then, be one of the *merits* of the Ministers, what, in God's name, can be the nature of their sins?

In short, Sir, this Ministry have no defence. The people confidently expected that the malt tax and the house tax and the window tax

would be taken off: the Ministry and the House of Commons have refused to do the latter: the House resolved on a Friday, that it would take off half the former; and, on the next Tuesday, the Minister called upon the House to resolve, and it did resolve, that it would take off none of it. The Tories might act in the same manner for anything that I know to the contrary: but until the *Chronicle* can show us that we should lose by the change, and that it ought not to be a gratification to us to see the Whigs *punished* for their conduct, it may endeavour in vain to rouse the *people*—aye, and even the "*reformed constituency*," an appellation which it now uses instead of the people. The *Chronicle* tells us, that the Tories are holding out the bait, "that they will take off taxes;" and that is precisely what I want; and, if the Tories break their word, they will only then be approaching towards a level with the Whigs.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

St. James's Park, June 19, 1833.

(From the Times of the 15. instant.)

The privileges of the Peers were granted to them by the constitution, not for the sake of the Peers themselves, but that they might be the better enabled to discharge certain public and specified duties. When the Peers, or any portion of them, make the enjoyment of their privileges the most essential object of their political efforts, they forfeit, in fact, the condition on which those privileges were vested in them.

The Tory party seems now to have decided that the whole realm shall be subdured to its will, and that those interests which are acknowledged by the nation and its representative to be the most precious and important of all others, shall be sacrificed to the selfish views of a certain branch of the aristocracy. This will never do. It is all very well to put forth common places on the constitution, and to talk about a difference between the two Houses of Parliament, or, in other words, "a collision," as just nothing at all—something which the framers of the constitution looked forward to as a matter of course, not having any results or tendencies beyond the mere assertion by each branch of the legislature of its own distinct and admitted power. Now, let us quietly ask these free-and-easy gentlemen whether the independent rights of each House of Parliament were given in contemplation of their co-operating on important subjects, or of their drawing in different and opposite lines? If concurrence were not the rule, and variance the exception—and the rare exception, too,—it is plain that the Government of the commonwealth must soon be brought to a state of political paralysis. A difference between the two Houses on very

serious questions can no otherwise be considered than as involving constitutional dangers of the deepest import. Reform in Parliament is one of these; church reform is one of them, and perhaps the most perilous of all such questions on which the Lords and Commons could divide. Vain and foolish is it to ring in our ears that the Lords may do so and so, if they like. Of course they may—and of course they must take the consequences. The English nation will not be cheated out of what they deem the substance of their own prosperity, out of complaisance to the abstract, however acknowledged, rights of the Upper House of Parliament. If rights be indiscreetly and mischievously exercised, they are, in fact, abused; and if abused, the abuse will by an intelligent and high-principled people be resisted. If one party must give way, then the *Peers must give way*, for the nation will not, and ought not, to do so where its vital interests are concerned.

The House of Commons should be prepared for such emergencies—not, indeed, to follow the old precedent, and vote the House of Lords “a nuisance,” but to put on record *instantly* that the House of Lords, by setting itself repeatedly and perseveringly in direct opposition to *that reform* which is demanded by the whole people of England, has rendered it impossible to carry on the Government without an absolute extinction of that assembly which represents the people, and the establishment of a pure oligarchy in place of King, Lords, and Commons.

We have reason to apprehend that the leaders of the so-called “conservative” faction *meditate a direct war upon the nation*. We do not mean a war of words or sentiments, or legislative measures, but literally a *war of the bayonet and the sabre*. We have no doubt that there are some persons who would, almost immediately on their accession to the Government, declare formally against any reformation of abuses,—pronounce that reform and republicanism were identified, that both must be put down *coute qui coute*, and ancient corruptions clung to,—and that if any show of resistance, even within the forms of the constitution, be presented by the body of the people, that then, without an hour’s delay, the glove should be thrown down, the *troops appealed to*, and the standard of despotism and misgovernment hoisted, in the name of our upright, constitutional, and beloved Monarch. We assert all this from a knowledge of facts as they occur. There is nothing figurative in the statement; all is literal, all is true. The subject has been well discussed in the Conservative council. The army is described to be “*stanch to a man*,” What might, what must be the fate of him who employs it to such sanguinary and traitorous ends has, we suspect, been but slightly adverted to. The military and court faction (the highest personage of all forming a noble exception), the military faction and court faction are besotted enough to imagine that if certain persons were once

in power the battle might yet be restored and the day be won. They are the most ignorant, the most infatuated, the most unteachable of all human beings, who so judge the people of this country: within three months of such an attempt being made not a vestige of Conservatism would be left throughout the kingdom. In the mean time, every city, county, borough, and parish in the island, ought to be in readiness for whatever, even the worst that might happen. Petitions, remonstrances, declarations of distrust in a “Conservative” Ministry, ought to be prepared in case of necessity; the House of Commons ought to be on the alert, and, should events require them, be ready to pass resolutions and addresses to the Sovereign that specific persons whom we will not now name should be dismissed for ever from the service of the Crown, and banished from the royal presence. Another bill should be sent up to the Peers, the same hour in which the appointment of a Minister professing to govern by the sword was promulgated, for *disbanding the Guards and the whole of the army now at home*. A nation must not be nice about details when its existence or liberties are threatened. In our opinion, no crisis ever arose in Great Britain more pregnant with grave alarm than that on the eve of which we at this moment stand. *As for a dissolution of the existing Parliament, one man—and one only—among the Conservatives can be blind enough to plunge into such an experiment*,—it is he who made the grand blunder of denouncing, and thereby producing a reform of Parliament.

(From the Times of the 17. instant.)

The confidence of the country in a satisfactory or even peaceable issue of the present crisis rests much upon the well-known earnestness of the King in his conviction of the necessity of supporting the reform principle, and in his consequent determination to maintain, so far as in his power, the policy of his present Ministers against that of the Tory faction. But it may not long be at the option of his Majesty to indulge his own choice of Ministers or measures. The adverse faction has a majority in the House of Peers which may at any time frustrate the best intentions of his Majesty, and select its own hour for striking a decisive blow. It is plain enough that the natural and most effectual method of averting a danger like this would be the creation of a sufficient number of reform Peers; but such an expedient, though within the letter of the constitution, cannot be regarded as devoid of evil consequences, any more than that violent exercise which is now anticipated of the legislative, or anti-legislative, powers vested in the Peers themselves, will be considered innocent by the nation. An extensive creation of Peers, indeed, as a means of remedying or counteracting some occasional abuse of their acknowledged privileges by the majority, could hardly be excused by any

emergency short of threatened *convulsion* or *civil war*. Whether one or both such justifications may not soon present themselves to our embarrassed Sovereign, is a question to be resolved hereafter.

But, besides the majority, of which the Tory chiefs are conscious, there are other circumstances, unfortunately too notorious, which furnish them with strong encouragement to bring their anti-reform forces into action. *The King*, we repeat, is single-minded, and staunch in his maintenance of the reform principles, and of the existing Ministry. Nevertheless, looking to the composition of *his court*, and to the known and incessant machinations of some of its members, many persons besides the Tories, whose interest would naturally bias their judgments on such a point, have questioned on which side the royal preference lay, and have even set up the sinister conduct which his Majesty tolerates in those about him to rebut the more direct evidence of his personal acts and professions. The King is too much a man of honour to suspect that the world would ever question his sincerity. He speaks and expects, what he well deserves credit for, *inviolable truth*. But it might with all reverence and duty be submitted to the Sovereign, that if he wish well to the cause of reform, and to the stability of the actual Administration, he will study the semblance, as much as the substance, of truth. His Majesty, for such an object, will be anxious to get rid of certain *nuisances* which infest the palace, and which throw an air of ambiguity and mystery over the fair exterior of his own royal inclinations. Nothing would seem more strange than that with a reforming and enlightened King, the courtiers, male and female, without a single dissentient, should take pains to be signalized as open enemies to his official advisers. Were it not for the *irretrievable reputation* of certain members of the *Royal Family* itself, it might seem passing strange that, with one patriotic exception, the nearest relations of the Sovereign should be mustered by public opinion among the ranks of the opposition to his Majesty's Government. Ought this to be? Without the slightest spirit of needless intermeddling in the social arrangements of the court, we must aver that the unvarying prevalence of Tories, and intriguing Tories, too, both as settled functionaries in the court circle, and as its occasional visitors and guests, has a tendency of grave and twofold mischief. It excites among common observers an unavoidable suspicion, that as the court is three fourths of it inveterate Tory, so the chief personage of the court, whose finger if held up would silence the Conservative clamour, and raise a counter war-cry against those Conservatives,—that he, we repeat, is not in his heart, *beyond a small fraction*, *Whig*. The formidable influence of such a general impression in raising the spirits of the Tory party, and in undermining the moral power of the *responsible Government*, is a subject well worthy of the

King's most serious consideration. Had his Majesty been less passive or incurious as to the formation of that society which is called in common parlance "the court," and had he from the outset been pleased to order that it should not be so framed as to encourage Toryism, and to discountenance his own official servants and their principles, we should by this time have heard very little about the possible overthrow of Lord Grey's cabinet by a majority in the Upper House of Parliament, or about the alternatives which must now be resorted to in the hope of averting *revolution*. His Majesty's course is negative as well as positive. The Tories ought not to have ground for boasting, nor the friends of Ministers ground for complaining, that the latter have less of court blandishment and favour than their implacable enemies. If a premium were offered for the most certain mode of overturning a Ministry whose sole support was their character, it would be won by him who should so contrive it as to pass a persuasion upon the world that their Sovereign, who must have known both parties well, *did not* appreciate or regard *his own servants* so highly as those who, in the nature of things, must succeed them. We repeat, and insist upon it, that *at bottom all is right*; but on the surface these irregularities are apparent, which, after all, it would be the easiest thing on earth to correct by a glance of the eye from the Sovereign.

If the King desires that his Ministers should stand, he will prevent the subalterns of his own family and household from imprecating and predicting their downfall in every company. His Majesty will issue orders that those who frequent his royal board, and are received as intimates by the highest personages about him, shall not be individuals distinguished no otherwise than by the rankness of their Tory spirit. He will command royal persons to abstain from intriguing against his ostensible Government; he will himself keep aloof from Conservative associations, which, if they do not corrupt the moral sense, do assuredly affect the good repute of those who enter them. Their is great activity and prurency of mischief in some of those with whom ties may exist which it would not be decorous for an exalted individual to acknowledge. Towards them the rebuke ought to be severe, and on them there should be laid at once a stern and inexorable prohibition against presuming to meddle with politics. If these points be not conceded, *Lord Grey ought to resign at once*, and then *God help his successor*!

Every one foresaw, from the first announcement of the measure of reform which has since been passed into a law, that the old faction which had for so many years held possession of the Government, by the single tenure of an abuse of all the national institutions, would resist to the utmost, and, if necessary, die in the last ditch of the last of the rotten boroughs. The Tory portion of the *House of Lords*—the great *depot of corruption*

patronage to Tories,—or their general want of courage and vigour in pushing any policy of the value of which they were convinced? On these, and many other topics and occasions, it is in the memory of all our readers that we flinched not from the duty, however irksome and painful, of severest commentary upon faults, whether of commission or omission, in the very Ministers of whom we are charged with being slaves. We are slaves, indeed, but it is to *conscience and truth*. If we have served Ministers, as it is to be hoped we often have done, we were no otherwise enabled to do so than through the general persuasion that, if so minded, we were at full liberty to oppose them. Let Lord Grey's Government flag once more in its public duties, and the *Times* will be the earliest amongst its castigators, and not the gentlest. That, and that alone, gives worth and influence to our applause.

The public will see from our report of yesterday's parliamentary proceedings with what patriotic zeal and diligence the Tory peers flocked to their places on the committal of the Chancellor's bill for establishing local courts throughout the kingdom, and *bringing justice within the reach of the injured poor*. Their Lordships came doubtless in such numbers to give their strictest and most earnest attention to the examination of this important bill. Well! Lord Brougham made a speech in introducing the subject; Lord Lyndhurst spoke in opposition to it,—an enterprise which by this time, we apprehend, his Lordship regrets having undertaken, for the Lord Chancellor replied—and such a reply! such a *mawling*! But no matter; the whole thing is now in print, and the country will agree upon the same judgment with regard to it as was, we take for granted, formed by the Lords themselves. Happy are we to record such an instance of a legislative assembly calmly hearing, and justly deciding, according to their conviction. Lord Lyndhurst, who no doubt partook of the same conviction, abandoned his opposition, and declined his intended division. This is candour worthy the noble and learned Lord! How delightful to see this triumph of reason over party! How pleased, and with how much reason, must the Peers be of their last night's proceeding!

(From the Morning Chronicle of the 14. instant.)

We find that our predictions yesterday respecting the plot in the House of Peers to attempt the overthrow of the present Government, may be realized sooner even than we anticipated. Cabals and intrigues are going on in all quarters. Certain branches of an illustrious family, both *legitimate* and *illegitimate*, are, as on the occasion of their resistance to the Reform Bill, more than usually active in their canvass to obtain votes and

proxies for the threatened collision. *The Court even is said to be insincere*. This has always been the report when matters have approached a crisis—spread, as we have reason to believe, by the *Tory dames* infesting the purlieus of St. James and Windsor, with as much truth, or rather with as much probability of success, as distinguished their efforts on the former memorable and eventful occasion, when their temporary triumph over the weaker feelings of the Sovereign only proved how hopeless was the chance of resistance to the will of the people. Can this game, however, be played again, or rather, how often can it be played, at the desperate risk of revolutionary movements? Let those beware of the consequences who provoke the crisis. The Bishops are probably beyond hope, and beyond cure. But we recommend to the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, and some of the ladies of that family, a perusal of those passages in our history which recount the events of the early *parts of the reign of the First*, and the latter days of that of the Second Charles. *A bill will probably soon pass the House of Commons, repealing the act of Charles II., under the provisions of which the Fathers of the Church are now enabled to pervert the privilege given to them of sitting in the House of Lords for far different objects, to the purposes of political faction and intrigue. May no Bill of exclusion of greater personages from greater privileges follow? May no address of the House of Commons remove a Duke of Cumberland, as it did a Duke of York, from the court of the King, and deprive him of the means of plotting against a reformatory administration and the public interests? We caution—we entreat these mighty and sapient personages to beware how they trifle with the public feelings! And if there are personages even greater than they—male or female—who suppose that the English people will submit, without enforcing RETRIBUTION from the authors of such calamities to a repetition of the scenes and the dangers which distinguished the insane attempt of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Baring to assume the Government on the temporary defeat of the Reform Bill, we pray them to "look before they leap," and to ascertain, from better informed persons than the blue bottles, bred in the corruption of all courts, at what risk that experiment can be again tried?*

We tell the public that a crisis is again at hand, and that they must be prepared to *buckle on their armour for the fight*. If our warning voice have no effect, then, as we said in the olden time, "The Lord's will be done." We shall watch with a vigilance only equalled by our anxiety the progress of coming events, and sincerely pray that our anticipations, from the evident symptoms of the intention of the Tory and Episcopal aristocracy, to come to issue with the House of Commons and the people, may be exaggerated, and our apprehensions ultimately removed by the conversion of the Peers and Bishops "unto wisdom,"

either through a wholesome apprehension of the calamities which may be entailed, first upon themselves, and eventually upon the country, or from a calm reconsideration of the principles on which their conduct ought to be regulated under existing circumstances.

In the mean time it may be desirable that Members of the House of Commons should look to the means by which some of the parties most intimately connected with the Tory faction are enabled to maintain that position in society, from which a large portion of their pernicious influence is derived. In p. 1, of Paper 304, printed for the use of the House in the present session, some splendid instances of the corruption of past times, and the extravagant folly of the public, will be found—*We need only refer to the first name in the catalogue—that of the Right Hon. C. Arbuthnot, who receives (proh pudor!) 3,842l. per annum—besides a pension to Mrs. Arbuthnot of 800l. (we believe) on the civil list—and for what services?*

(From the Morning Chronicle of the 15. inst.)

The Tory aristocracy is determined to commit political suicide. We have forewarned the country that the present intention of the Conservative Peers is to throw out, by a considerable majority, the bills for church reform. This malignant design has a twofold object—to drive out of office the present Ministry, that the Tories may punish them for their amendment of the representation, and usurp the reins of power—and to defeat the ends of which parliamentary reform was the intended means. The Tory press is actively urging on its blind party to this desperate course, forgetful of its recent admissions that the reconstruction of the House of Commons had rendered it impossible for any Administration to govern the country, and had exiled for ever from office the Tory party. It is not many weeks since the *Standard* openly avowed its preference of revolution to the continuance of Lord Grey's cabinet; and a coalition between the Ultra-Tories and the Ultra-Radicals has been openly recommended by the Conservatives in their profound despair. Such an unnatural and absurd combination of extremes is not only ridiculous to imagine, but cannot by possibility happen. And what do the Tory Peers expect to gain by their desperate and destructive designs? Do they hope to repeal the Reform Acts, and to repossess themselves of their rotten boroughs? Can they blind themselves to the fact, that the aristocratic principle is essentially destroyed in this country, and that all Europe is in a state of rapid transition from feudal to federal principles of government? Is it possible that the popular power should recede—can its advance be prevented? Blind and infatuated must the Tory aristocracy be not to perceive that a legal revolution has been effected—not by the Whigs, but by the people, and earlier than it would otherwise have come, from the

mad and infatuated resistance of Tory Administrations to the mere shadows of reform? And what do the Lords really intend by their threatened opposition? They object to three parts of the Irish Church Reform Bills; to the reduction of the number of Bishops—to the relief of Catholics and Dissenters from tithes and church-cess, by the appropriation of part of the revenues of the church in lieu of these odious imposts—and to the application of any surplus revenue of the church to other objects of national utility. If the Irish Church Bill is thrown out on these grounds of objection, and Lord Grey's cabinet retire, what would be the course of any Tory successors? Would they dare to uphold the existing system? Could they do it, however much they might desire to prop up the Irish church establishment? If, on the other hand, the Tory Lords fail to throw out the present Administration, then, as in the case of the Reform Bills, a more extensive measure of Church Reform would assuredly be successfully proposed in the next Session of Parliament. By the smallness of the present measure the Ministers have lost friends, and suffered in public opinion, and betrayed a vain hope of conciliating implacable political enemies. Four Bishops and an Archbishop were surely a sufficient number of shepherds, and more than sufficient in the opinion of a majority of reformers in the House of Commons, for tending the Protestant flocks in Ireland; and the Irish Church Establishment may be reduced next Session, if the present Bill miscarries, to one Archbishop and four Bishops. If such a reduction failed in the next Session, then the entire abolition of the Irish Church would follow in the succeeding one! Such would be the natural and infallible consequences of the folly and stupidity of the Tory faction: the Tories always succeed in annihilating abuses which they desire to maintain. The present Ministry, say the Tories, are unpopular with the country, because they have done too little in the vineyard of reform; and the Conservatives hope to succeed them, and gain favour with the people by doing nothing! The budget of Lord Althorp was stated by Sir Robert Peel to secure too small a surplus and to smack of excessive retrenchment. The Tories are in fits of horror at the distant sound of municipal reforms: the insane Bishops hang with the Tory Peers in defending non-residence—in maintaining pluralities—in perpetuating tithes, church-cess, and an unnecessary band of ecclesiastical drones, and yet the people (says the Conservative press) yearn for the return of the Tories to office! And to what events and consequences would the advent of a Tory Administration lead us! The *Standard* would insinuate, that if the present House of Commons was "refractory," a "Conservative" House of Commons would replace it. Our contemporary cannot be serious, and is only decoying the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel to destruction, as a punishment for that never-to-be-forgiven

sin, their sudden conversion to Catholic emancipation. The Ultra-Tories owe their *ci-devant* friends much revenge on this old score, and will never be easy till they have given them another dose of that bitter antipathy they displayed on the memorable motion of Sir Henry Parnell. A dissolution of Parliament indeed, grounded on an obstinate refusal by a majority of Peers of any quantum of Church Reform, and a collision with the House of Commons on such a vital question of state policy! Can any man, topically acquainted only with the present state of the public mind, except that his grace the Duke of Wellington would obtain by dissolution a subservient House of Commons? The Tories can now muster barely one hundred and twenty members in that branch of the legislature. Some of the moderate men of both parties might lose their seats if sent at this period before their constituents; but admitting that 30 or 40 seats might be gained in addition to the present "conservative" numbers, would the Duke of Wellington numerically govern the new House? Would he not, by such a dissolution, call up more decided Reformers? and would his *quondam* enemies the political unions, support the destructive administration against the public opinion of the reformed constituency? Would the Whigs out of office leave him any rest in either House of Parliament? The ruse is a miserable and shallow deception. If the reform acts have not realized so early as expected the sanguine expectations of the people, they have at least given the people ample power to destroy a Tory administration. The return of such a Government—its co-existence with a reformed House of Commons—is impossible; and if the Duke of Wellington flatters himself that he can retake the citadel of the Horse Guards, he is as miserably deceived as he proved himself in May, when he risked the throne of the King, and placed the nation on the verge of revolution. We suspect that Sir Robert Peel knows more of the state of the public mind, and would risk neither his property nor his political station in such a mad project. His Grace is old enough to turn his thoughts beneficially, from this to another world. And who are those wild and infuriated aristocrats who call themselves, *par excellence*, loyal, and the exclusive friends of the monarchy? They are the real enemies of his Majesty; the genuine destructives; the active republicans. Not content with the lamentable injury they perpetrated on William IV., in May last year, they would again betray him, and again lay prostrate his popularity. Can they not discern that they are scattering far and wide the seeds of an early harvest of democracy? Do they want the substitute of an American King? or are they anxious to pull down, prematurely, the hereditary peerage? Are the examples of Charles I., and Louis XVI. lost on the court of St. James? Have they not learned the European lesson of the present century—"To-day, a throne; to-morrow is a prison?" The King

has, however, shown no ordinary courage in perplexing and trying times; and on the good sense and political sagacity of his Majesty the country relies; he has too much at stake himself to be deceived by faction, by courtiers, or political maniacs.

(From the Morning Chronicle of the 17. inst.)

The Tory press first announced that the great crisis of the British constitution was near at hand. The *Standard* was instructed to make public the recent determination of the "Conservative" aristocracy to array itself against the great majority of the Commons and the people. The Tories would fain persuade the country that their political plots now in progress, and their opposition are against men, and not against measures. They affect to scorn the mere design of repossessing themselves of the power and sweets of office; they assert that they must save the nation from a rival faction. But these pretences will not impose on the understandings of the constituency of the empire. Their votes, and their conduct in Parliaments past and present, will not serve to cloak their pretences. For half a century the Tories have frightfully misgoverned this country. They created all the political difficulties under which we now labour. The "National Debt" is their creature. They refused to reform the evils of the Colonial system; they upheld every species of political and commercial monopoly; they persecuted the Reformers, and resolutely resisted every proposition for amending the representation. In 1830 the Tory machinery of corruption went to pieces, and the monster of despotism which Tory foreign policy had reared on the Continent tumbled down. The last French Revolution opened the eyes of the British people to the weakness of despotic power; and Earl Grey, at a period of extraordinary peril, was called to the councils of the King, as the only man who, under all the peculiar circumstances of parties, could save this country from a fearful and bloody revolution. A legal revolution—that is to say, an extraordinary and new distribution of political power—became necessary to avert more extreme and violent changes. The Ministry proposed, and the Sovereign wisely sanctioned, the Cabinet measure of Parliamentary Reform. The great body of the people had previously demanded, in numerous and successive public meetings, changes in the representation far more extensive than the Whig Cabinet conceded; but the good sense of the country cordially accepted the Ministerial project. Such was the determination and enthusiasm of the then existing constituency (limited and influenced as it unquestionably was by the Tory aristocracy) that on the dissolution of Parliament in 1831, the electoral body returned an overwhelming majority of representatives to the House of Commons for the single and pledged purpose of passing into laws the ministerial measures. The Reform Bills were triumphantly carried

through the Lower House of Parliament, notwithstanding the fierce and dogged opposition of the Tories, headed by Sir Robert Peel. That practised politician, of the modern Tory school, based all his objections on the ground of the impossibility of the co-existence of the two Houses of Legislature—the Lords and Commons—if the election of the latter was vested in the proposed constituency. He predicted the necessary consequence of an early republic, and that no future administration, of any party, could conduct the executive Government of the nation. Every possible and cunning argument was used by the wily Baronet to embolden the Tory Peers to exercise their veto and reject the ministerial measures. In vain the anti-reformers were forewarned of the evil of subjecting the Monarch and the hereditary Peerage to the consequences of tempting the people to force the question to a successful issue. The Tory aristocracy was infatuated, and blindly bent on self-destruction. A majority of the Peers in effect defeated the English Reform Bill. Unhappily, perhaps designedly, they temporarily prostrated the just popularity of the King; they prevented a creation of Peers, and the memorable result was the virtual suspension by the Tory Lords of their legislative powers. If history did not exhibit the horn-blind nature of aristocracies, it might have been conjectured that the bitter humiliation of the Tory nobility in May last year, would have enlightened their understandings; but experience can teach them no lesson—"they pawn their experience to their present pleasure." Public opinion, at this memorable period, was much divided on the necessity and expediency of an addition to the Peerage. An almost uninterrupted succession of Tory administrations for half a century had swamped the House of Lords with Tory Peers of bigoted political principles. Upwards of two hundred Commoners were translated to the Upper House, and the Episcopal Bench was exclusively filled with clergymen of high steeple and Tory sentiments. It was anxiously desired at the great crisis in May last year by all intelligent reformers, not members of the aristocracy, that "as a choice of evils," new Peers should have been created in order to pass the Reform Bills with some decent conformity to the theory of the constitution, and to avoid the evil of the otherwise certain application of the popular power. Every politically-informed and reflecting person, moreover, clearly foresaw, that if the constitution of the House of Commons was altered, the character of the peerage must also be ultimately popularised. A tremendous revolution and a premature republic, it was argued, must be the certain consequence of the continued stagnancy of the political mind of the aristocracy. "More peers or none" was emphatically predicted, if the vain attempt should be made of working a reformed House of Commons with an unreformed House of Lords. A King must be naturally averse to any extraordinary exercise

of the constitutional prerogative of increasing his nobility, and the aristocratic members of the cabinet could not desire to resort to an unprecedented creation of new Peers unless absolutely necessary to the preservation of the form of Government. The *ultra-Radicals* were and are equally opposed to an increase of the Peerage. In their ardent desire for a popular constitution—in their sanguine views of the moral and intellectual state of the people—in their forgetfulness of the complicated evils which violent political changes would produce in this country, and at the bare prospect of which every wise and virtuous man shudders—the *ultra-Reformers* anxiously desire a collision between the two Houses of Parliament, and seek too soon the total extinction of the old political parties of the state. Unquestionably, if it be desirable to hasten a violent revolution in the British Empire, we should not add to the Peerage; but if we are to avert a dreadful and impending political catastrophe, we confess we see no salvation but in the creation of new Peers. The present critical posture of public affairs signally illustrates the sound sense of those who last year urged the bold exercise of the royal prerogative. A general election was the consequence of the "new" constitution of the House of Commons. Many months intervened between the Royal assent to the Reform Bill, and the dissolution of Parliament. The preceding excitement of the public mind had altogether subsided. The Ministry had given no pledges of any very extensive reforms; indeed the *ultra-Reformers* did not view the Government with any great favour. The declarations of Lord Althorp and Mr. Stanley on the hustings savoured of anything but extreme movement. The political unions exercised no influence over the elections. The "Conservatives" never made greater exertions to secure returns, and their last farthing was expended in the cause of influence and corruption. They were signally defeated; four-fifths of the successful candidates were men of decided liberal opinions, and yet we will boldly assert that the present House of Commons, in respect of property and political opinion, is the most moderate and "Conservative" assembly that will ever be chosen under the present system of representation. The general measures of the cabinet have been confessedly formed on moderate principles, and with relation to the hostile character of the Upper House. The unfortunate state of Ireland—caused by Tory misgovernment—and the still more unfortunate coercive measures deemed necessary by the executive, added to the limited nature of the retrenchments and popular measures introduced by Ministers, have undoubtedly reduced their popularity, and unsettled them in public opinion. We do not now discuss the ministerial policy; we do not defend it, but we are persuaded that the majority of the constituency of the kingdom will duly allow for the unexampled difficulties of their situation, and will not deny that many most important

reforms are in progress. We are equally sure that the electoral body would not exchange the Whigs for the Tories, whatever might be the *artful promises* of the latter. But, notwithstanding the conservatism of the cabinet measures, Ministers are yet too liberal for the Tory aristocracy, and the "Conservatives" are plotting their downfall to counteract even such moderate reforms! The "stand" is to be made on the Irish Church Bill, and the Tory Peers are again, it seems, to *join issue with the people!* The Conservatives build their hopes on his Majesty—that the King will accept the consequent resignation of Lord Grey, or refuse him the means of governing the country, by adjusting the Peerage. They even affect to be anxious to dissolve the Parliament, or vainly expect by the demonstration of a dissolution to tongue-tie and fetter the reformed House of Commons. Both projects must inevitably fail. We do not believe that they *dare dissolve the House of Commons.* Sir Joseph Surface, safe in his "family seat," might affect to brave "the battle and the storm;" but he well knows that even his art and finished Parliamentary rhetoric could not "manage" or "lead" the elected assembly. Since the passing of the Reform Bills, he has often boasted at public dinners (exclusively partaken of by his political friends) that he is "born of himself"—descended from one of the people; but this will not succeed; he knows that his present politic and equi-distant position between all parties is dependent on situation *out of office*, and that in office the nominal premier of the Duke of Wellington would not have a bed of roses for his couch. But if the Conservatives, acting on their self-deceit and hungry craving after their old offices, should madly seize the reins of power, their tenure will be that of Phaeton; and final and fatal will be their fall. Their flat-catchers give out they will *repeal the house and window taxes* and that they will be "Radicals in office." Their projects and propositions are preposterous. They cannot by any back-water streams turn the current of reform. They cannot preserve the *abuses of the English or the Irish churches*; they cannot deprive us of popular municipal institutions; they cannot again wallow undisturbed in *useless places*, or *repossess themselves of scandalous sinecures and pensions.* They may and will produce a dreadful revolution, but they will be its first and most devoted sacrifice; and we believe that in their present desperation they would pull down on themselves the pillars of the temple of the constitution if they could but make its ruins the common grave of their party enemies.

"What will not ambition and revenge descend to!"

We understand that the Tories waver in their courage, and that they prefer their old tactics of "political mutilation." We would advise the well-meaning but mistaken part of the aristocracy, privy to these cabals, to take a

sober view of their perilous situation. They are just awake from their last delusion, and the blighted hope of casting out the Reform Bills and their authors. They yet painfully remember their abdication in the House of Lords. Lord Wharnccliffe did not scruple to declare, this time last year, that "the vote of the House of Lords was *overborne by the people* and by the House of Commons: *force was put upon them; they were deprived of their independence, and a farce.*" The Tory aristocracy, at that momentous period, preferred to surrender their legislative privileges rather than admit new partners in their noble firm. Happy was it that the *existence* of the royal prerogative accomplished its effect without the exercise of the power of creating peers. The Duke of Wellington declared that the old constitution was at an end. He spoke truly, and fortunate will it be for his "Order" if he retains the opinions. The *Examiner* and the *Spectator* of yesterday, will show them that the vital question of an hereditary Peerage is raised by their insane conduct, and the mere rumour of a collision between the two branches of the legislature. Montesquieu, we think, called the British constitution "a masked Republic," and now the mask has been lifted up, his Grace would do well to contemplate its actual visage. The liberal press is accused of endeavouring to influence the King. Who were the best and most loyal friends of his Majesty in May twelvemonth—the *Liberals*, who truly warned him of the state and certain effect of public opinion; or the crawling courtiers, the royal, and courtesy relatives who invaded the royal presence? Abuse the Sovereign, forsooth! Why it is notorious that the Carlton Club, on the recent return of Ministers from Windsor, and at this very moment, vomit out the most vulgar and virulent abuse of his Majesty. The Tory clubbists dread the sagacity and resolution of the King, and in their hearts they equally detest his patriotic character. They wisely fear that the King will not sanction projected ministerial changes, which would derange and delay the settlement of the great commercial questions now before the House of Commons; that he will not plough up the public mind by fresh appeals to the constituency—that he will not "put the rudder about," and tack from one side of the political channel to another; that he will steer a middle course, and in this tempestuous state of the political ocean, will prove too good a pilot to sink the vessel of the state by running her on the breakers of party. We cannot believe that the King will leave the people to manage alone their contest with the Tory aristocracy. But, whatever the issue of this cabal, we possess the *sheet-anchor* of a reformed House of Commons. The two estates of the realm in the most determined coalition could not cramp YOUNG HERCULES in the cradle.

(From the Morning Chronicle of the 18. instand.)

The Lords appeared disposed last night to profit by our advice. A *whip* had been conti-

need up to the hour of the House meeting, but either the admonition of the Lord Chancellor, who opened his speech introducing the Local Courts' Bill, with an exordium which must have produced a wholesome effect, or his unanswerable and cutting reply to Lord Lyndhurst, or, as we have before said, the humble advice which we have ventured to offer to their Lordships, deterred them from going to a division, and repeating their blunder on the Portuguese question. To whatever cause their more considerate course is to be ascribed, we hail it as the possible precursor of more rational conduct. We hear also, that many of the old and obtuse Tories cannot be persuaded that any advantage can arise to their order from bringing about a collision, which the desperate and factious intriguers of the Carlton Club are driving at to repair their fortunes. They have inquired, it is said of Sir Robert Peel, what his ideas and prospects are of the formation and success of an Administration to conduct the Government on Tory principles. His answers are reported as evasive and ambiguous. The consequence has been a division in the Carlton camp, which may not be easily healed, or in time to secure a united opposition to the Irish Church Bill. Still, these are rather symptoms of the temporary abatement of the disease, than of its cure; and the nation has no security that the Government may not be destroyed by some fit of faction or caprice breaking out when least expected. We regret to hear that his Majesty dines with the Duke of Wellington to-day. On an ordinary occasion, none of his subjects could object to his celebrating with his successful general the anniversary of Waterloo. But why is this particular moment, and this year, contrary to his Majesty's practice on former ones, selected for this compliment to the leader of the opposition? If it is done under the advice of his Ministers—and, more or less, these marked movements of the court should be advised by his Ministers—they are either the most drivelling of all imbeciles, or traitors to the House of Commons and the public. We have never doubted—we do not doubt—the strict honour and honesty of the King. We have the worst opinion of the society which infests his court. The people exclaim in all quarters—What can Lord Grey expect from submitting to the formal reception of his most inveterate opponents, to the exclusion of his best friends?—During the Ascot week—we believe on the very night of the division on the Duke's motion—several of his Majesty's guests came up, or sent their proxies, for the express purpose of overturning his Government, and returned to a most gracious reception at the Castle. All this is sad trifling. Will those who have access to his Majesty report faithfully to him the sensation produced in the city, within the last three days, by the threatened difference between the Houses of Parliament? The stocks have fallen, with every appearance of a continuance of the present alarm leading to a panic; and

we are satisfied that if the Lords had, in the exercise of their power and discretion, thrown out the Chancellor's bill last night, a greater impression would have been produced on the funds. And what particular moment is selected for this movement? When the West India question, the East India question, and the Bank Charter, are in progress of settlement; and when the prevailing distress in some of the manufacturing districts is fast giving way to increased activity in trade, and occupation for the industrious population! And are all these great interests to be put in jeopardy, or to be sacrificed, for the gratification of the feelings of disappointment and revenge of an overbearing aristocracy? That they never can forget the Reform Bill, or forgive its authors, we know perfectly well; but we entreat them to reflect on the necessary injuries entailed by their insane proceedings on the more valuable masses of society; and if that should have no influence on their decision, upon the certain and irretrievable ruin which must follow to themselves and their families. If we cannot touch their better feelings, we invoke their selfish ones, to protect the country from a crisis.

After all, it must be made clear that the Government act their part with resolution and vigour. They may go out to-morrow; but if their retirement from office is created by weakness and vacillation, their services in the Reform Bill will scarcely protect them from public odium. We hope there has been no irresolution in tendering advice to the Crown as to the fit course to be pursued towards some persons who think it consistent with their honour and the character of their station to stoop to the meanness of sharing in the hospitalities of the Court whilst they are plotting against his Majesty's Government and his best interests.

The infatuation of the more disinterested portion of the Tory Peers, seduced into the present cabal against the Ministry, is inexplicable, if we did not know the blindness of political prejudice. *The hungry and reckless paupers raised to the Peerage by the Pitt and Castlereagh administrations*—men whose sole dependence existed in the *pillage of the nation*—of course covet office at any risk, and would despise no mode of attaining its sweets. In their minds, any means sanctify ends essential to their interests. But it is passing strange that any portion of the old aristocracy should allow itself to be made the tools of such a miserable and necessitous faction. The great majority of the Tory place-hunters have no other hope or means of keeping caste, and they are pushed on by their still more needy dependants and ex-official secretaries. The Tory Lords of real nobility and competent estate might reflect on the madness of their conduct, ere they wildly precipitate themselves into the gulf of political destruction. Can they blind themselves to the palpable ascendancy of the popular power throughout Europe and its inevitable supremacy? Can

they not discern that a violation of the spirit of the age has invariably been followed by political self-destruction? We again entreat them to reflect on the folly and blindness of their recent opposition to Parliamentary Reform, and its severe disappointment of their predictions. The nation is just beginning to revive from the extraordinary excitement of the last three years. Ministers are *gradually adjusting* the great commercial interests which have been so long depressed and neglected. *If the Tories come into power, all these great national questions will be sacrificed for a considerable period.* The Conservatives allege that the Whig cabinet is unpopular from the moderate character of its measures. Against all those measures they have set themselves in hostile array, and yet they are intriguing for the support of the ultra-radicals! A more preposterous design cannot be imagined; and, whatever might be the present harmony of these political coquettes, they could not fail to be in bitter warfare before the expiration of three months. They are spreading a little bird-lime for the ultra-radicals, and hope to catch them by an artful declaration that *they will reduce taxation*; but we think that they might pause before they ratify such an unnatural coalition, and see cause of no common suspicion when they observe Mr. Cobbett angling with the same fly. When that acute politician turns huntsman of a Tory pack, lauds the hostility of the Peers to Earl Grey, and offers up prayers for a Tory Government, he can only be digging a *pit-fall for Conservative credulity*. In fact, the two extreme parties are vainly endeavouring to outwit each other, and both will be deceived in their expectations. In the meanwhile, the constituency and the House of Commons will save the country; if the bold Duke of Wellington dissolved the Parliament, he would get a task-master from whom he would soon run away; if he attempted to march with the existing Parliament, he will soon be left behind. But we cannot believe that the King will allow the Tory aristocracy to commit suicide; certain we are that the electors of the united kingdom would again *speedily couch the eyes* of the Duke of Wellington. His Lordship's partisans already begin to desert his standard, and the cabal will turn out a meal-tub plot.

FIELD SEEDS.

TO BE HAD AT BOLT-COURT,
FLEET-STREET.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 8d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper

bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

DELEMAIN, W., Wells-street, Marylebone, wine-merchant.
HILL, B., Oxford, hatter.
TYLER, M., Lycombe, Somersetshire, retail-brewer.

BANKRUPTS.

COOPER, T., Brighton, hotel-keeper.
FLETCHER, H., Finsbury-place, bookseller.
GRAY, J., Chichester, clothes-salesman.
JARVIS, W., Truro, innkeeper.
JONES, F., Cornhill, silversmith.
PASMORE, E., Maidenhead, grocer.
ROUND, J., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, plumber.
SHEPHERD, S., Upper Bryanston-street, Portman-square, wine-merchant.

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

LEDWARD, E., Liverpool, hat-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

PARKER, W., Leeds, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLURED, W., Liverpool, tailor.
COX, S. M., Exeter, scrivener.

EAST, P., Tavistock-street, Covent-garden, bookseller.
HULL, W., Coventry, watch-manufacturer.
LAW, B., Northampton, biscuit baker.
LONGMIRE, G., Barnard Castle, Durham, draper.
MOTT, W. R., Throgmorton-street, hotel-keeper.
PAYNTER, J. W., Manchester, dealer and chapman.
POWELL, P., Brighton, lace-merchant.
RICHARDSON, J. C., J. and R., Manchester, commission-agents.
ROLFES, W. G., Fenchurch-street, tobacco-broker.
SHEASBY, S., High Holborn, furnishing-ironmonger.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 17.—The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morning's market from the home counties were moderate. All the better descriptions moved freely off hand at an advance of 2s. per qr. on the rates of this day week, and secondary descriptions were 1s. dearer, but stale samples, and those out of condition, experienced no improvement and were difficult to quit. Old Wheat remained firm at former quotations. Some inquiry exists for houbded Corn, and Danzig qualities obtained 42s. to 45s., and Kubanka 32s. The advance in Wheat is partially to be attributed to the reports received from the country, particularly from the West of England, respecting the damage the growing crops have sustained from the late gales.

The showery weather we are experiencing has checked the speculative spirit for Barley, and although prices are nominally the same, yet the demand was very limited.

Malt was very dull sale at former prices.

The same causes which have operated with speculators regarding Barley are applicable to the article of Oats, and which, added to an extensive supply, has rendered the trade dull, and prices have declined full 1s. per qr. on all descriptions.

Beans were in very short supply, and 1s. dearer.

Peas continue scarce, and if at market would realize more money.

The advance that has taken place in Wheat would, it was anticipated, have induced millers to endeavour to raise the price of Flour 5s. per sack, and although in the early part of the market the subject was canvassed, yet at the close Flour remained stationary at former prices. Ship Flour, however, was 1s. to 2s. per sack dearer, and Irish fine is saleable at 42s.

Wheat 54s. to 61s.
 Rye 32s. to 34s.
 Barley 21s. to 23s.
 — fine 28s. to 31s.

Peas, White 30s. to 32s.
 — Builders 36s. to —s.
 — Grey 28s. to 29s.
 Beans, Small —s. to —s.
 — Tick 27s. to 29s.
 Oats, Potatoes 22s. to 23s.
 — Feed 14s. to 15s.
 Flour, per sack 48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new 110s. to 115s. 6n.
 — Mess, new ... 60s. to 63s. per barrel.
 Butter, Belfast 62s. to —s. per cwt.
 — Carlow 54s. to 65s.
 — Cork 64s. to 66s.
 — Limerick ... 64s. to 66s.
 — Waterford, 50s. to 56s.
 — Dublin 50s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD.—June 17.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was, for the time of year, exceedingly good, both as to numbers and quality; the supply of Porkers, limited. Trade was, throughout, dull. With prime small Beef, Mutton, and Veal at an advance of 2d. per stone; with larger kinds, as also Lamb and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the beasts were Scots, interspersed with a few Norfolk homebreds; about an eighth short-horns; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of Welsh runts, Herefords, Devons, Sussex, and Irish beasts, chiefly (say about 2,200 of them) from Norfolk, with a few from Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and our western and midland districts; with about 50 Town's end Cows, a few Staffords, &c., chiefly from the London marshes, &c.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few old Leicester and Lincoln, horned Norfolks, Somersets, and Dorsets; horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. About a moiety of the Lambs appeared to be new Leicesters, for the most part of the South Down cross; and the remainder about equal numbers of South Downs, Dorsets, and Kentish half-breds.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 21.

The arrivals are moderate. The prices the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

Consols for Account, .69½.

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This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties

into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT,

wrote a check, which he gave to the miller, the miller gave it to the farmer, and the farmer returned it to his landlord; and thus three men, who were at daggers drawn, and about to go to law, for want of a mere organ of exchange, by the creation of that organ on a piece of paper, settled their differences, paid their debts, and they parted quite satisfied with each other. (Hear, hear, hear). Instead of studying the prosperity of the people, the study of political economists had been or the last twenty years to break down the principle of exchange. He would illustrate it in a familiar way. The first question he would ask was, what was the first necessary of life? and the answer would be—bread. The second?—money. What was ruin? he would then ask, and he would be told it was the incompetence of an honest man to pay his debts, and that brought him again to the first principle on which he set out—exchange. He could not but complain of the conduct of the present Ministry and the reformed Parliament. They had coerced Ireland, and they had suffered England to go unrelieved. The Whig Ministry, which had been out of power for seventy years, would, if they had done justice to Ireland and England, have continued in 100; and instead of fearing that other place, a collision with which they so much dreaded, it would be rather a football than anything else for them, if it did not content itself with the sentiments of the country, and make the people's happiness its own. He had another small petition to present from the same meeting of one hundred and fifty thousand people, against the house and window taxes exclusively. The petitioners complained, and he agreed with them, that they and the country were unable any longer to bear the present pressure of taxation. The country was groaning under them; the people cried from one end to the other that they would not pay any more; the Ministry seemed determined to compel them to pay, to get blood from a stone; but he would bid them beware. Though the poor people of England were devoted to the aristocracy, still there was such a thing as spurring a free horse to death, and treading on the worm till it turned on its oppressor. The hon. Member, in opposition to evidence of the prosperity of the manufacturing part of England, given before the manufacturing committee, said he believed that for the last seven years there had been, and was, no prosperity in the country. What was it which caused them to cry for reform, if prosperity existed? Was it prosperity made almost every man among them politicians, and politicians determined on having redress? Was it prosperity which caused within the last few years thousands of broken hearts to emigrate from England—this happy country—merry England, as it was called in old times? No; it was the criminal conduct of an ignorant and ungrateful Government, who would rather sacrifice one half of the people than give up any preconceived dogma, or sacrifice a

single atom of a favourite theory. He would ask, was it happiness and prosperity which caused an increase of crime to a fourfold amount within the last few years; and urged the agricultural population to those burnings, which were at once the disgrace and the proof of the poverty of the country? No; it was vain to talk thus. Prosperity was no longer among the people of England, and would not be while the present system was kept up. The honourable Member then presented a petition from George Solly, Esq., praying for an issue of one-pound notes payable in silver, and expressed his entire concurrence in the prayer. In no country in the world had a restriction been laid on money, and no such restriction had been laid on money or its representative in this country till the year 1775, when Sir George Seville, then a member of the House, rose in his place and exhibiting a sixpenny note, asked if it were wise to allow such things to circulate. (Hear, hear). At that time notes of every description were allowed to be made and issued by anybody who chose to do so. The late Sir Robert Peel, one of the most upright, useful, and valuable members of society, he had ever known, was one of those who issued notes to a very large extent; and in fact, the Government was never insane or wicked enough to interfere with them. A great outcry had been raised against the issue of paper-money; but no reason had been given against it. He, however, could give some in its favour; for there was Russia, the most barbarous power in Europe, able to ride down England, enslave Poland, to paralyze France, and annihilate Turkey, and put the world in fear; and all this was in consequence of her paper-money. In Russia, too, there were no complaints of poverty among the people; and although he would admit their paper issue had sunk in value three-fourths, what harm had it done the country? The people were comfortable, and the government were all-powerful. But gentlemen said that England had gold; that the standard of value protected them—why, the Bank of England had the power of raising the standard when they liked, under the present system—of sinking thereby the price of estates, and thus of purchasing them almost for a song; and even of making the sovereign of three times the present value. In fact, of ruining the entire country if it chose. But fortunately it did not choose to play such pranks. He would conclude by presenting a short petition from the council of the Birmingham Political Union against the conduct of the new police at the late Coldbath-fields meeting. In the prayer of the petitioners, and the opinions they expressed of the conduct of the authorities on that occasion in the subsequent proceedings in the Court of King's Bench he most cordially concurred. They deprecated them, and so did he, as much as man could. He did not mean to say, that the meeting was a legal or an illegal one: but he would not hesitate to say that it was a

most wanton and disgraceful attack on the liberties of the people of England, which he, on his conscience, believed they were as much opposed to, and as willing to ride down, as any Tories in existence ever were. He would warn them not to touch too much on public privilege, for there were limits, after passing which, resistance was lawful in every sense. But that was not even the worst—that grand magnificent institution, trial by jury, had been set at naught by the Government; and the solemn oath of seventeen men, each as honourable and as conscientious as any one of his Majesty's Ministers, was utterly disregarded by them. The Ministers had shown the cloven foot fully in that last finishing touch to the transactions; they had commenced first with the Irish Coercion Bill, and gone with the Coldbath-fields business. Where would they end? He (Mr. A.) thought the system of police as at present established, wrong. If it were paid by the parishes, and the power over it taken from the hands of the Ministry, he would be satisfied; but otherwise, he would always oppose the system. They were going for to spread it all over the country—to introduce it into Manchester and Bristol, and Birmingham; but he could tell them the people of Birmingham would never have it, and he hoped the country, generally, would act in the same manner.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

TAYLOR, J. A., George-street, Hanover-square, boarding and lodging-house-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

DOUGLAS, A., St. Benet's-place, Grace-church-street, merchant.

HOLMAN, W., Hertford, slate-merchant.

MORLAND, J., Broad-street, Ratcliff-cross, corn-dealer.

SIMPSON, J. V., otherwise J. Simpson, South Sea Chambers, Threadneedle-street, perfumer.

YOUNG, J., T. Bracken, G. Ballard, J. C. C. Sutherland, and N. Alexander, Calcutta, bankers.

TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

GARDNER, J., Preston, joiner.

BANKRUPTS.

BAXTER, W., Oxford, printer.

PAYS, W., Leeds, coach-builder.

SMITH, J., Cavendish, butcher.

WELCH, J., Birmingham, iron-merchant.

WHITE, J., Shrewsbury, auctioneer.

WILLISHER, C., Strand, baker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 24.—We had rather a fair supply of Wheat from the Home Counties, fresh up to this morning's market. At the opening of the trade, factors demanded the rates of this day week, but few purchasers appearing at market, they were obliged to give way in their prices, and the business transacted was very limited at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per qr., on the best samples, and fully 3s. on secondary descriptions; and those parcels stale and out of condition were difficult to quit at this latter reduction. For bonded W heats we heard of little inquiry, though purchases might have been effected on lower terms.

The speculative feeling having considerably subsided in favour of summer corn, both Barley and Oats ruled extremely dull.

Barley of all descriptions, was 1s. per qr. lower than this day week.

Oats experienced a heavy sale at Friday's decline, being 6d. to 1s. cheaper than last Monday. The show of the article was altogether large, as we had this morning a fair supply, added to the parcels left over from last week.

Malt very dull, and prices nominally the same.

The arrivals of Beans having increased, and the demand moderate, prices must be noted 1s. to 2s. lower.

Peas are becoming very scarce. White boiling quality would have realised 1s. per qr. more money. Grey and maple, however, remained unaltered.

Flour proved a very heavy trade, and the top price of the town made article was without alteration. Millers, owing to the decline in Wheat, did not attempt to advance the currency. Irish fines were worth 41s. to 42s.; fine 43s. per sack.

Wheat	54s. to 61s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	14s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s. 6s.
— Mess, new	—s. to 60s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	—s. to 80s.
— Limerick	—s. to 80s.
— Waterford	—s. to 80s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD.—June 24.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, though the former were not equal,

either in number or quality, to those of this day so'nnight, was, for the time of year, good, the supply of Porkers but limited—Trade was, with each kind of meat, somewhat brisk, at an advance of 2d per stone: with meat, of middling and inferior quality dull, at Friday's quotations.

About two-fifths of the beasts were Scots, interspersed with a few Norfolk homebreds; about one-fifth short-horns; and the remaining two-fifths about equal numbers of Welsh runts, Devons, and Irish beasts, principally (say about 1,200 of them, chiefly Scots and short-horns) from Norfolk, with about 200 from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; a few from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and our western and midland districts; a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c., and about 100 Town's-end Cows.

About three-fourths of the Sheep appeared to consist of new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of two of the former to five of the latter; an eighth of South Downs, and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few old Leicesters and Lincoln, horned Norfolks, Dorsets, and Somersets; horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. About a moiety of the Lambs were new Leicesters, of the different crosses; about a fourth South Downs, and the remainder about equal numbers of Dorsets, and Kentish half-breds; with a few Kents, Somersets, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 28.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, and prices rather lower.

THE FUNDS.

Consols for Account.. 89½.

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FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	14	6
Ditto, Black or Blue.....	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony.....	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats.....	0	16	0
Figured ditto ditto.....	0	18	0
Valencia ditto.....	0	12	0
Barogan Shooting Jackets.....	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery.....	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

END OF VOL. LXXX.

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COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

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**VOLUME LXXXI.**

FROM JULY 6, TO SEPTEMBER 28, 1833,

INCLUSIVE.

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LONDON:

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1833.

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BANK AFFAIR.

Bolt-court, 4. July, 1833.

It is very hard to say, *to-day*, what this affair will be *to-morrow*; and no human being can tell what it will be at last. The *legal tender*, which was the main provision of the project, is a good deal demolished, seeing, that five-pound Bank of England notes are not to be a legal tender; and that, therefore, country bankers and all other persons, will be unable to refuse payments in gold, if the amount be not above five-pounds. This will prevent *money changers* being stationed with little tables at markets and fairs, as they are in Russia, and as our Saviour found the wretches in the Temple of JERUSALEM. But, it still leaves a *legal tender*; it still proclaims, that the bill of 1819, commonly called *Pear's bill*, can never be carried into full effect; it still proclaims, that the King is to enjoy his prerogative of making money in co-partnership with the Bank; it still proclaims, that the nation is unable to pay its debts in the King's coin; it still proclaims, that those who have deposited ten pounds or more in the Savings Bank, in *gold*, shall be compelled to take the deposit out again in *paper*; and it still lays the foundation for a superstructure of *assignats*. That part of the project which related to country banks, and joint-stock banks, appears to have been withdrawn for the present. And, indeed, no one can yet tell what is to be withdrawn, and what is

to be left, belonging to the whole project; and, therefore, I shall say no more about it at the present.

ENGLISH TITHE PROJECT.

THIS project, which was downright madness, has, in fact, been *abandoned*; for, we are now told, that a law is to be passed on the subject, without any *compulsory* clause in it! If the law had been passed as it was intended, there would have been, in many parts of the country, an almost general confiscation of estates. That part of the aristocracy to whom the church principally belongs, would have taken away a large part of the landed property of all other persons; and, instead of a *tithe of the increase*, would have taken away, at once, a fifth or sixth part of the land, or of its rental, which is the same thing. What the people wanted was, an abolition of tithes, and the imposition of no burden in their stead, the tithes having ceased to produce those services to the people which they were intended to produce. This is what the people were looking for; and they were to have had precisely the contrary of this. Now, *nothing*, in reality, is to be done: the thing is to go on, every man's mind unsettled upon the subject; all in a state of uncertainty as to what is to come. The people and the clergy, both alike in a state of apprehension and irritation; and the settlement reserved, in all human probability, *never to be made*; and the church to be new-modelled, or totally destroyed, after some convulsive movement, produced by the paper-money.

In answer to all the propositions that have ever been made for reforming things in England; for restoring the rights and liberties of the people, and for bringing them back to that state of happiness which their fathers enjoyed: in answer to all the propositions of this

sort, this answer has been given: "A country, which has so far departed from its laws, its settled institutions, its political and moral condition, *never was yet known to retrograde quietly*; never was yet known to *retrace its steps*; never was yet known to go back and return to anything resembling its former state of liberty and happiness, without first undergoing a *convulsive revolution*; never was yet known to amend in the smallest degree; but always, first to pull down, and then to build up again." This is what Major CARTWRIGHT was always told; this is what I have been told a thousand times. I have hitherto entertained doubts upon the subject: my wishes have always been the other way: I had some expectation that this reform of the Parliament would have made those wishes become hope; but, as hope cannot exist without some foundation to rest upon, I must confess, that the expectation now begins to disappear. I can see nothing, likely to be done, or likely to be attempted, to prevent that which I have always looked upon as the inevitable result of a perseverance in this present system of standing armies in time of peace, of barracks, of Bourbon police, of Government by force, and of fiscal exaction, becoming every day more and more burdensome. Not the smallest step has been taken; not the slightest movement has been made towards an alteration of this system; and, all that the most zealous, and most intelligent man can do, is to endeavour, not to mitigate the evils of the system (for that is utterly impracticable); but, to enable the people to see what the system really is, in order that they may know by whom and by what their sufferings have been occasioned; and that, under all circumstances, they may be induced to act sensibly and justly. At this present moment they are without any hope of a quiet settlement of affairs; and the thing to do is, to cause them to understand of what description that settlement ought to be, and to teach them the part which they ought to act in their endeavours to bring it about. This is

all that can be done at present; and this, as far as I am able, I shall contribute my share in accomplishing. With regard to the church, it cannot remain as it is: the Dissenters, with good reason on their side, and now become so numerous, in proportion to the followers of the church, can no longer be kept quiet. They are daily endeavouring to shake off detached parcels of the burden. Every day some stone or other is knocked out from the pillars that support the fabric; but still I think that the fabric will not come down as long as the paper-money will pass. Three things were born at one and the same time: this church, the paper-system, and the boroughmongering system. Like the SIAMESE children, if you give one a blow, the other instantly feels it. All have had a blow; but all are still alive; they were all born together, and they will all die together, and be buried in one and the same grave. The paper-money child is the most ticklish of the three; by far the most sensitive; and, live without it, neither of the others can for a single hour. A general run for gold (no matter from what cause); or, a dwindling down into assignats, destroys the whole of the three in a moment. However, we must drawl along yet awhile, and the utmost that we can do is, to prepare ourselves for the ultimate consequences, since the resolution seems to have been taken not to take one single step towards bringing things back to any thing like their former state.

NATIONAL DEBT.

On Tuesday evening last Mr. BUCKINGHAM, the member for SHREFFILDS, moved a resolution in the House of Commons, the objects of which were, *first*, to change the nature of the claims of the fundholders, without diminishing the amount of those claims; and *second*, to throw the burden of paying the interest upon the proprietors of real property, taking off the taxes which press immediately upon the industrious part

of the people. As Mr. BUCKINGHAM moved for a committee to inquire, I seconded his motion, which I should have done (seeing no other start up to do it) had there been nothing to induce me, beyond the very great ingenuity and cleverness of his speech.

In the course of that speech, he stated the objections which had been made to the validity of the claims of the fundholders: and, amongst others, he said, "that some had contended that the men of the present day were not bound to pay debts, which were contracted before they were born, especially as they were imposed by Parliaments not elected by the people." I said, that I was one of those who held the opinion, that no Parliament had a right to pass a law to make the child pay the debts of the father, the father having left the child nothing to pay with; and that, upon the same principle, no generation of men had a right to contract debts and to bind their successors to pay them; and that it was an act of injustice heretofore unheard of in the world, for a nation to borrow money and to squander it away, and to doom the children in the cradle to work like slaves all their lives to pay the interest of the debt, when there was nothing left to them which was purchased with the money so borrowed. That, in this case, there was, moreover, the circumstance, that the money had been borrowed by the borough people, without any assent on the part of the people at large; and that, therefore, if the fundholders had a claim on the successors of the borrowers, the claim could not extend to the industrious part of the community, whose fathers had had no hand at all in the borrowing; and that, if "*national faith*" did demand the payment, the payment ought to come out of the estates of the borrowers or their successors.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM had mentioned a *graduated property tax*, which I had called "*confiscation*." Lord ALTHORP, in answer to Mr. BUCKINGHAM, repeated this opinion of mine. Upon this I said, that I, having one acre of land, and you having a thousand acres of land, held that you ought to pay a

thousand times as much tax as I; but no more: that, if I took more from you, I should be unjust, and take it by force. That to make a man pay more for his second acre than for the first acre, and so on, would be to impose a punishment on skill, frugality, sobriety, and good moral character; that it would punish the man who had got together a little estate by his industry, in order to bring him down to a level with him who had not; and that, whoever had witnessed the effects of this unnatural sort of equality, would never endeavour to introduce it. But this was not an evil, of which, God knows, we in England have to complain. Our complaint was, and mine, in particular, that a system of confiscation was going on against the poor in favour of the rich. I complained, that the widow of the poor man, who left fifty-one pounds even in a *savings bank*, had to pay six or seven pounds of it in probate and administration tax, while the widow of a man leaving a landed estate worth a million of money, had not one farthing to pay in that tax. This was my complaint; this complaint I would never cease to urge, until the wrong should be redressed.

Mr. HARVEY, Mr. HUMPHREY, and Colonel EVANS, spoke after me. What each of them said is worthy of great attention, and worthy of being remembered. We certainly seem to be coming to something like right notions upon this subject. I will insert the report of these gentlemen's speeches as it was given in the *Morning Chronicle* of Wednesday. The report is by no means perfect, but it is as perfect as one could reasonably expect. Perhaps I shall make a remark or two after I have inserted the report.

"Mr. D. W. HARVEY said, the noble Lord had very eagerly seized the observations of an honourable Member with respect to a graduated property tax. He had frequently observed a disposition on the part of official gentlemen to steer clear of the point immediately before the House, in order to throw imputations upon their opponents. Notwithstanding the re-

"marks of this kind which had been
 "made on the subject of a graduated
 "property tax, he did not feel disposed
 "to deviate from the opinion which he
 "had before expressed. A tax ought
 "not to be imposed merely in propor-
 "tion to income; but attention should
 "be paid to the amount which would
 "be left to the party paying the tax.
 "The income of a person having
 "20,000*l.* or 30,000*l.* a year would still
 "remain much superior, after a greater
 "proportionate deduction than that of
 "the man of moderate fortune. If they
 "imposed a tax of 1*l.* on the man who
 "had 100*l.* a year, he thought the man
 "who had 1,000*l.* a year ought to pay
 "100*l.*; he who had 10,000*l.* a year
 "ought to pay 1,000*l.*; and he who had
 "50,000*l.* a year might pay 10,000*l.*
 "They would still have the same rela-
 "tive rank—and with his 99*l.*, another
 "with 900*l.*, another with 9,000*l.*, and
 "another with 40,000*l.* But it was
 "supposed that he wished to bring all
 "property into the general crucible of
 "confiscation. *The Radicals were ac-*
 "*cused* of wishing to apply a sponge
 "to the national debt, but he repu-
 "diated the idea of any such course for
 "relieving the burdens of the country.
 "He considered the fundholders en-
 "titled to receive every farthing of the
 "debt; and where were they to get it
 "but *from the property of the country?*
 "So far from funded property being
 "less secure than other sorts of property,
 "he considered that no *other species was*
 "*so well secured.* The interest amount-
 "ed to 28,000,000*l.*, and that charge
 "was secured upon an actual rental of
 "40,000,000*l.* or 50,000,000*l.* If it
 "could once be shown that the property
 "on which the charge was secured was
 "not worth 28,000,000*l.* a year, then it
 "might be necessary, to consider what
 "was to be done; but at present the
 "fundholder stood upon the *same foot-*
 "*ing as other mortgagees.* If they had
 "chosen to borrow money to carry
 "through their freaks and fancies, the
 "interest which had chosen to do so
 "was of course bound to *pay the money.*
 "(Hear, hear). They had spent the
 "money for the protection of church

"and state; and he congratulated them
 "on the continued *possession of both.*
 "(A laugh). They had proved rather
 "costly; but one of them, the church,
 "was of unmeasurable value. (Conti-
 "nued laughter). It was *for church*
 "*and state that the landed interest*
 "*had contracted the national debt, and*
 "*had thus mortgaged their property.*
 "If they did not choose to pay the
 "charge which they had incurred, they
 "had *only to walk out and put the*
 "*fundholders, like other mortgagees,* in
 "possession. (Hear, hear, and laughter).
 "He was convinced that many persons
 "who pretended to be alarmed at the
 "idea of the application of a sponge to
 "the national debt, were really *glad to*
 "*hear the Radicals talk of such a pro-*
 "*ceeding.* The Tories, he was per-
 "suaded, liked to hear it. It was like
 "the case of tithes. Half of them
 "would be glad to wipe away those
 "charges, and to reap the benefit of it;
 "but he hoped the Radicals would not
 "pursue any such course. The charge
 "was one upon the *property of the king-*
 "*dom;* and while vessels were going
 "out to all parts of the world groaning
 "with their burdens, the property of the
 "country was well able to bear the
 "charge. Let those *noblemen and*
 "*gentlemen who had imposed the charge*
 "*go to Canada, or elsewhere, and*
 "*let the mortgagees enter upon their*
 "*estates.* (Hear, hear). This is genuine
 "law. (A laugh). He wished for in-
 "quiry—not to enlighten the House,
 "for that could not be done (laughter);
 "but because it might enable them to
 "enlighten the darkness which was
 "abroad. He was quite satisfied that
 "the more these principles were pro-
 "pounded, the more they were exposed
 "to public consideration, the more like-
 "ly they were to lead to that *just arbi-*
 "*trament* which the motion of his hon.
 "Friend was meant to bring about.
 "Mr. Hume said he was of opinion
 "that *those who had incurred the debt*
 "*ought to pay the charges arising from*
 "*it, and that it ought not to be paid by*
 "*those who had no hand in contracting*
 "*it, many of whom were unborn at the*
 "time of its being contracted. The

"principal load of the debt ought to be borne by that property of which the owners were mainly instrumental in contracting it. He agreed with the hon. Member for Oldham, that the labouring classes ought not be burdened beyond their due proportion; but that the load should be borne in a greater degree by the landed property, for the protection of which the debt was contracted, although it is now, comparatively speaking, exempted from taxation. From 39,000,000*l.* to 40,000,000*l.*, out of the 50,000,000*l.* were raised from the industry of the country, and paid by men who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow, while the remaining 10,000,000*l.* only were paid by the higher classes. The poor man, who earned only 2*s.* or 3*s.* a day, was taxed at the rate of 50 per cent., while the rich man with 10,000*l.* paid only 15 or 20 per cent. That was the great grievance; and if, as was admitted, it had become absolutely necessary to relieve the industry of the country, it must be done by such an entire change in the system of taxation as would relieve the poor man from its pressure, and leave the moveable capital of the country, by which employment is furnished, unburdened. They would thus put an end to that emigration which was daily draining the country of its industry and of its best blood. He was strongly disposed to the principle of perpetuities; and if the debt had been contracted for an annuity to continue even 100 years, there would at least have been a prospect of its gradual extinction. It was well known that money might have been obtained on terms very little higher than were required for perpetual annuities. If they wished to perpetuate the dominion of England, they must adopt some measure of terminable annuities.

"Colonel EVANS said a great outcry was raised against a graduated property tax, as a measure of spoliation, because the proportion was to vary; but there was a species of tax in which a graduated scale was adopted, and which hon. members did not appear

"to look upon as a measure of spoliation, he supposed, because it was graduated inversely as the property of the payers, and operated consequently, in favour of the rich. He spoke of the window tax, with respect to which he had heard no cry of spoliation raised. The question of the continuance of that tax was one of great importance in London and Westminster; and since a graduated scale was considered so heinous, he hoped that consideration would operate with hon. Members in the case of the assessed taxes."

These three were amongst the very best speeches that have been made this Parliament. Nothing can be more correct than that which was said by all these three gentlemen. It is very easy for those to cry "*national faith*," who impose the burden upon others: very pleasant for the landowner to cry "*national faith*" to the savings-bank man, while he impounds the property left to the poor fellow, until it has paid its share, of the national debt, while the landed estate, which has come to himself, has paid not one single farthing towards the discharge of that debt. I agree with Mr. HARVEY and with Mr. HUME, that, if this debt be to be paid in gold of full weight and fineness, and in full tale, it ought to be paid by those for whose benefit, for whose pleasure, in our views, of some sort or another, it was contracted; and, at any rate, never would I give my consent to deduct one single farthing from the interest of the debt, until the aristocracy and the church, and "*sister-services*" had been made to give up every farthing that they take out of the taxes, without adequate services fully and duly rendered, and until the crown and corporation estates had been brought to book; and, if these were done, the oppressive internal taxes might be taken off, and the fundholders made more secure and better off than they are now; and the whole debt might be paid and satisfied in a very short space of time.

I am very glad that this discussion took place. It is the first time that common sense has been applied to this

subject in Parliament. We now understand, that it is unjust to doom the child in the cradle to be a slave all its life, on account of a debt contracted by former generations, and in the contracting of which the forefathers of that child had nothing at all to do.

ACQUITTAL OF FURZEY.

GEORGE FURZEY, of WALWORTH, was tried yesterday, at the OLD BAILEY, on a charge of having stabbed a policeman at the Calthorpe-street Meeting. The trial lasted the whole of the day, and, as far as I can learn (it is now 5 o'clock, Friday morning), the whole of the night. It was a Government prosecution and conducted by Mr. Solicitor-General. Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS, with Mr. CLARKSON, were for the poor man; and well they did their duty. The thanks of every just man in this whole kingdom are due to these gentlemen. Mr. PHILLIPS is not bodily a strong man; and this day's work, in such an atmosphere, was enough to halfkill any man living. I owe Mr. PHILLIPS an expression of my gratitude, for his most able and zealous conducting of my cause against the *old Times*; but, sincere and great as my gratitude is on this account, it is small, indeed, compared with the gratitude which I owe him for his defence of this poor man. My *English Grammar*, addressed to one of my sons, I conclude in these words: "Never esteem men merely on account of their riches or their station. Respect goodness, find it where you may. Honour talent wherever you behold it unassociated with vice; but, honour it most when accompanied with exertion; and especially when exerted in the cause of truth and justice; and, above all things, hold it in honour, when it steps forward to protect defenceless innocence against the attacks of powerful guilt."

Let the public recollect; let the public NEVER FORGET the following infamous paragraph, inserted in the *Morning Chronicle* about ten days ago:

"THE MURDER OF CULLEY THE POLICEMAN.—[From a Correspondent.]—It is confidently stated that Furzey, who has been committed to Newgate on the capital charge of having stabbed two policemen at the late Coldbath-fields Meeting, is clearly identified by a disinterested witness as the murderer of the unfortunate Culley. The person alluded to was taken, a few days since, to the prison of Newgate, and selected Furzey from among several other prisoners as being the person whom he had seen give the fatal blow, and he is to appear at the trial of the prisoner at the ensuing Old Bailey Sessions to prove the facts." WHO was this infamous correspondent? Or did the brutal editor of that paper, who is daily endeavouring to cause a *gendarmerie* to be sent into the villages of England, and who is daily endeavouring to pave the way for the destruction of trial by jury; is he himself the author of this atrocious libel on poor FURZEY, at whose blood this infamous paragraph was directly aimed? We shall probably see who was the real author of this: we shall see whether there be no law for this poor man; who is a man of exemplary industry, sobriety, and inoffensiveness; we shall see whether an infamous newspaper is thus with impunity to aim this blow at his life.

In consequence of the petition which was presented last week, relative to POPPY the policeman, a committee has been appointed to inquire into the matter, of which committee I am one.

ANNA BRODIE AND CO.

A LONDON jury has determined that this set is not to continue to pour out libels upon me; and that I am not to be called "an uncertificated bankrupt" with impunity. A hundred pounds damages and the costs will make this crew remember that there is some limit to their right of assailing me, at any

rate. I said, when I brought this action, that I did it for the honour of my constituents, and not on account of myself. The people of this paper ought to have been punished long ago, for their atrocious publications relative to THOMAS GOODMAN and the men who were punished on account of the fires; and there is a fellow in Wales whom I will punish if he do not retract what he has said upon the same subject. The thing to which I allude is called the "*Merthyr Tydvil Guardian*," printed and published by WILLIAM MALLALIEU. The public may recollect, that I some time ago presented a petition from the working men of MERTHYR TYDVIL; and, because the men thought proper to send their petition to me and not to Mr. GUEST, they are threatened with starvation, and I am libelled in the following atrocious manner, the public being told, through this vile paper, that "not a few of the misguided men who suffered the penalty of the law, during the agricultural disturbances, acknowledged, that their first incentive to unlawful proceedings, was, Mr. CONNERT's writings, or Mr. CONNERT's lecture." I verily believe, that the poor creature who publishes this is not the real author of it. I publish it that my readers may hold both author and publisher in detestation; and this is not all that I will do to the publisher, in whose paper this appeared on the 29. of June, leaving him in the meanwhile to the contempt and detestation of his townsmen.

(From the *Merthyr Tydvil Guardian*, 29. June.)

The latest intelligence of which we were in possession when our last number went to press informed us that a petition had been presented by Mr. CONNERT, which was "signed by 9,910 working men of Merthyr Tydvil, who complained of the inadequacy of their wages to purchase provisions in consequence of excessive taxation, and prayed the repeal of the malt, hops, soap, &c. taxes, and particularly of the corn laws." The subject matter of this petition is of such importance

and extensive interest; and certain circumstances connected with the petition so naturally call forth some useful observations, that we think it necessary to advert to the subject more fully than we could have done at the time at which it first came under our notice.

The first remark that we would make is, that it seems to us singular that a petition on such a subject, and so extensively signed in Merthyr, should have been intrusted to any other hands than those of our own honourable Representative. Every man, of whatever party, who has the least knowledge of Merthyr or of the iron trade, must be sensible of the high claims that Mr. GUEST has upon the confidence, and even gratitude, of the persons who signed this petition. His great iron-works at Dowlais are a proof, by night and by day, of the thousands to whom his capital affords employment, and consequently subsistence; and the rate of wages at which he employs his men is, we believe, even more liberal than he is of necessity compelled to pay. We have frequently enjoyed the pleasure of recording instances of his private benevolence, and of his active exertions in the promotion of public objects of a benevolent tendency. And we ask every one of the 10,000 men who signed this petition, if he can forget the humane and courageous interposition, by which Mr. GUEST saved the lives probably of hundreds of misguided men in the Merthyr riots? And we ask these petitioners only one question more. Can they reconcile it to themselves to show to that gentleman the marked disrespect which it seems they have shown him in thus passing over their own chosen Representative, and committing their petition to a stranger? We, who on political subjects, differ with Mr. GUEST, say this; and we say it because we value "Y gwir yn erbyn y byd;" and our politics are made of sounder stuff than to stand only by underrating the merits of our opponents.

But, if we point out the marked deviation from good feeling which is evinced in this, we do it for a noble object. The hon. Gentleman to whom

this petition was intrusted, not only has no claim upon the respect of the men of Merthyr, but the uniform course of his political life has been that of a person striving to ingratiate himself with the people, not for their good, but for his own advancement. From first to last we have seen him fawning upon the working classes, cramming them with flattering notions of their own importance, exciting them to a hatred of the rich, and working upon the great mass of the people, till he makes them the blind and headstrong instruments of his own purposes. Not a few of the misguided men, who suffered the penalty of the law during the "agricultural disturbances," acknowledged that their first incentive to unlawful proceedings was Mr. COBBETT's writings, or Mr. COBBETT's lecture: and we ask, where was the common sense of the men of Merthyr, who did not see that the Orator, fine-spoken Orator as he was, who "moved the resolutions," was only bringing *them* also into COBBETT's net? It is a *wise saying* that, old friends are best.

But there is one thing more in this petition, and it is the thing prayed for. The petitioners say that their wages are inadequate to purchase provisions, in consequence of taxation; and they pray the repeal of certain taxes, and of the corn laws. If the wages are inadequate, it is a thing which all good men deplore; a thing which we would make great exertion to remedy. But the petitioners must be sensible that wages depend upon price; that no man, for instance, could give 6s. wages to make a thing which he must sell for 5s. They must be sensible also, that their case of a fall of wages in late years is not a singular, but a general one: and that the prices of all things, and consequently the wages of the working classes in every line, are falling by the operations of what are falsely called free trade, is a position which we will explain before long. But it rests with themselves whether their condition shall or shall not be materially worse than it is; inasmuch as when tumultuous meetings take place, when political unions col-

lect, when large bodies of the people open a correspondence with COBBETT, ATTWOOD, O'CONNELL, and such people; rich men keep their money in their pockets, instead of spending it in shops or employing it in manufactures. Our towns-people must remember that in other times, when taxes have been much higher, the working classes were well paid and lived well; and that now, although taxes have fallen greatly, they are in much worse condition. This we put it to the fine orator who moved the resolutions, to expound to them, and till he do so, perhaps the petitioners will doubt whether the taxation of the country be really so much the cause of their depressed condition as he represents. And when our brethren of the working classes of Merthyr petition for the repeal of the corn laws, we ask, did ever man hear of one side of a house being made the stronger by pulling down the wall at the other? But this is precisely what they would do; inasmuch as the corn laws alone preserve the agricultural body: and if that body fail, the manufacturing must be without employment. To unravel the complexities in which our commercial circumstances are entangled is a task of great power of mind, great perseverance of exertion, and unruffled patience. On this noble pursuit the sincere but unpretending friends of the people are seriously intent: and we put it feelingly to the honest, though misguided, men who have signed this petition, not to adopt a course which must alarm the rich, and take away the employment of the poor: not to raise political commotion, which must draw off attention from the embarrassments of trade: not to degrade themselves into the mere human prey of political agitators either at home or abroad.

**BROUGHAM'S
POOR-LAW COMMISSION,
AND**

THE FALSEHOODS LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT, UNDER THE SIGNATURE OF THE PERSONS COMPOSING THAT COMMISSION.

FROM the first moment of the appointment of this commission, I expressed my opinion, that its tendency was of a most mischievous nature. The Bishops of LONDON and CHESTER stand at the head of the commissioners. Every one must know that it is impossible that these bishops should be able to enter into any such inquiries. Next comes STURGES BOURNE, the author of those bills which have produced so much mischief throughout the country, and which have been petitioned against by so many parishes. Next comes SENIOR, a man who has written, over and over again, to maintain the doctrines of PARSON MALTHEUS. Next comes COULSTON, who was a newspaper-reporter some time ago; who is, I believe, a relation of SENIOR, and who is a disciple of the same school. We have no written proof of HARRY GAWLER's opinions, that I know of; and there is now another man of the name of BISHOP, of whom I have never heard before. BROUGHAM said, in 1819, "that he was prepared to defend the principles of MALTHEUS to their full extent;" and that full extent was, *to refuse parochial relief altogether*. He pledged himself, the session before last, to bring in a new poor-law. I defied him to do it, the moment he gave the pledge; and, instead of bringing in a poor-law, he and his colleagues appointed this poor-law commission to obtain information upon the subject.

These commissioners sit in London, it seems, and send forth roving deputy-commissioners to collect information about the country. These rovers give in written accounts of the result of their inquiries. A parcel of extracts from these accounts have been collected together, printed in the form of an octavo book, and sold at *price four shillings*, "PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY"; and, the

members of the House of Commons have each of them been furnished with a copy of this book. This is a new way of doing the nation's business. We have never before heard of a published book, price so much, being laid upon the table of the House of Commons. We have never before heard of a public board turning authors, especially with a couple of bishops at its head, and selling its books. However, we have the book; and, so scandalous a thing has seldom appeared in the shape of a book. It is evident, that the book is intended to pave the way for calling upon Parliament to pass a law to do the following things:

1. To set aside the authority of the present justices of the peace, as far, at any rate, as relates to the management of the poor.
2. To make STURGES BOURNE's Bills compulsory, and to extend their effects all over England and Wales.
3. To cause MALTHEUS's plan of refusal of relief to be adopted.
4. To put down the present sort of justices of the peace altogether; to supply their places by *hired* justices appointed immediately by the Government.
5. To put down all the present peace-officers of counties and parishes, and to establish all over Great Britain, a *Bourbon-police*, with commissioners, superintendents, inspectors, sergeants, and privates; just such as we have the misery and disgrace to have in London.

These are manifestly the objects of this book; and to accomplish these objects, the roving commissioners have resorted to falsehoods the most glaring. I insert below, first, a petition from the town of HORSHAM, in Sussex; and, second, "An Inquiry into the merits of the Poor-law Report, by the Rev. HARRY F. YEATMAN," who is also a magistrate for the county of Dorset. In presenting the HORSHAM petition, Mr. HURST, who resides in the parish, vouched for the truth of the petition, and for the falsehood of the rovers' report. Mr. YEATMAN examines the report of another of the rovers, publishes

his examination in the shape of a pamphlet, puts his name in the title-page of his pamphlet, and he exposes such a tissue of falsehoods, and such glaring instances of foul dealing, as must, one would think, make the two bishops blush at the thought of having put their names to such a book. I do beseech my readers, particularly those of the *political unions*, to read these documents with the greatest possible attention. The Whig scheme of subjecting England to a *Bourbon-police government*, will be blown into air; but let us, my friends, never forget the *design*! I am very much obliged to the person who has sent me the pamphlet of the Rev. Mr. YEATMAN; the whole nation is indebted to him for making this timely exposure; and it will, doubtless, rouse the people to call for an end of the expenses of this Poor-law Commission.

It is the accursed *Doctrinaires* that are at work here; those horrible devils who regard the working people as merely made to keep them in idleness. These merciless miscreants perceive that the working people in the country are now better off than they were before the riots; one of the *rovers* says, *that the working people of Sussex have been used to live too high*. The general tone of the book is, that the working people now get too much, and that they get it by INTIMIDATION; and that, therefore, there ought to be a *Bourbon police government* throughout the country. The book discovers this settled design. The working people are better off: they do get a greater portion of relief; the magistrates and the gentlemen are satisfied that they ought to have it, and they say so: this clergyman, to his very great honour, says, that the riots arose out of the very severe sufferings of the people: it appears that the whole bench of magistrates at the quarter sessions in Dorsetshire, set their faces against the cruel doctrine preached there by this roving commissioner; and, just at the time when the rich and the poor all about the country, are getting somewhat reconciled to one another, comes out this poor-law book; this MALTHU-

SIAN scheme for plunging all into confusion and enveloping all in flames again. Once more I recommend these two documents to the attentive perusal of my readers. It will be my duty to endeavour to put an end to this new drain upon the people's pockets; and I trust, that I shall find the people to support me in this my endeavour; and that support they can give in no way so effectually as by their *petitions*: and I beg all those who may read this, never to listen to those who would persuade them to cease to petition. This is the arm, which the people have: it is the sensible and effectual, as well as the lawful arm: it causes them very little trouble to use it; and, if they will not take that trouble, how are they to expect that a man will spend half his life in order to obtain them redress.

The humble petition of the parish of Horsham, in the county of Sussex, rated for the relief of the poor of the said parish,

Showeth,—That your petitioners have read with considerable surprise and concern, the report of Mr. Maclean, comprised in the General Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners, of which the following is an extract: viz. "The rates are called fourteen shillings in the pound, upon an assessment called and supposed to be two-thirds on land, but not above one-fifth upon houses. During the disturbances of the winter of 1830, very serious riots took place here, the effects of which are felt up to the present time, not only in the increase of the rates, but in the disaffected and malicious conduct of the lower classes. The more respectable inhabitants live in continual dread of the destruction of their property."

That your petitioners, having regard for the poor inhabitants of their parish, and being anxious to remove so unequalled-for, unmerited, and unjust a stigma, thus publicly cast upon them, beg most humbly to represent to your honourable House, that such report, so far as the same is extracted, is wholly unfounded in fact.

That, although (as your petitioners are ready to admit), in the winter of 1830, a numerous meeting of the poorer classes took place in this parish, yet your petitioners assert that no serious riot was the result, nor was such meeting followed either by the destruction of life or property, as (it is to be regretted) was the case in many other parishes; that, therefore, to denounce the conduct of the poor of this parish as disaffected and malicious, is

equally as base a denouement, as that your petitioners live in continual dread of the destruction of their property, is false and unfounded.

That the conduct of the poor since the winter of 1830, and down to the present time, your petitioners beg leave to state to your honourable House, has been any thing but disaffected and malicious; that they have at all times evinced a disposition to work when it could be obtained.

That such report, untruly representing as it does the conduct of the poor of this parish as disaffected and malicious, is, in the opinion of your petitioners, calculated to irritate their feelings, and rouse them to acts of insubordination.

That the rates, within the last few years, have in a trifling degree increased, your petitioners do not deny, but your petitioners attribute such increase to various causes, particularly that the farmers are unable, for want of capital, to employ a sufficient number of hands to perform the necessary work upon their farms, and not to the cause mentioned in the report.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly beg to submit to your honourable House, that a report so unfounded in fact, so highly prejudicial to the character of the poor of this parish, and so detrimental to the inhabitants generally, and to their property and trade, ought not to be allowed to stand upon the report of the poor-law commissioners.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your honourable House to take into your consideration the propriety of the poor-law commissioners amending such report, by causing the unfounded statement to be erased from the same; your petitioners hereby undertaking to prove, either before the poor-law commissioners, or at the bar of your honourable House, that such report, so far as the same is extracted, is false and unfounded.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

An Inquiry into the merits of the Poor-Law Report of D. O. P. Okeden, Esq., Assistant Commissioner; by the Rev. HARRY FARR YEATMAN, LL.B., acting Magistrate for Dorset and Somerset.

In perusing a document of so much importance as that of a "report as to the administration of the poor-laws," by commissioners appointed by the crown, the general reader will naturally expect to find that such a report is founded upon evidence of the most impartial and conclusive description, and that such evidence has been taken by the commissioners of each district in a manner the most open, circumstantial, and direct. It will be expected

that this should be the case, for the purpose of showing the "most correct views on the working of the poor-laws generally," and as a system; the central commissioners having been, (according to the instructions of Lord Melbourne) "directed by his Majesty's commission to make a diligent and full inquiry into the practical operation of the laws for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, and into the manner in which those laws are administered, and to report whether any and what alterations, amendments, or improvements, may be beneficially made in the said laws;" &c. &c.; but it will be more especially expected that the evidence on which the reports are framed should be taken in the open and candid manner above alluded to, if it should turn out that the character of the justices of any one single division, or of any one county, has been reflected upon in those reports, and that judicial inquiry on the part of the district, or the assistant commissioner shall have led the way to judicial condemnation.

In perusing the poor-law report, addressed by D. O. P. Okeden, Esq., on the 25. of December, 1832, to his Majesty's commissioners, in his capacity as an assistant commissioner duly appointed to "inquire into the practical operation of the poor-law system," in this county, and which report has been "PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY," and referring to that particular part of it which relates to the county of Dorset, and to the Sturminster Newton division of it in particular, in which I have had the honour to act as a magistrate for the somewhat long and certainly very laborious period of full twenty years, I am forcibly and most painfully impressed with the opinion, first, that the manner in which Mr. Okeden was pleased to collect the evidence, on which his report, touching the working of the poor-law system in the Sturminster Newton division is founded, was neither so open and accessible to the parties concerned and affected by that report as it ought to have been; secondly, that the evidence so taken by him is utterly insufficient for the purpose "of showing the PRACTICAL OPERATION" of the existing poor-law system within the aforesaid division generally, and which "practical operation" ought to have been shown by a careful comparison of parish with parish, and by sifting the system as a whole, from which some general inference might be drawn, touching the nature of that system; and not by selecting and commenting upon a few parishes in particular, carefully and studiously chosen for the purpose, as it should seem, of illustrating the peculiar views and opinions which Mr. Okeden is well known to entertain upon this important question, and which ought to have been illustrated by an analysis of the effect produced by the administration of the justice thrown over the whole surface of this division at large. In confirmation of the truth of these statements, I beg to observe that, on the day when Mr. Okeden attended the petty

sessions at Sturminster, for the purpose of collecting such evidence as he might require from the overseers of every parish (*all of whom* were summoned by myself or colleagues to give such evidence as might be required by Mr. Okeden), that gentleman arrived at, and entered the room where a certain number of the justices, including myself, were then assembled in petty sessions; and that, after the interchange of a few words, he retired to a *private room*, as being more convenient both to him and to ourselves, and that he *there collected such information as he thought proper to require*, except that, in so far as the parish of Sturminster Newton was concerned, he asked, at our request, a certain number of questions from the overseers of that "*ill-regulated parish*," concerning the injudicious mode of payment to, and non-employment of, single men, and recorded the answers thereto in our immediate presence. But I beg to observe, *that the evidence on which the report of Mr. Okeden was framed, and on which as it turns out, the magistrates of the whole division have been blamed and censured by Mr. Okeden, was received and recorded in a private room, into which room the justices were not invited to enter, though at this very time they were sitting under the same roof in petty session assembled: with the nature of which evidence, or of the charges against them founded thereon, they were never made acquainted in any manner whatever, either directly or indirectly, till they saw the report, and censures on their conduct founded thereon. "published by authority," and circulating throughout the kingdom. Received too, as that evidence appears to have been, from some few individuals who were personally interested in the matter, from persons who were opposed to and dissatisfied with the orders, directions, and general practice of those magistrates; and who did, either designedly, or incidentally in the course of inquiry before Mr. Okeden, prefer a formal complaint, and a serious charge against the legal practice of those justices to which it did not appear expedient to Mr. Okeden to permit those justices to have any opportunity whatever of making their defence; upon which evidence, so taken, so recorded, unexplained, exparte, and unexamined on both sides, as it undoubtedly was, and as it ought not to have been, Mr. Okeden has thought proper to affix a certain degree of censure upon the conduct of those justices, and to permit the declaration of it to be published to the whole world. As a gentleman who is in the habit of frequenting the courts of justice in this county, and occasionally presiding in a criminal court himself, I would here beg leave to ask of Mr. Okeden, whether the practice of the judges of this*

land, or of the magistrates of this kingdom, when sitting on the bench, is, or is not, in accordance with the practice adopted by him towards the justices of the Sturminster division, on the 29. of October last; and whether it is, or is not usual to allow *persons accused*, first to know the nature of the charges which are about to be, or have been preferred against them; and secondly, whether it is not usual, as well as *just*, to allow such persons, in the face of their accusers, to enjoy the right and privilege of replying to those charges, and of cross-examining the evidence on which those charges have been preferred; and if Mr. Okeden's reply is likely to be, *as it must be*, in the affirmative, and in favour of their practice, I beg leave respectfully to ask him, *why he departed from that principle on the day when he received from the overseers of Hasilbury and Sturminster Newton, the evidence which appeared to him to be sufficient to accuse the justices of the Sturminster division of a maladministration of the poor-laws*, and of having, in a "*singular*" manner, thwarted the rector of Hasilbury Bryan, in his effort to put down that system of maladministration on their part. On the authority of this fact, affirmatively taken, I feel that I have a right to consider that myself and brother justices have been *condemned unheard*, and that too, in a manner the most repugnant to our notions of common justice, as founded upon the practice of our common courts, both of equity and law; assuming for the moment, and admitting, though only for the purposes of argument, that the evidence so taken from our accusers and calumniators was even perfectly correct, and founded on fact, and incapable of contradiction. Having thus alluded to the manner in which the evidence was, in reality, taken by Mr. Okeden, whereon his report to the poor-law commissioners is founded, I now proceed to examine the *nature of that evidence*, so far as the same can be inferred from the substance of the report itself. The first parish which is named by Mr. Okeden, is that of the parish of Cranbourne; but as that parish happens to be remote and distinct from the division of Sturminster Newton, and is one for the poor-law administration of which I am not personally responsible, I shall pass on to the consideration of the next-named parish, merely observing that Mr. Okeden's report on the moral condition of Cranbourne is remarkable for the most extraordinary allusion to the presumed irregularity of practice on the part of a magistrate of that division *LATELY DECEASED*, venturing to think at the same time, that, although the *living* are subjected, in this report, to the visitations of his dispraise, yet that it might have been as well to exonerate the *dead* from the searching severities of his censure.

After making certain observations on the past and present condition of Cranbourne, Mr. Okeden next directs his attention to the parish of Hasilbury Bryan, of which parish we are presented with the following graphic description.

HASILBURY BRYAN, DORSET.

POPULATION 611.

Number of acres in the parish.

Pasture land	2,020
Arable ditto	250
Woodland ditto	27
Common ditto	150
Garden ditto	7

Total acres 2,454

"Expended on the poor, as per book, for one year, to Ladyday, 1832, 413*l*."

"There are 77 agricultural labourers. In the summer none are out of employ; in the winter not above five or six are unemployed."

"These are put on the roads, or, if family

"men, relieved by the scale as settled at the

"petty sessions at Sturminster Newton. In

"short, the scale system and the making up

"of wages are complete. There is no work-

"house, but there are eight cottages belonging

"to the parish, in which there are fourteen

"families lodged. Soon after the riots of

"1830, a new and more liberal scale was

"made by the magistrates of the division,

"and in February, 1831, an order was given to

"the overseers of Hasilbury Bryan, requiring

"them to relieve ten families, all able-

"bodied and in employ, by the new scale.

"The overseers contended, and the clergy-

"man protested, against this order in vain."

Now it would be supposed by an indifferent

observer, and by a person not locally acquaint-

ed with the parish of Hasilbury, from the pe-

rusal of the above extract from Mr. Okeden's

report, first, that the parish of Hasilbury was

reduced, by the maladministration of the jus-

tices of this division, to the extremity of po-

verty and moral degradation, and that the

parochial poor-rate was increasing year after

year to a most fearful and insupportable

amount, threatening to absorb all the visible

property of the parish, and to destroy every

existing principle of independence, as well as

all physical energy on the part of the labouring

paupers of this parish. Secondly, that the

said justices had interpreted and ad-

ministered the poor-laws of the realm in a

manner both widely and glaringly different

from that of any other justices of the county,

or even of the kingdom. Before I proceed,

however, to the investigation of this part of

the subject, I am compelled most reluctantly

to protest against the accuracy or veracity of

the statement which Mr. Okeden has made,

touching the expenditure of the parish of Ha-

silbury for the year 1832. By referring to the

poor-book of this parish (which it is presumed

Mr. Okeden cannot have looked at!) I find that the expenditure of the poor for one year to Ladyday, 1832, is not 413*l*., as stated by Mr. Okeden, but 330*l*. 10*s*., (2*l*. 12*s*. having been disallowed by myself and brother justices in virtue of the 50th Geo. III. c. 49, and deducted from the gross charge made by the overseers of 333*l*. 2*s*. for that year); being just 82*l*. 10*s*. less than the amount quoted by Mr. Okeden, that gentleman having confounded the expenditure of the year 1831 with that of the year succeeding it! But even of this sum, no less than 49*l*. 10*s*. 10*d*. is to be deducted for county rates and mole catching, and which, deducted from 330*l*. for the year 1832, makes the actual expenditure on the poor to be the sum of 280*l*. 19*s*. 2*d*., and this too upon a population of 611!! I would also observe, that by referring to the book for the whole period of three years (during which time only we have presided over the parish of Hasilbury as justices), and not judging, as Mr. Okeden has done, from the gross account of one year only, selecting at the same time the highest amount of expenditure that he could find, including county rates and charges for mole catching, and calling the whole as he has also done "expenditure on the poor." I say, that by referring to the Hasilbury poor-book, and looking at the sums total as sworn to by the overseers during the three years last past, I find that the expenditure in gross on the part of the Hasilbury overseers stands precisely as follows:

1830 and 1831 total expenses of	£.	s.	d.
overseers.....	413	10	2
1831 and 1832 ditto ditto.....	330	10	0
1832 and 1833 ditto ditto.....	305	8	10

showing, that during the last three years (for be it again remembered that Hasilbury Bryan did not belong to the Sturminster Newton division till September, 1830, it having been assigned and added to the Sturminster division by an order of quarter sessions under the sanction of 9. Geo. IV., c. 43, prior to which it formed part and parcel of the Blandford division, and was not under our control at all); showing, I say, that in the last three years, during which period, according to Mr. Okeden's report, we have so grossly and im-providently mismanaged its concerns, the poor-rates of Hasilbury have positively decreased from the gross charge of 413*l*. 10*s*. 2*d*. extreme height, down to the sum of 305*l*. 8*s*. 10*d*. present expenditure; being a reduction of poor-rate upon the three years only to the extent of 25 per cent.!!! But I shall beg leave to rate the actual decrease even still higher, by stating that during this period no less than fourteen special rates have been ordered by the court of quarter sessions, and levied for the county lunatic asylum; and that when these and the other extraordinary items are deducted from the several years above recited, it will reduce the total expenditure on the poor in the parish of Hasilbury Bryan for the last three years, to the following proportions:—

Date.	Gross Expenditure.	Extraor. Disbursements.	Expended on Poor.
1830 and 1831	£413 10 2	£49 19 0	£363 11 2
1831 and 1832	330 10 0	49 10 10	280 19 2
1832 and 1833	305 8 10	47 8 5	258 0 5

reducing the expenditure of the year ending Ladyday, 1833, to the sum, the trifling sum of 258l. 0s. 5d.; being, on the whole population of 611 persons, less than the sum per head of 2s. 6d., and really less than 1s. 6d. in the pound. I would also add, that if the sum of 413l. 10s. 2d. appears to be a sum of considerable magnitude (as contrasted with the charge of the previous years 1829 and 1830) for the expenditure of the year from Ladyday, 1830, to Ladyday, 1831, it ought to be remembered, first, that during and immediately subsequent to "the riots," it was deemed advisable by my brother justices and others, to increase the comforts of the poor, and to soothe the lower orders, excited as they were at that eventful period, by a more liberal amount of relief, and, that, during the same year, the large sum of 60l. was also paid for the first and only time for *spade husbandry* within this parish, the expenditure of which, and the ordering of which, the magistrates of the division had nothing to do with, and which proved to be, as stated to myself and colleagues, the source of serious loss to the parish, though solely from the mismanagement and negligence of those who superintended it at the time: the introduction of which system, when differently managed, as connected with the plan of allotting small pieces of land to the poor, the magistrates of this division have most warmly advocated: and for the introduction of which plan into the parish of Hasilbury they are ready to tender their best thanks to Mr. Walter.

I beg also to observe, that although the justices did, in the winter of 1830, during "the riots"—and the

"*Duris urgens in rebus egestas*" which at that time prevailed, and which, proceeding as it did from inadequacy of wages and insufficiency of relief under the scale, drove the pauper population to madness and to overt acts of rebellion; an able-bodied man having, at this time, only 4s. 5d. and 6s. per week wages, and 2s. 1d. and 1s. 10d. per week relief under the scale, to support himself in food and wearing apparel of every sort and kind according to the rate of relief afforded at that period. I say, that although the justices of this division did, at that particular period, order the overseers at Hasilbury to relieve as many as ten families, according to a more liberal and extended system of relief, yet it appears from Mr. Okeden's own statement, that, generally speaking, "in winter not above five or six are unemployed," "and relieved by the scale as settled at the petty sessions at Sturminster Newton;" and that therefore the "magisterial interference" so much com-

plained of, and upon the exercise of which, Mr. Okeden has let down the whole weight of his heavy censure and disapprobation, must have been generally, as we shall presently find it to have been, confined to the grievances and complaints of "five or six only." But I beg to ask, how did it happen that this liberal system of parochial relief was adopted by the justices of this division at this particular period; and why was it that they felt it to be their duty to make the orders of relief on the "ten families" aforesaid, to the great grievance, it seems, of the highly respectable rector and the overseer of Hasilbury Bryan? I proceed to answer these several questions, and to state at the same time, that if Mr. Okeden had informed either myself or brother justices, as he might have done, when he attended at Sturminster, on the 29. of October last, that he had at that very moment received, and then possessed in his green bag a charge against the justices of that division which he intended, upon the *ex parte* evidence of certain persons residing at Hasilbury Bryan, to publish to the whole world; I state that if Mr. Okeden, on the day aforesaid, had in candour or justice, saying nothing of common courtesy, afforded to my brother justices and myself, an opportunity of vindicating or explaining our conduct, so far as we could do so, he would have received these several answers on the spot, and we should not have been prejudged and condemned in a public document, before we had been permitted to utter a single syllable in our defence. Be it known then, that under the excitement which prevailed from one end of the west of England to the other, "during the riots of 1830," and when the labouring population was in arms, I have reason to know that several gentlemen in this county made promises to the lower orders of future advantages and greater comforts, and of an increase of wages; assuring them that the same should be raised from 5s. and 6s. to the height of 10s. and 12s. per week, and which promise, I grieve to say it, now that the alarm and terror of the moment have subsided, has been broken in a manner the most treacherous and dishonourable;—it was deemed advisable by myself, my brother justices, and others, that the "poor and impotent," and also the able-bodied who were unable to procure employment sufficient for themselves and their helpless families, should also be admitted to a participation of the blessings of that soothing system, which, though late, and extorted from the higher orders of society by fear and terror, it was deemed expedient to adopt at that alarming and distressing period. With this view, and at my earnest request, a special

meeting of the magistrates of the neighbourhood (not of the division of Sturminster Newton, but of the whole neighbourhood), and of the eastern part of the county, was holden at Blandford, in order that they in their wisdom and good feeling might suggest a mode of tranquillizing the county, by applying to the lower orders a liberal and uniform system, both of increased wages and increased relief: my object being, that the labourers of one division should not be made uneasy and discontented by hearing of the greater amount of both prevailing and adopted in another. At this special meeting, Mr. Okeden attended—and at this meeting at Blandford it was that Mr. Okeden broached for the first time, in a formal manner, the doctrine which he has since promulgated and maintained, “that no relief whatever ought to be afforded to the able-bodied man, and that if he and his family could not subsist upon their wages, they might lie down and die by the road side,” (these were the words of Mr. Okeden,) “whether the wages, so received, were or were not per head, sufficient for the support of the able-bodied father and his family.” One justice who was present, and one justice only, assented to this extraordinary and unchristian doctrine, for such I must venture to call it; the result of our deliberation being this: first, that although a uniform system of wages was absolutely impossible, from the fact, that in different parts of the county, from an increased or decreased demand for labour, from a greater or lesser degree of cultivation prevailing, from an excess of arable over pasture land, and from a greater or lesser degree of population, in proportion to the improved and improvable surface of the land so requiring cultivation, a higher amount of wages must exist of necessity, as compared with those parts of the county where the state of society was different; yet that, secondly, in the opinion of the majority of the justices who were present, it was absolutely necessary that the amount of relief to the poor and impotent, and to the able-bodied who were unable to obtain for themselves and families an adequate amount of wages, should be increased from what it had been, and raised to an amount somewhat more upon a level with the common necessities of life. But I go one step further, and I show that the principle of interference with able-bodied labourers, who are unable to support their families from the insufficient wages which they earn, against which system of “magistral interference,” it appears that the “overseers of Hasilbury contended, and the clergyman protested in vain;” I say that I am prepared to show that this doctrine of “magistral interference” with an occasional relief to able-bodied men and their families when in distress, received about this identical period, the sanction of the whole court of quarter sessions in this county, and that, too, from one of the fullest and most intelligent benches of magistrates ever assembled at the county hall in solemn deliberation.

On the 18. of February, 1831, at an adjourned session, holden at Wimborne, Mr. Okeden gave notice of a motion which he intended to submit to the consideration of the court, about to be assembled at the ensuing quarter sessions, to the following effect, “That it was impolitic and illegal to make up the wages of able-bodied men from the poor-rate;” and accordingly at the Easter sessions, and on the 5. of April, 1831, Mr. Okeden, after recapitulating the arguments which he had previously used at Blandford, at the special meeting of justices above referred to, and after entering into, and reciting these doctrines which he has embodied in the report which forms the subject of these strictures, concluded by premising upon the court the motion above recited. But what was the result! Were the justices of this county, to THE AMOUNT OF NINETEEN FORRY, were they in favour of the opinion entertained by Mr. Okeden, and since advocated by the overseers of Sturminster, and of Hasilbury Bryan? Were they of opinion that an able-bodied man of unblemished character, with a deserving wife and helpless children, should be allowed to “lie down and die by the road-side,” or drag on a life of wretchedness and want, to which the felons in our county jail cannot be exposed without a violation of the existing law?—No!—Mr. Okeden’s statements or arguments were triumphantly replied to, and Mr. Okeden himself begged permission to withdraw his own motion; thereby from necessity, if not from conviction, according to the very doctrine which the magistrates of the whole county maintained in opposition to him, and for acting up to which, Mr. Okeden has seized the present mode, and availed himself of the present opportunity, on experts and inconclusive evidence, of censuring—not the justices of the whole county of Dorset; who maintained that doctrine after a solemn argument, according to notice given by Mr. Okeden himself, and in opposition to that gentleman—but the justices of the Sturminster Newton division, who simply acted in conformity with the same. I would also ask of Mr. Okeden whether it occurred to him to demand of those, who, on the day aforesaid, dropped into the lion’s mouth at Sturminster Newton, their charges and complaints against the justices of that division, first, whether the orders which were made upon these ten families, were made for a longer period than “one month,” (under the 59th G.3 c. 12)—secondly, whether these orders were renewed; and thirdly, what was the amount of the money expended and paid by the overseers of Hasilbury, in virtue of and under the pressure of those orders, by the amount of which alone, could they have been aggrieved, affirming as I do, that if Mr. Okeden did not ask these questions and record the answers thereto, he was guilty of negligence towards the parish of Hasilbury; and that if he did, and obtained the answers to the same, he ought, in justice to the magistrates of this calumniated division, to have published the result of those

answers, for the purpose of showing the extent of the evil which he and the highly respectable clergyman and overseers of Haslibury complained of on the one hand, and the amount of money which, according to their views of the case, they had been, in virtue of those orders, unjustly mulcted of on the other. What Mr. Okeden has not done, either in justice to the parish of Haslibury or to the magistrates of this division, I now beg leave to do in fairness towards both. I state, first, that on the 7. of February, 1831, orders of relief were made, in the usual form, by the justices of this division, on ten persons, *labourers with families*, belonging to Haslibury Bryan: but these orders were made for the space of "one month only," to meet the exigencies of the then existing crisis, in pursuance of the statute aforesaid, immediately subsequent to the agricultural riots which convulsed this very, and immediate part of the country; and which orders (with one or two exceptions only) were never renewed by us. I would also submit to any one conversant with the duties of magistrates (Mr. Okeden and the highly respectable clergyman and overseers of Haslibury excepted) whether in their opinion, the period of these "riots" was the time, above all others, to withhold relief from these ten men; and whether, if we had done so, and a tumult had ensued, we should have been considered by my Lord Melbourne, by the lord-lieutenant of this county, and the public at large, as acting up to our duty of conservators of the public peace? But Mr. Okeden has stated that these men were "all ABLE-BODIED," and in "EMPLOY!" In reply to which, I beg to say, that the ten persons on whom we made orders of relief on the 7. of February, 1831, were named as follows, "Jonathan Paddock, John Crocker, Stephen Spioer, Robert Frizzle, Mary Granger, Samuel Muston, John Lush, Robert Caines, Thomas Rolls, and William House," and that by referring to the poor-book of Haslibury for the year 1831, (and which book it is certain that Mr. Okeden could not have looked at when he made this charge against the justices of this division, although by referring to the instructions which he received as assistant commissioner, I find that "the inspection of parish books, and other vouchers," is a duty most especially recommended to every one who fills that judicial and very responsible office); and looking at the entries of the 6. of February, the day immediately preceding that one, on which the orders of relief, for the time to come, were made on the ten persons and their families,—I find that several sums are entered as paid on that day, in the following manner.

John Crocker	} No Work!
John Lush	
Thomas Rolls	

Proving that the above ten persons were not "all employed" on the day preceding the date of these orders of relief; Mary Grange, a woman with five children, and the three men

above-mentioned being evidently in a different situation; and as to the whole being "able-bodied," it is equally clear that, as many of these persons had children, some of whom (by referring to my notes taken at the time), I find to have been under five years of age, and therefore "impotent and unable to work."

"According to the strictest interpretation of the statute of Elizabeth, these children, being objects of relief under these orders, equally with the men, who were their parents, and named in those orders, it is clear that the objects of relief under these orders cannot and ought not to be spoken of and described as being" all "able-bodied."

I also declare, with a view of supplying the deficiency in the evidence which Mr. Okeden, with the parish book of Haslibury before him, did not choose, or think it worth while, or any part of his duty to supply, first, that upon the ten persons above-named, upon whom orders of relief were made, on the 7. of February aforesaid, and who with their children amounted to no less than 64 persons, it appears that the two overseers of Haslibury expended during the single month for which time our orders were binding, the sum of 5l. 13s. 6d. and no more; four persons also out of the above having been ill during the said month, (therefore not "able-bodied," as asserted by Mr. Okeden); and which sum, when divided amongst the 64 persons who were included in, and the objects of our order, amounts to about one shilling and nine-pence per head on an average for the time being, and no more! for granting which, and that too, during the time of riot, excitement, and public distress, the justices of this division are censured by Mr. Okeden, "protested against by the clergyman, and contended against by the overseers" of the parish of Haslibury Bryan. But I beg also to say, on the authority of the printed instructions, page 417, "that it is the duty of the assistant commissioner to endeavour to ascertain the time at which the relief of the able-bodied originated in any parish; whether it is increasing, stationary, or diminishing, or has ceased; and the causes, and results of its origin, increase, continuance, diminution, or termination," &c.; and I therefore ask, whether Mr. Okeden can gain credit from any one for having acted up to these instructions in the case before us. Mr. Okeden must have known "the cause" which induced us to make "the new and more liberal scale" (as he terms it) of the year 1830, because he has indirectly stated it: but Mr. Okeden ought also to have known that having answered its temporary object, that amount of relief and allowance had been reduced: and I beg to ask in the most pointed manner, why this fact is suppressed by Mr. Okeden, and not even glanced at most remotely in his report to Lord Melbourne? If he had admitted us behind the scenes in the private room at Sturminster, or had examined persons who were willing or competent to give fair and impartial information, Mr. Okeden would have found that

whereas in the year 1831, "*soon after the riots*," we deemed the sum of 7s. 4d. for a man and his wife and one child of tender years, to be no more than sufficient, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, bread being at 8d. and 8½d per loaf; yet that in the year 1832, and down to this period also, we deemed and still deem the sum of 5s. 9d. to be sufficient for the same number of persons, bread being at 6d.; and that from the decrease in the price of other articles of consumption, &c., from increased exertions, on the part of landlord and tenant to find employment for paupers, and from the progress of the allotment system, which we have advocated to the utmost of our power; for these and for other reasons, we have universally reduced the amount of relief in all cases, and that so far from any ill effect being produced by this reduction, I find, not only that the labouring poor throughout the division (with the exception of the town and parish of Sturminster Newton) are perfectly contented, *but that even in the parish of Hasilbury, there is not on this very day a single able-bodied pauper out of employ*, and that the first month's payment for the year, on the part of the newly-appointed overseers, amounts to the trifling sum of 5l. 14s. for a population of 611 persons. Why Mr. Okeden, therefore, on the 25. December, 1832, did not endeavour to learn the amount of the expenditure for the three quarters of the parochial year then expired; why he did not fairly and candidly state the amount of the yearly decrease of that expenditure under our system of "magisterial interference;" and why Mr. Okeden did not assign the existing cause of the "new and more liberal scale" during the period of the riots; and why he did not fairly state the true and exact amount of its pressure on the parish of Hasilbury, especially the amount of that pressure produced by the orders of relief on the "ten able-bodied persons" (assuming them to have been such); and why he did not candidly state at the same time the cause and duration of these extraordinary orders for relief, and the effect produced by our system on the existing character of its inhabitants, (none of whom, and as I believe, in consequence of our protection and interference in extreme cases, have been committed for any crime, one man excepted, for stealing an hurdle from Mr. Walter,) as well as the gradual abandonment on our part, of this obnoxious part of our practice; and lastly, the gradual and complete employment of the whole labouring population of Hasilbury Bryan—these are questions which I feel it to be my duty to ask, leaving Mr. Okeden to assign, if he can, a reasonable cause for his overlooking them as he has done. But I beg also to state that not only by the magistrates of this county, I may say by the magistrates of this whole kingdom, is the doctrine of "magisterial interference," in favour of able-bodied labourers in extreme cases of distress, *and when adequate wages cannot be obtained for the support of themselves and their families*, both adopted and acted upon gene-

rally, I ask permission to show that by the legislature itself, and by the Court of King's Bench, when appealed to on this principle, it is the same doctrine of "magisterial interference," in behalf of the poor inhabitants of every parish, either *indirectly encouraged or positively sanctioned*. It cannot be denied that the legislature of this kingdom, through the medium of its peers and commoners, who are magistrates of the realm, is acquainted with the manner in which the poor-laws have been diverted from their original purpose, and is cognizant of the shifts and expedients to which the justices of England have been reduced, in order to make the antiquated and imperfect statutes of an earlier and very ancient period accommodate themselves to the existence and pressure of circumstances, of a modern and unlooked-for growth; and which the framers of the statute of Elizabeth, and the framers of the subsequent statutes down to the 3. William and Mary, chap. 11, and the 9. Geo. 1, chap. 7; did not and could not have contemplated. It is admitted by all who have spoken or written on this subject, that the present *departure* (for a departure there has been) from the original spirit and strict letter of the poor-laws *took place only about the period of the late war*. It is an evil, therefore, of modern growth: and it is an evil to which the attention of Parliament has been continually directed: and yet, although Whig and Tory Ministers have alternately presided over the helm of government, and although the members of both Houses of Parliament, *being at the justices themselves, and therefore aiding and abetting the very system complained of*—must have been acquainted with the existence of this practice, no one single statute has been passed with a view of putting down this evil, *of pulling an end to the practice of relieving, under certain circumstances, able-bodied paupers unable to find employment at adequate wages, or of declaring it illegal*! On the contrary I maintain and affirm that both the legislature of this country, and the Court of King's Bench, as evinced in the memorable case of the King versus Collet, where the question touching the legality of granting relief to able-bodied paupers *was evidently evaded by that court*; and what is more, the acquiescence of persons themselves, who feel themselves aggrieved, by refusing as they have done, (and as the overseers of Hasilbury did, on the 7. February, 1831,—though most distinctly told by myself and brother Justices, that we were ready to meet them in that court, in order to have the question settled both at once and for ever,) to enter the Court of King's Bench, with a view of bringing the legal consideration of this question before the final adjudication of the judges of the land; I affirm that all collectively have conspired to give a colour and a credit to the propriety of this practice, and have clothed the exercise of it with all the sanctity of long usage. It is perfectly true, that the Parliamentary committee on the poor-laws, just previous to the dissolution of the late Parliament,

resolved, that it was expedient, that the opinion of the judges should be taken on the following questions :

1. Does the 43. of Elizabeth, chap. 2, or any other law, authorise magistrates to order any relief to be given to poor persons who are able to work, or to afford them any assistance, except by procuring some employment for them where employment can be obtained ?

2. If it be satisfactorily proved that employment cannot be procured within a reasonable distance of the parish to which able-bodied poor belong, will the magistrates in such case be authorised to order relief ?

3. Whereable-bodied poor persons can maintain only a part of their family by the wages of their labour, are magistrates authorised to order any relief to be given to them for the maintenance of such of their children, not being able to work, as they cannot maintain ? And which the abrupt prorogation and subsequent dissolution of that Parliament alone prevented from being carried into effect. The very fact, however, of doubts being entertained upon this subject, by a parliamentary committee, sitting upon the question of the poor-laws; and the very fact of this branch of the legislature requiring the aid and advice of the judges of the land, in order to enable them to prove whether the granting relief to able-bodied men, under extreme circumstances of distress and non-employment, was legal or illegal, shows of itself, first, that the statute law on this subject is not as clear, at all events touching the "illegality" of the practice, as Mr. Okeden endeavoured to prevail upon the court of quarter sessions of this county to think was the case, on the 5. of April, 1830 : and that, therefore, till these doubts are cleared up, and till the opinion of the judges is delivered, those statutes ought to be interpreted in favour of the subject, and in favour of the poor, for whose advantage they were passed. As long, however, as the 36. G. 3, c. 23, and the 55. G. 3, c. 137, are in existence, declaring it to be "lawful for any justice or justices of the peace to direct and order collection and relief to be paid to any industrious poor person" or persons at his, her, or their home or homes, house or houses, under certain circumstances of temporary illness; and as long as the 59. G. 3, c. 12 and 15, which statute enables two justices, under certain circumstances, on complaint of the want of adequate relief by or on the behalf of any "poor inhabitant," (not of the "lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them being poor and not able to work," as recited in and limited by the statute of 43. Eliz. chap. 2.) but generally, on the behalf of any "poor inhabitant,"—I say, that as long as justices are empowered by this statute, as well "to make an order under their hands and seals for such relief as they in their just and proper discretion shall think necessary, reference being had by such justices to the character and conduct of the applicant," so long shall I for one consider that there has been a virtual

departure from the letter and spirit of the 43. Elizabeth, chap. 2.; and so long shall I consider that the statutes have been enlarged, with a view of meeting the exigencies of the present time, and the difficulties and distresses of the "poor inhabitants" of every parish within the counties of England.—I now proceed to address myself to the consideration of Mr. Okeden's concluding observations upon the parish of Haslibury Bryan, and which stand thus in his report : "Mr. Walter determined, in the year 1823, to put an end to the illegal system of roundsmen, or stramen, and be appealed to the Dorsetshire July quarter sessions against the rate made for that purpose." "I fear Mr. Walter's appeal in 1823, did not conciliate THE MAGISTRATES; and certain it is, that in some remarkable cases the Bench of the division have done all in their power to counteract Mr. Walter's efforts." Now I ask in the first place, who are "THE MAGISTRATES" who are, by implication, accused by Mr. Okeden of being actuated by a spirit of vindictive feeling towards the highly respectable rector of this parish ? In the year 1823, the parish of Haslibury was part and parcel of the division of Blandford, and it was therefore against the adjudication and allowance of the rate sanctioned by the honourable magistrates of the Blandford division, and not against any judicial acts of the justices of the Sturminster division, that Mr. Walter's appeal was made. To the honourable and most highly respected justices of the Blandford division, then, as to the persons who are made the objects of this uncharitable insinuation of Mr. Okeden's, I leave the task of replying to this most odious charge. I content myself with declaring that, in the year 1823, three out of the seven magistrates who now act for the Sturminster division, were not at that time in the commission of the peace;—at all events, that they did not at that period act as justices of this division; and that therefore they, presuming for a moment that they could be vile enough to be influenced by any personal feelings of any kind, in the discharge of their judicial functions, could not have been influenced by possibility in any matter or thing where Mr. Walter has been concerned. Nor do I believe that "the Bench" ever came in contact with or had any opportunity of "thwarting" the rector of Haslibury Bryan, except when, on two occasions, he attended the petty sessions for the purpose of promulgating doctrines of non-interference in cases of parochial relief, which the justices of the division did not deem it expedient to accede to—thinking that the control of the overseers, and the power of granting relief to paupers out of employ, ought not to be surrendered by them to any one, however respectable he might be in his individual capacity. As Mr. Okeden, however, has stated that "IN SOME REMARKABLE CASES," the bench of the division have done all in their power to counteract Mr. Walter's efforts, I here beg leave, not merely in my own name, but in the name of

the whole Bench, to demand from Mr. Okeden a distinct enumeration and explanation of these "REMARKABLE CASES," requiring at the same time the name of the individual on whose statements he has thus presumed to impugn our magisterial conduct. But what will be thought of the levity of manner, and the insufficiency of evidence, on which Mr. Okeden has presumed to attempt to affix a stigma on "the bench" at Sturminster, and on the purity of motives and conduct, which, I boldly affirm, have always characterized the judicial acts of the four remaining justices whose conduct in this matter remains to be accounted for; what will be thought of this attempt on the part of Mr. Okeden to impute to them something like vindictive feelings towards the Rev. Henry Walter, because that highly respectable gentleman, "in the year 1823, appealed to the Dorsetshire July quarter sessions against the rate made for the purpose" of paying these roundsmen and stonemen (even granted that this rate had been ministerially allowed by us, which did not happen to be the case). When I declare, as I do from authority, that so far from opposing Mr. Walter on that occasion, I, for one, and my honourable colleague, the Rev. John Bastard, for another, actually voted in favour of the principle contended for, and the appeal which was entered and prosecuted by Mr. Walter; and that of the remaining two most honourable men, who, with Mr. Bastard and myself at that time constituted "the bench" at Sturminster Newton, one was absent from the sessions; and that, with respect to the other, from the lapse of time which has taken place, it is difficult to ascertain whether he was present, or how he voted upon that occasion. But when I state that the name of that one colleague, of whose presence and vote these doubts are entertained; when I state that his name is HENRY SEYMOUR, Esq. of HANFORD HOUSE, I state enough to show that upon the name of an individual so truly good, so honourable, so upright, and exemplary as he is, it is out of the power of any man on earth to affix the shadow of an insinuation as to the purity of his principles, or the correctness of his conduct as a gentleman and as a magistrate. I will only add, that this unkind insinuation of Mr. Okeden's is the more extraordinary and unexpected, when it is considered that Mr. Okeden himself was continually in attendance upon that very court of quarter sessions, which, at the Easter sessions of 1830, placed the parish of Hasilbury under our jurisdiction for the first time from and after the 1. of September then ensuing; just seven years after the appeal of Mr. Walter in 1823. I now pause a moment, at this stage of my inquiry, for the purpose of asking whether Mr. Okeden's report, with the suppression of these facts previously recited by me, and with charges and insinuations on his part, against the justices of this division, every one of which I have proved to have been insufficiently alleged. I ask whether this report as far as the division over which we are presiding is concerned, can be

considered, as "a diligent and full inquiry" into the practical operation of the laws for "the relief of the poor," and an impartial, fair, open, and candid statement of facts, whereon his employers, the poor-law commissioners of England, can form correct opinions, touching the effects produced by those laws. I have proved already that Mr. Okeden has not correctly stated even the amount of the poor-rate expended by the overseers of Hasilbury: and that he has mistaken and assigned the expenditure of one year for another. I have proved that Mr. Okeden has quoted the gross sum standing at the foot of the account, for the year 1831, stating that sum to have been "expended on the poor" in that particular year, without deducting the extraordinary sums levied upon and paid out of the poor-rate, amounting to 48l. 19s., and without allowing for the sum of 16l. 17s. 4d. in hand, and therefore levied in, and belonging to a previous year,—making therefore, in his statement of expenditure for this one year, a mistake of no less than sixty-six pounds, sixteen shillings, and four pence, upon the sum of 413l. 10s. 2d. I have also proved that Mr. Okeden has quoted the highest amount of expenditure, perhaps, ever known in the parish of Hasilbury, brought about too, as that excessive increase of poor-rate was, by the operation of external and internal causes, with which we, as justices of the division had nothing to do—and for which, therefore, we ought not to have been blamed; and which circumstances, common diligence in the execution of his duty, as a commissioner paid out of the public purse, and common candour and justice towards the aforesaid magistrate, ought to have induced him to explain and notice, with the view, if no other motives intervened, of placing the population and expenditure of this parish in a true and just position relatively to each other. I have also proved, that within the three last years, in which the parish of Hasilbury has been under our magisterial control, there has been a yearly decrease of annual expenditure on the poor, amounting to 25 per cent. on the average of those years; and which, though eloquently explicit, when speaking of the parish of Cranbourne, touching the yearly decrease of parish rates brought about by the system of non-interference adopted by himself, Mr. Okeden has studiously omitted, and has not had the fairness or kindness to notice, when taking place in the division of those justices to whose administration of the poor-laws he chooses to be opposed. I have also proved that the insinuation which Mr. Okeden has uncharitably, and I must also say very illiberally made, touching the improper or apparently vindictive motives, which have influenced our decisions, so far as the highly respectable rector and the overseers of Hasilbury are concerned, are not only groundless and untrue, but that they are attributable, if attributable to any one, to the justices of a neighbouring division,—to the justices of Blandford, and to them alone, whose

allowance of the rate was appealed against, by Mr. Walter; and which justices, for a period of seven years after the determination of that question, alone interfered in, and controlled the affairs of the parish of Hasilbury!! Having proved thus much, and leaving the consideration of these facts to the candour and justice of the public, I now proceed to the further consideration of the final part of Mr. Okeden's report—so far as we, the said justices of the Sturminster division, are collectively affected by it.

STURMINSTER NEWTON PARISH.

Having thus disposed of the parish of Hasilbury Bryan, Mr. Okeden proceeds to make a sweeping and very comprehensive survey of the "*district of Sturminster Newton*;" meaning, I presume, the state and condition of the *division generally*; and which survey and summary is made in the following very remarkable sentence:—"I have already named in my report on Dorsetshire, the district of Sturminster Newton, as the worst REGULATED AS TO POOR CONCERNS, with the highest proportionate rates in the county: it is certain that in no district is there so much magisterial interference." Now the fair and only inference to be drawn from these words, is simply this; that the ill-regulation as to poor concerns, which pervades the whole division, is attributable to "magisterial in-

terference: and that the proportion of poor-rate in this division is higher than it is in any other division of the whole county; and that such higher proportion is principally, if not solely, attributable to the interference also, of us, the justices aforesaid! But I not only deny absolutely and positively this statement of Mr. Okeden, but I proceed to show by facts which cannot be contradicted, beginning with the parish of Sturminster Newton, and tracing the effects of our system throughout the twenty parishes which constitute this division, that Mr. Okeden has again accused and misrepresented us in a most unwarrantable manner.

First, then, to commence with the town and parish of Sturminster Newton; I beg to state that the return made to the justices of this division, on oath, in pursuance of the 55. Geo. III., chap. 51, both as to the extent and this parish is as follows:

	ACRES,	3,837.	£.	s.	d.
Annual value	5,755	10	0		
Average amount of tithes	1,000	0	0		
Stock in trade	88	1	8		

Total annual value £6,843 11 8

and that the population of the whole parish, according to the returns of the year 1831, amounts to 1,831 persons. The poor-rate from 1830 down to Ladyday, 1833, stands the value of precisely as follows:—

Year.	Gross Expenditure.	Extra Disbursements.	Net Expenditure on the Poor.	Increase.
1831 and 1832	£2161 14 11	£141 19 0	£2019 15 11	£415 14 3
1832 and 1833	2365 18 8½	111 10 3	2254 8 5½	650 6 9½

and the question is, whether, as assumed and stated by Mr. Okeden, this increase of poor-rate, in the parish of Sturminster, is attributable, either solely or principally, to "magisterial interference" or to other causes, distinct and reasonable, and beyond the control of those magistrates; and which causes of increase, duly considered, would lead to conclusions more just than those which Mr. Okeden has formed, so far as the conduct of the justices of this division is concerned on the one hand, and more correct, with a view of conveying to his Majesty's poor-law commissioners proper information touching the working of these laws upon the other. In order to arrive at this desirable end, I beg to state in the first place, that if the "scale," so prominently alluded to by Mr. Okeden, had been, or could have been, the cause of the increase of these poor-rates, in the town of Sturminster, that increase would have taken place long before the period of 1832, in which year the first increase of any consequence, viz., an increase of 415l. 14s. 3d. over the amount of the previous year, took place upon the net expenditure of poor-rate; that "scale" having been in operation for nearly, if not more than twenty years, without intermission; and which

increase, if Mr. Okeden had examined the "parish books," according to his instructions, (which I am informed by the overseers of Sturminster he declined or neglected to do,) he would have found not to have taken place, passing over a long series of years, till the aforesaid year of 1832. Before I proceed to inquire into the causes of this increase, I will state, once for all, that "THE SCALE" which has been acted upon in this division for so long a period of time, was brought into practice from a neighbouring division (Wincanton, in the county of Somerset) a great number of years ago, the Wincanton division being in the northern direction of the county, closely adjoining to our own: it having been, I presume, the object of the judges who so introduced it, to assimilate as much as they could well do, the rate of relief in this neighbourhood generally; and as a great deal has been said about the nature and effects produced by this "SCALE," I here beg leave to present the public with a copy of the same as originally introduced, leaving them to calculate whether any human being can exist upon a sum less than that which the said "scale," when in use, allowed for their support; and whether, in fact, they can honestly exist upon it at all.

SCALE IN THE WINCANTON DIVISION.

For regulating the Allowance of Parochial Relief to the Poor, according to the price of bread, where there are two or more messing together in one family.

When the Standard Wheaten Quatern Loaf is sold at...	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7
The weekly allowance to be made up, including earnings for a Labouring Man.....	5	1	10	4	7	4	4	13	10	3	7	3	4	11
For a Woman, or Boy, or Girl, above 14 years old	3	8	6	3	4	3	2	10	2	6	2	4	2	10
For a Child under 14	3	3	12	11	2	9	2	5	2	3	2	1	11	1

The earnings of a woman having three children under twelve years of age not to be taken into account.

In parishes where fuel is not supplied to the poor on moderate terms, the magistrates will make an additional allowance to the pauper.

Mr. Okeden, however, has stated, taking the particular parish of Hasilbury as a model, that the wages which are earned by a man, his wife, and three children, amount to 41l. 6s. per annum; and he has apparently made

this remark, with a view of showing that the justices of this division are not warranted under such circumstances, in making any grant to a family at all, *where wages so great can be received almost by asking for them.* But I beg to inform Mr. Okeden that he is in error, if he conceives, or being told as much, believes, that generally speaking, a labouring man with a wife and three children can earn anything like the wages here stated by him. I affirm, first, that in many parishes *no work can be got by a labouring man at all at certain seasons of the year*: secondly, if work can be got at seven shillings per week, that in *wet days and bad weather* they are allowed nothing by their employer, and are sent home, to my certain knowledge, without a farthing; in proof of which, I state as a fact, that in the parish of Sturminster Newton, during the hay harvest, and during last summer time, *no less than forty persons* were dismissed and sent home on one single morning, in consequence of a storm of rain rendering the hay unfit to be carried,—and that in the *winter months*, in *hard frosts and deep snow*, when labourers cannot work, if work could be provided for them, similar deductions must be made from this general assumed amount of 13s. 6d. per week; and yet Mr. Okeden, without sufficient inquiry into these facts, or the practice of the division, has eagerly caught at this gross amount of wages, and rated the same at 41l. 5s. per annum: *as if no abatement whatever was to be made, or ever was made, from the same!!* But I go further—I deny that a woman who has a husband and three children to wash and mend, and provide food for, *can earn the sum of 2s. 6d. per week by button-making*: and I really believe that the poor man's income is *reduced from 7l. to 10l. per annum higher than it really is*, taking one year with another. But I also declare that if, as assumed by Mr. Okeden, there could be earned and annually enjoyed by an able-bodied man, with a wife and three children, the sum of 13s. 6d. per week, or 41l. 5s. per annum, as stated by him, *in no case whatever should we, as justices of this division, order or allow them a single farthing by way of relief—our rate of allowance to the same number of persons, including house rent, bring only 10s. per week, which is 3s. 6d. per week less than the above sum stated by Mr. Okeden!* The aforesaid scale, however, was, as before stated, put an end to and destroyed "*immediately after the riots, in the year 1831*"; and a more liberal rate of allowance was adopted for the time being; varying according to circumstances,—departed from where necessary,—and abridged or extended, or withheld entirely, (as I shall presently show, in contradiction to Mr. Okeden,) *where the character of the party was undeserving.* But I repeat, that if the scale had been the cause,—and if "*magisterial interference*" had been the cause also, of the sudden increase of the poor-rates in Sturminster, it is remarkable indeed that such increase *did not take place during the twenty years that*

the scale had been at work, prior to 1832;—and during which time, to my own certain knowledge, the same amount of “magisterial interference” had been used without producing such increase. What then are the causes of this increase—and of the moral wretchedness and “ill-regulation” of the parish of Sturminster Newton, which, as a consequence, have succeeded? I state first, that there has been, within the last ten years, an increase of population within the town of Sturminster, amounting to TWO HUNDRED AND NINETEEN persons; and which number,—thrown upon a town already over-populated, without any, even the slightest increase of profitable labour, must have produced, as they have produced, an increase both of poverty and expense. Now I will assume that *one-third only* of these persons, (increased by this time to full 260 persons,) have been thrown upon the parish, which will amount to seventy-three persons; and which persons, at the common and ordinary rate of relief, or consumption, (call it what you will,) at 1s. 6d. per head, will thus cost the parish the sum of 277l. 8s. per annum: and which sum I produce as the first item by way of a set-off to, and as a means of accounting for, this sudden increase of 415l. 14s. 3d., merely adding that the extreme pressure of these children could not have been felt at once, or be reasonably expected to take place, till they had arrived at the period of 10 or 12 years of age. But I beg leave to say, that there has been also, a *sudden decrease of expenditure of capital as well*, within the town and parish of Sturminster, within the precise period of the two last years;—the very years in which this sudden increase has taken place in the poor-rates; which, of itself, connected with one more cause about to be assigned, and leaving the increase of population, with a decrease of profitable labour totally out of the question, would be sufficient to account for this sudden increase of poor-rate to the extent aforesaid. I state it as a fact, which Mr. Okeden might have learnt by common inquiry, that from 1825 to 1830, two benevolent and most excellent individuals residing within the parish continued to employ no less than 27 or 28 men belonging to the parish, at the rate of 10s. per week; and that their expenditure for that period, taken at the extreme amount, could not have been less than THREE HUNDRED PER ANNUM: and which sum, in the year 1830, was diverted into another channel, and withdrawn entirely from this particular object. Here, then, is the additional sum of 300l. per annum, to be made up by the overseers of this parish; for out of their department only can the deficit be made up, making up the sum of 577l. 8s. annual loss to the parish, and additional increase of the Sturminster poor-rate, without the slightest particle of “magisterial interference” on the part of the justices of this division; and when to this is added the fact, that from the depression and distress which have fallen upon the shopkeepers and farmers, there has been

a manifest and lamentable decrease of employment and demand for labour; (and which will be conceived to be the case when I state that if the *whole labouring population of the parish were employed and apportioned, it would require only one man to every seventy acres of land*); and that from one cause and another the surplus of able-bodied men have not been engaged by the merchants in the Newfoundland trade as they used to be formerly, the average per annum, who were sent out from Sturminster, till within these ten years, being six, and the same number engaged and sent out since that period, being only two, and occasionally three persons; thereby throwing the weight and pressure of thirty or forty men at the least upon the parish, on the average of ten years, together with the chance, I might also say the certainty of their contracting marriages, and burdening the parish with a family in the mean time: I say that when from these causes combined, we find that the non-employment of the labouring poor has arrived to the present pitch, we shall feel ourselves enabled on the one hand to account for the increase of poor-rate which has taken place at this particular crisis, without tracing it to “magisterial interference,” with which I now proceed to show that it has had nothing to do;—and to feel ourselves justified in expressing our astonishment on the other, that none of those causes should have been noticed by Mr. Okeden in that part of his report which has been “published by authority!” But there are other causes which will account for the aforesaid increase of the Sturminster poor-rate, and which in one sense will justify the declaration of Mr. Okeden that the parish of Sturminster has been an “ill-regulated parish.” About twelve months ago the late overseers, without consulting the justices, placed the able-bodied single men of the parish who were out of employ, on the following most insufficient allowance: *they told them that they should work at the gravel-pits till they could earn 3s. per week; and that from and after that period they might go where they pleased, for that they should neither be employed or paid by the overseer of that parish any longer!* This system, as might be supposed, it being A PENALTY ON CELIBACY AND A PREMIUM ON CRIME; led as it will continue to lead, to consequences the most fatal to the future prosperity of Sturminster. But I ask, even under these extreme and most lamentable circumstances of “ill-regulation” and improvidence, —not on the part of the justices, but of the overseers of the town of Sturminster, where was the “magisterial interference” so much complained of by Mr. Okeden? How many summonses were granted by them, at the suit of the unmarried, oppressed, and ill-paid paupers of the parish of Sturminster;—how many orders of relief were made by the busy and “interfering magistrates” of this mismanaged division? None! No one single summons was issued—no one single order of maintenance was made—and these cases, as

at Cranbourne, were allowed to "*rest on their own merits*," it having been the practice, and it being now the practice of myself and brother justices, *never to interfere if we consider that the party complaining has enough for a bare subsistence!*" But I state, as an additional fact, by way of showing the increase of the poor's expenditure in this parish, that the *very trifling sum* thus afforded to these single men, amounted to 150*l.* per annum. I beg also to state, as a proof of our forbearance and non-interference with parochial management, that, upon the 22. of this present month, thirty-nine of the *able-bodied paupers of this parish, came to my house in a body*, complaining of ill-usage on the part of the then newly-appointed overseers, and asking for my advice and assistance on the occasion. My first step was, to order every one of these men to return to their parish, leaving as representatives of each class of complainants two married and two single men to detail and to explain to me their grievances: and although, upon examining these four men I found, that without due notice, the new overseers had reduced the single men to the allowance of 2*s.* 6*d.* per week, instead of 3*s.* as previously allowed, requiring them to work, as they now work, *twelve hours per day for the whole week, for this miserable pittance*, yet so far from exercising any "magisterial interference" in the matter, I issued no summons—I made them no promise—merely saying that the justices of the division would hold a conference with the parish, taking at the same time the prosecution of driving into the town, and telling the whole number of fifty men, *who had all struck work*, and were assembled at the Crown Inn, that by *taking the law into their own hands, and by combining as they had done for an unlawful purpose*, viz. that of intimidating the overseers, and by *leaving their work*, which all of them had done on that day, they had forfeited our protection on those accounts, inasmuch as we had and ever should make in our decisions *Distinctions as to Character*, and I can state that up to this time—twenty-five days after the event above alluded to, no steps whatever have been taken either by myself or brother justices to coerce the overseers: although my own opinion most decidedly is—now that the men are again quietly at work, that the sum of 2*s.* 6*d.* to single men, should be increased to the sum of 3*s.* from which it was abridged, and the rather, as they are now compelled to work *six days instead of two, as heretofore, and that too at twelve hours per day for this wretchedly insufficient sum, and because no single man, without the advantage derived from numbers in a family, can subsist honestly for less than 3*s.* per week*. It will be expected also, whilst I am enumerating the causes which have led to this increase, that I should state the average number of men, able-bodied men which have been out of employ in the parish of Sturminster within the two years last past, and which I do, by stating, that *no less than forty men with their families* are in

the aforesaid most deplorable condition; and I then leave any one to wonder, if they can, at the increase and amount of the Sturminster parochial poor-rate expenditure, coupled as that non-employment has been with other causes, and connected as these causes have also been by the levying of fourteen special and extraordinary county rates, within this period, or nearly so, for the erection and completion of the Lunatic County Asylum, at Foreton, and which causes, collectively taken, will surely be more than sufficient to account for the increased expenditure of the year ending Ladyday, 1833, over that of 1830 and 1831; amounting in the gross to 650*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* increase upon a population of 1,831 persons, *under the peculiar and distressing circumstances above alluded to*.

I now proceed to notice the sole remaining charge of Mr. Okeden against the justices of this division, contained as that most serious accusation against us is in the following words of his report: "IN THIS DISTRICT INDEED the overseers know so well the inability of resistance, that to avoid trouble, expense, and reproof, they generally accede to the demands, and settle all claims, NOT BY CHARACTER OR MERIT, but by the rules of addition and subtraction." In replying to this charge, I do not content myself with making, as Mr. Okeden has unfortunately done more than once, *an allegation without evidence to support it, but I deny the charge both in the name of the overseers of the division, and in the name of the justices of this division as well*; and I proceed to show, by recent proofs, that our practice is quite contrary to that which is thus imputed to us by Mr. Okeden. I must state in the first place, that with the exception of Hasilbury Bryan, and Sturminster generally, and of Stalbridge and Iwerne Courtonay parishes very rarely and occasionally, (four parishes out of the number of twenty, as contained in our whole division,) we scarcely ever hear or see, or come in contact with the overseers of any one single parish, except in cases of removal, cases of bastardy, or when their accounts are made up and presented for allowance at the end of the parochial year. This is a fact which I state on authority which cannot be questioned, and therefore I affirm that if the overseers of these twenty parishes "accede to the demands and settle the claims" of the paupers who apply to them, "*not by character or merit, but by the rules of addition and subtraction*," I affirm that it is a practice which we have not sanctioned,—that it is one which we are ignorant of,—and what is more, that it is one which we do not believe to exist. As a proof, however, that when the overseers choose to take the trouble to lay complaints against the "*characters*" of paupers (which we are continually and incessantly obliged to do, and which they will not take the trouble to do, as we can prove, if necessary, on oath, both by our clerk and the admission of overseers of the several parishes as well), as a proof that

we have recourse to those powers of discrimination which as men and individuals we ought to exercise, and which as magistrates, in accordance with the spirit of 59. Geo. III. chap. 12, we are bounden to carry into effect in all cases that come before us; as a proof that "character and merit" do form the basis of our decisions, I most positively declare that in several instances which have lately come before us, even from the parish of Hasillbury, and also from the towns of Stalbridge and Sturminster Newton, and other parishes as well, we have *refused relief* to a certain number of applicants on account of their indifferent characters; and I also state that in the only four cases which have come before us with the past year, from the populous town of Stalbridge, we have, on the complaint of the overseers, committed one, and reprimanded three others, the overseers stating that the above example would answer the ends of justice, and the object they had in view.

In the town and parish of Sturminster also, where, from the state of mismanagement on the part of the late overseers, a fearful amount of crime is now taking place, and will continue to take place, if, as I hope will be the case, a better system of pauper management is not speedily introduced (the allotment system being now about to be tried, and the labour rate being about to be had recourse to at Michaelmas next, both of which, in the opinion of the assistant overseer, will reduce the poor-rate one-fourth for the time to come). As a proof that we have not been idle and remiss in our duty in this parish, I state as a fact, that we have not only *refused relief to undeserving characters*, but that we have done the utmost in our power to suppress every sort of crime, and that even within the year now last past we have dealt with the criminal, and idle, and disorderly, of the parish of Sturminster, as follows: and this too in many of the cases at the suit of the overseer:

Offence.	Committed.	Fined.	Bound over, &c.
For assaults.....	2	1	0
For drunkenness.....	0	1	0
Idle, and not working.....	4	0	0
Breaches of the Peace.....	1	0	2
Violations of the Lord's Day.....	0	8	0

Total punished by the justices of this division from *Sturminster only*—nineteen persons.

In my own parish, the parish of Stock Gaylard, I can also affirm that the only man who has applied for relief for the period of upwards of ten years, was *refused relief by the justices of this division on the plea of bad character* under the following circumstances. I have employed, for a series of years, nearly every man in the parish, able-bodied or otherwise, capable of doing work, and the pauper above alluded to amongst them. I had apprenticed his son, and placed out his two daughters at service, and had given him some fir poles to build up a shed with: not contented however with taking the trees which had been given him he cut sixteen others standing in one of my plantations, and for this act of dishonesty he was dismissed by myself, and refused, most properly, any parochial relief by the justices of the division: but which act of dishonesty, after a penance of one twelve months on the part of the offender, I have pardoned and overlooked: the man being restored to his usual work, and to a state of comparative affluence and comfort: but showing, in conjunction with the above cases, that a deficiency of "Character or Merit" meets with no countenance or encouragement from the justices of this division. Whilst upon this subject, I will also add, speaking of my own parish, that I have apportioned at moderate rent, from half-an-acre to three quarters of an acre of land to every labourer of this parish, and to a certain number of the adjoining parish of Lyddinch as well, in which a portion of my

property is situated; that every man has from one to two or more pigs; no one, with the exception aforesaid, having been before the bench either for relief, or for any act of dishonesty for the period of more than ten years, (I might perhaps say for double that period,) and that our poor-rate does not exceed the trifling sum of 1s. 6d. in the pound; and I have no doubt, that if Mr. Oheden had inquired generally throughout the parishes which surround it, as to the state and condition of the poor, and the effects of the present system of magisterial control—if he had made a fair and general inquiry throughout the whole division, "dwelling, (to quote again his "Instructions from the Central Board" from which he has so lamentably departed,) dwelling principally "on those facts from which some general inference may be drawn, AND WHICH FORM THE RULE RATHER THAN THE EXCEPTION,"—I have no doubt whatever, but that similar results would have been arrived at, tending to show the well-being of those parishes generally the good character of their inhabitants, and the discreet and cautious mode of conduct of the magistracy of the division under whose control they are placed. Instead of so doing, instead of adducing facts and arguments, "modern instances," and proofs in confirmation of his bold assertion, "THAT THE DISTRICT OF STURMINSTER NEWTON IS THE WORST REGULATED AS TO POOR CONCERNS, with the highest "proportionate rates in the county;" instead of conforming himself to the rules and directions of the poor-law commissioners, who tell him to dwell principally "on those facts from which

"some GENERAL INFERENCE may be drawn, and which FURNISH THE RULE rather than THE "EXCEPTION," Mr. Okeden has chosen to invert this generous maxim, and has fastened with avidity upon the single parish of Haslbury, WHICH FORMS THE EXCEPTION instead of the rule, even according to Mr Okeden's own statements, taking them as they stand; and then those illogically and unjustly arguing from particulars to universals, has ventured and endeavoured from a solitary instance of presumed parochial irregularity and mismanagement, (admitting it for mere argument to have been so,) to infer and to charge the justices of the division with a SYSTEM OF BAD MANAGEMENT, AND IRREGULARITY OF PRACTICE THROUGHOUT THEIR WHOLE DIVISION OR DISTRICT. But I ask, where are the proofs of this assumption and declaration on the part of Mr. Okeden? Where are the proofs on his part that our division is visited and afflicted *"with the highest proportionate rates in the county?"* Why has not Mr. Okeden produced a schedule of the whole division, with the poor's rate expenditure, and population and poundage of every parish, compared and contrasted with schedules from other divisions, "from whence some general inference might be drawn," and where the "general rule" of our practice, compared with the practice of other divisions, might be seen and fairly appreciated? *Why has not Mr. Okeden done this instead of selecting, as he has done, one single parish only, seemingly with a view of illustrating his own peculiar opinions (which have been repudiated by the justices of the whole county in quarter sessions assembled) and seemingly for the purpose of imputing to the justices of this division, motives of conduct and feelings of resentment and unkindness towards the rector of Haslbury, which they shrink from with abhorrence?* What Mr. Okeden has not done, I here beg leave to do for him: I present an Analysis of THE POOR LAW EXPENDITURE, THE POPULATION, AND THE AMOUNT OF POOR-RATE IN THE POUND, OF EVERY PARISH IN THE STURMINSTER DIVISION: I do so in justice to his Majesty's Poor-Law Commissioners, who have, as it would appear, been sadly misinformed by Mr. Okeden upon this subject; I do so in justice as well to the magistrates of this calumniated division; and I ask with confidence, whether Mr. Okeden can produce a more satisfactory analysis from any other division in the whole county of Dorset!

[Here was a Table proving the falsehood of OKEDEN's report; but it was not necessary to insert it here.]

Lastly, I must observe, though most reluctantly, that, taken as a whole, nothing can be more unfair or unsatisfactory, than Mr. Okeden's poor-law report, if general information and correct views of the "practical operation of the poor-laws" are to be deduced from its pages, and which will appear to be the case, from a cursory glance over the surface of the same. First, with regard to

Cranbourne: in this parish, Mr. Okeden states that "the average wages are 8s. and 9s. per week; that the population consists of 2,158 persons; and that there are 13,052 acres in the parish; that there is a pottery which employs 110 persons; that the woods afford very profitable piece-work labour, in fencing, burling, and sagoting, at each of which employments an able-bodied man may earn from 12s. to 14s. per week; that the labourer has another great advantage, he is allowed to cut turf for himself gratis, so that his fuel costs him nothing but the labour, and its vicinity to the heath does not require carriage home." Mr. Okeden also states that "ten acres of land have lately been given up to the poor," and further, that *"no distinction is made by individuals in the wages of single and married men:"* and then takes credit to himself, that such a parish within his own division is a prosperous and well-regulated condition, under such circumstances!! But let me ask any man, whether it is fair to contrast a parish, thus blessed with advantages of various kinds, as the parish of Cranbourne is beyond all doubt, with such a parish as Sturminster Newton for instance; the difference between the two parishes, being simply this: first, that in Cranbourne there are 2,158 persons apportioned to 13,052 acres, or one person only on an average to six acres of land, whilst in Sturminster Newton, there are 1,831 persons apportioned on 3,237 acres, there being little more than two acres only to each person; there are no woods where an able-bodied man can earn "8s. or 9s." much less "12s. and 14s. per week;" the poor man at Sturminster is not "allowed to cut turf for himself gratis," on the contrary he has to pay 1s. 4d. per cwt. for his coal: at Cranbourne, there is, in addition to the gardens which are attached to cottages "which border the heath," ten acres of land, apportioned to the poor by the lord of the manor: at Sturminster, the poor man gives on an average 5l. per annum for his house, without a garden, and there has been no land provided for the poor till this present time, that is from and after this present Ladyday: at Cranbourne there is a pottery employing 110 persons, at Sturminster there is no pottery, merely a brick-yard employing about four or five persons of the parish, and this in the spring and summer only; at Cranbourne, the able-bodied (all of whom appear to be employed) earn in ordinary cases 8s. and 9s., and in other cases the "very profitable wages of 12s. and 14s. per week:" at Sturminster there are generally fifty, *always forty men out of employ*, who are paid thus: single men, 2s. 6d. per week, for their week's work; married men and their wives, 4s. 6d. for the same all the year round: and yet with these differences, a contrast is attempted to be drawn by Mr. Okeden between the two parishes, as if they were in circumstances exactly parallel: and as if there was no more need of "magisterial interference."

in the one case than in the other! Mr. Okeden next illustrates the value of non-interference on the part of magistrates, by presenting us with a description of the highly moral and well-regulated condition of *his own parish*: the parish of *More Critchell*. But what is the state of that parish, as shown by Mr. Okeden? There are 1,860 acres in More Critchell, and a population of 304 persons; *being six acres and more to each inhabitant!* There are only "about twenty-five men and ten boys able for the field and barn work," according to the report; *it is therefore quite certain that these persons cannot be sufficient to do the work of the parish; and which I have heard from unquestionable authority to be the case.* Mr. Okeden boasts, as well he might, (for to him and to Mr. Sturt, the two sole proprietors, the greatest credit is due for the management of their parish,) that "*there are never any men out of employ,*" and then takes credit to himself that "*there is no scale nor make-up system.*" But Mr. Okeden ought to have assigned the reason, and that a very simple one, viz. that in such a parish, with the advantages of high wages, full employ, a deficient population when compared with the extent of acres requiring cultivation, where "every cottage has a large garden," and where "potato land is let to the labourers by the farmer at the usual rate;" where "*for any extra job, application for labour is made to the neighbouring parishes;*" "*where no increase of cottages is allowed above the requisite habitations required for the sufficiency of the labourers of the parish;*" in short, where every thing is done by the praiseworthy and most excellent proprietors above named, to KEEP UP THE MORAL EXCELLENCE OF THE PEOPLE, AND TO KEEP DOWN THE PRESSURE AND INCREASE OF THE POPULATION, AND OF THE POOR-LAWS. Mr. Okeden ought to have stated that in a parish so regulated, the application of the "scale and make-up system" does not take place, *simply because it is not wanted; and according to the nature of things cannot take place by possibility!* But to produce such a parish as an illustration of the "*practical operation*" of the poor-law system, under ordinary circumstances, or as a parish fit and proper to be compared to Sturminster Newton, with its forty able-bodied men out of employ all the year round; or to compare such a parish with the town of Stalbridge, in our division, where the pauper population is situated very nearly in the same unfortunate condition, or even with the parish of Hasillbury Bryan, or the generality of parishes in our division, where there are NO RESIDENT LANDLORDS, is not only unfair and impracticable, but in the way of argument, absolutely ridiculous. Again, as to the comparative superiority of the state and condition of the towns and parishes of Poole and Bridport, in favour of the existence of which Mr. Okeden has given his opinion in the concluding portion of his report, and as to whether "*the poor of boroughs*" "*where little or no magisterial interference*

"takes place, being superior in moral character and appearance to the majority of country parishes," and which opinion Mr. Okeden has illustrated and confirmed by adding the instances of Poole and Bridport, in this county, I can only say, that when it is considered that Poole and Bridport are seaport towns, where trade is known to flourish to a very great extent, and where there are outlets of various kinds and descriptions for the surplus population of each town and parish, the well-doing and want of distress amongst the lower orders of such towns and parishes will easily be accounted for, and as readily believed: but if Mr. Okeden means to affirm, that there is a lesser amount of crime amongst the lower orders of the several towns within this county, than in the "*majority of parishes*" within it, and even within our own division of Sturminster Newton, I beg leave respectfully to deny that statement; affirming, as I do, that there are at least ten or twelve parishes out of the twenty constituting this very division, where a pauper is never known to be brought to the petty sessions for the commission of the smallest offence, least of all to the quarter sessions, or to the assizes: and lastly, that I for one, though I entertain and profess the highest respect for them, will never allow that in any one department of their office, are the duties which devolve upon them more discreetly or correctly executed by the justices of boroughs than by the justices of counties, by those of the county of Dorset pre-eminently above all others.

I cannot conclude these observations without expressing my deep regret at finding myself opposed on such a subject and in such a manner to a gentleman so generally respected as Mr. Okeden: but, in defence of our character as justices, and in defence of a system of legal practice, on the judicious continuation of which I for one believe that the security and existence of the very frame-work of society depend; I say that silence on my part would have been guilty acquiescence, and a tacit approbation of charges and of doctrines which I repudiate from my very heart, I beg most distinctly to declare, however, that I believe these errors and misapprehensions of Mr. Okeden's to be perfectly unintentional and inadvertent on his part; and that Mr. Okeden was not aware, in framing this report, that he was doing otherwise than what he thought he had a right to do, reasoning from certain facts and premises before him, *such as they were*. But Mr. Okeden must be informed that we could not and ought not to be indifferent to a series of severe censures proceeding from a gentleman clothed with the authority of an assistant-commissioner, and that to affirm that one division in a whole county is the "*worst regulated as to poor concerns,*" and that in a particular parish the justices of the same division "*have done all in their power to counteract and thwart*" the rector of that parish, merely because he appealed to a certain rate; with which, it is true

out, they had nothing to do—is beyond all doubt to impugn the magisterial agency of those justices in the most sweeping and wholesale manner, and at the same time to assail the purity of their motives and the uprightness of their conduct as gentlemen. I will also take the liberty of adding that if his Majesty's Poor-law Commissioners misled or misinformed by Mr. Okeden, should be induced to bring in and to pass a law, whereby the able-bodied labourers of this kingdom shall be deprived, under the pressure of occasional distress and non-employment, of that salutary relief which the present poor-laws afford them, I am convinced that they will drive into a servile war the starving millions who will be goaded by hunger, by oppression, and by the lamentation of their children crying for bread, to the extremity of resistance, and that the rebellion in arms, of men and multitudes fighting for existence, will be chargeable upon their heads. Mr. Okeden, when sitting on a memorable occasion by our side, once heard a clergyman of a certain town within our division declare, upon oath to us, at Sturminster Newton, that the dogs in his kennel were better fed and lodged than the paupers of that town; and I would ask Mr. Okeden, I would ask him as a Christian, in the language of scripture, "Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth 'his brother bath need, and shutteth up his 'bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" And I would ask him, as a gentleman of kindness and consideration, how such a system of cruelty, neglect, and wretchedness, such as we all know to exist in many parishes in England, is to be amended, and is to be put down, but by the occasional exercise of "magisterial interference?"

I will only add, that although I have had reason to lament, to be grieved, and to be surprised at the charges which have emanated from misguided, ill-informed, or disaffected persons, against the conduct and character of the magistracy of this kingdom, I could not have been brought to believe, if my own eyes had not been my witnesses, that any reflections upon the justices of this county would have been made by any one (by a magistrate of that county above all others) without the most substantial and unquestionable evidence to support and to uphold them. Least of all did I think, that as a return for the unremitting and anxious and laborious exertions, in discharge of my magisterial duties, covering the period too of twenty years, during which time scarcely a single order or decision of mine or of my honourable and most highly respectable colleagues, has been called in question, much less reversed by appeal or otherwise. I repeat it, and I do so with emotions of regret deeper and more poignant than I can really give utterance to, that I did not expect to have "lived and seen this day," when, as a return for those exertions, I and my brother justices should have been presented by Mr. Okeden with the unsparing

measure of his censure and condemnation, grounded upon testimonies and proofs which we hold to be insufficient, applied against us as they have also been, without an opportunity having been afforded us either of defence or explanation. We have, however, made our appeal to our country, to his Majesty's poor-law commissioners, and to the CANDOUR OF MR. OKEDEN, feeling assured, satisfied, and convinced that the GOLDEN SCALES OF JUSTICE WILL STRIKE THE BALANCE IN OUR BEHALF.

Stock-house, Dorset, 13. May, 1833.

P. S. I feel it right to add, that I have submitted this statement of facts as a DEFENCE ON THE PART OF THE JUSTICES OF THE STURMINSTER DIVISION IN THIS COUNTY, to the whole six magistrates with whom I have the honour to act in this division; who have not disapproved of any thing therein contained. And that if any error should be proved to exist, I shall promptly and humbly endeavour to amend, and to express my regret at the existence of the same.

PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE. INCOME.

	For one Year to 6. Jan. 1833.		
	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.			
Spirits.—Foreign.....	1,857,717	14	7
Rum	1,580,300	3	9
British	5,163,178	16	08
Malt	4,825,120	0	10
Beer	6,892	9	11
Hops	294,325	17	7
Wine	1,715,809	14	6
Sugar and Molasses	4,648,990	5	7
Tea	3,509,834	13	7
Coffee.....	598,438	5	11
Tobacco and Snuff	3,006,588	13	3
	27,200,876	15	64
Butter	194,293	16	5
Cheese	69,049	2	8
Currants and Raisins	465,144	4	2
Corn	307,988	2	3
Cotton Wool and Sheep's imported	728,718	2	10
Silks	194,523	16	2
Printed Goods.....	3,375	4	104
Hides and Skins.....	43,190	1	5
Paper	758,761	17	5
Soap	1,187,550	10	74
Candles and Tallow	236,503	17	1
Coals, Sea borne	54,420	1	10
Glass	575,580	15	24
Bricks, Tiles, and Slates ..	325,256	18	24
Timber	1,238,289	8	8
Auctions	227,235	14	64
Excise	897,358	7	5
Miscellaneous Duties of Customs and Excise ..	1,689,265	5	6
	9,130,605	7	4
Total Customs and Excise	36,411,482	2	104

Peas, White.....	32s. to 34s.
Boilers.....	38s. to 44s.
Grey.....	33s. to 35s.
Beans, Small.....	—s. to —s.
Tick.....	31s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato.....	22s. to 24s.
Feed.....	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack.....	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new....	—s. to 110s.
Mess, new	—s. to 60s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
Carlou	—s. to —s.
Cork	—s. to 78s.
Limerick	—s. to 79s.
Waterford.....	76s. to 78s.
Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 1.

This day's supply of Beasts and Porkers was limited; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, moderately good. Trade was, in the whole, somewhat brisk. With Beef and Veal at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fifths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Scots, interspersed with a few Norfolk home-breds and short-horns; one fifth of about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh rants, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Herefordshire, Sussex, and Irish Beasts. The Scots and home-breds, chiefly from Norfolk and Suffolk, the short-horns in about equal numbers from Norfolk and Lincolnshire, with a few of these, the Devons, Herefords, Welsh rants, &c., from Leicestershire, and our western and midland districts, Kent and Sussex; as also a few Town's-and Cows, Irish beasts, &c., fattened in the neighbourhood of London.

At least three-fifths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of one of the former to three of the latter; about a fifth South Downs; about a tenth old Leicesters; and the remaining tenth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks and Kentish half-breeds, with a few old Lincolns, Kents, horned Norfolks, Somersets, and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. About a moiety of the Lambs appeared to be new Leicesters, principally of the South Down crosses; and the remainder about equal numbers of Downs and Dorsets, with a few Kentish half-breeds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 5.

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VOL. 81.—No. 2.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 13TH, 1833.

[Price, 1s. 2d.]



TO MR. BROTHERS, OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Bolt-court, 8. July, 1833.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received, through the hands of Mr. THOMAS SMITH, of LIVERPOOL, a Philadelphia newspaper called the *Inquirer*, containing an account of the proceedings at a meeting of Englishmen, held in that city on the 25th March last, to celebrate the return of Mr. FIELDEN and myself for the borough of OLDHAM; and your speech upon that occasion, together with the address that the meeting agreed to, I am going to insert in this *Register*. I do it with great delight, because it will show to all this kingdom, and to the people of OLDHAM themselves, that sensible and virtuous deeds are not like the candle put under a bushel; but that they spread their rays abroad, inspire others with virtuous feelings; and, at the same time, bring their just reward. I thank you and the rest of my countrymen assembled upon that occasion for the address of thanks which you have sent to the people of OLDHAM; and I thank you most sincerely for your doings and your sayings with regard to me. I will not pretend that the praises contained in your speech are more than my due. I will affect nothing. I am pleased with what I read in that speech, because it is true; for, no one can deny that I have lived a life of labour such as few men in this world ever lived before; that I have never laboured for my own advancement, either in rank or in

wealth; that I saw the poorer part of my countrymen oppressed; and that, as soon as I had discovered the cause, I set myself to work, and devoted every faculty I possessed in order to remove the oppression. So that, great as your praise is, it is really not beyond my due; though I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude to you, and the delight which I feel that a number of my own countrymen should have met for such a purpose, in a place so distant from the spot where I am.

By way of repayment for this act of kindness towards me, I will give you, as well as I am able, an account of the state of public matters here. It is a great undertaking, when the matters are so various, when they take such an extensive range; and when, to do justice to the subject, we must cast our eyes backward and forward, as well as direct them to the time in which we are; but all Englishmen, to whatever part of the world they may be tossed, still have their hearts at "*home*," as they always call their country, and, in this, are distinguished from the people of every other nation, except the Americans themselves; as England is still dear to you all, I will endeavour, in the course of this letter, to give you a true picture of its present situation, and I will also give you my opinion with regard to the course of those events which I expect to be coming.

You remember, that I started from *Long Island* the moment I found that PEARL'S BILL was passed; and Mr. HULME will remember how frequently I told him, that parliamentary reform, or a complete republican revolution, must come out of that bill. You, who appear to have done me the honour to read all my writings, have traced the events along through the Small-note Bill of 1822, the panic of 1825, the fires of 1830; you, who have had your eye upon all these things, must have perceived, that the incident of *Catholic Emancipation* was, in effect, produced by this

famous bill of PEEL; and you must also have been satisfied, that the *Parliamentary Reform Bill* was solely an effect of the same cause; but, though you have seen this in the gross, you have not seen it in the separate items; and it shall be my business now, to explain to you how it was that the *Reform Bill* was produced by PEEL's BILL.

PEEL's BILL (which I shall by-and-by show can now never be carried into full effect) more than doubled the value of money. Corn, taking all the sorts together, are, at this moment, just half the price that they were at, at the time when that bill was passed. Of course, the taxes were doubled, the rents on leases were doubled, bonds, and all other contracts for time, were doubled; but, the wages of labour were lowered, even beneath the proportion; because the working man must eat, every day, and because the employer can wait till he has reduced the working-man to his terms. In 1819, the year's taxes amounted to about 58 or 57 millions; they now amount to about 51, exclusive of expense of collection, amounting to about four millions, and fines and law expenses and surcharges, arising out of them, which I dare say amount to another three or four millions. However, the difference in amount lies between 57 and 51; but, observe, this 51 millions is equal in value, estimated according to the price of the products of labour, to 140 millions of the money of 1819. This is the view that you are to take of the matter; and hence all the efforts in 1822, 1826, and up to the present moment, to lower the value of money, without absolutely blowing up the system. All these efforts have, however, been unavailing. The debt swallowing up about thirty millions; the army, the navy, the dead weight, the civil list, swallowing up the rest, are FIXED CHARGES, demanding, not a certain portion of wheat, meat, cloth, linen, and cotton, but demanding a certain number of pounds sterling, which pounds sterling must keep up pretty nearly their full value, so long as you can turn Bank paper into gold in every town in the kingdom.

It was impossible that this collection of taxes could go on without producing intolerable misery amongst the working people. As they fell upon the rich, the rich naturally shifted them from their shoulders to those of the poor. They, in fact, sent the tax-gatherer to take the increased amount from the bellies and backs of the working people. Hence the starvations in Ireland; hence the indescribable misery and suffering of the weavers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the manufacturers of Birmingham and Wolverhampton; and hence the enormous suffering of the agricultural labourers of England; and hence the FIRES; and hence the *Parliamentary Reform Bill*.

This is a curious progress; but, unless you mark it well, you will by no means form a true idea of the present state of things, and of the events which are likely to ensue. Pray mark, then, that the "*Reform*," as the Whigs delight to call it, came out of the fires; I should not wonder if the Whigs were, therefore, to deem it "pure gold," according (pious men!) to the language of Scripture. That it did literally come out of the fires, no one but a fool must have failed to have perceived; while no one but a hypocrite will endeavour to disguise the fact. For years and years, before the fires took place, I warned the farmers and the Government against the tremendous danger. Some, at least, of more than three hundred farmers, whom I met at Salisbury, will recollect my warning given in the year 1826. To the Duke of WELLINGTON I gave the same warning in 1828. At last the evil came, and when it came, the most execrable and perfidious means were resorted to, to make it a pretext for the destroying of me, who had given the warning. But now I pray you to mark the progress of this great and signal event. The fall in the price of the produce of the earth disabled the farmer from paying the landlord so much as he used to pay. The Corn Bill was resorted to: a poor scheme; for, the wheat fell to five shillings a bushel in the year 1823, though there had not been a handful of corn imported

for three years; and, now, taking all the sorts of corn together, corn is half the price of 1819, in spite of the "protection" of the Corn Bill! The farmer, pressed by the mortgaged-up landlord, and having no resource of any other kind, pressed the labourers; aye, and to such a degree, that the magistrates of Hampshire, one of whom was Sir THOMAS BARING, issued a sort of decree, that a single able labouring man should be compelled to work all the year through, harvest and all, for *three shillings and sixpence a week*, without eating, drinking, lodging, washing, or fuel! And, in order to prevent the labourers from making up the deficiency by the means of the poor-rates, STURGES BOURNE's bills were passed, in order to take the business of relief out of the hands of the rate-payers in general, to put that business into the hands of the rich exclusively, and to enable those rich to bring a HIRE^d overseer to obey the commands of those rich in the managing of the poor.

Judge, you, of the heart-burnings arising from these causes, which were accompanied by the assistance of a new game-law, authorising the justices of the peace in the counties to *transport men for seven years*, if found in the pursuit of game in the night-time. Thus the thing went on until about the middle of the year 1830. The sturdy part of the labourers made up by killing and selling game, by taking away poultry, sheep, little pigs, and all sorts of things that came within their reach; made up, by these means, for the want of wages; but a large part of the married men, and of the more feeble amongst the country labourers, had no such resource; and, in spite of STURGES BOURNE's bills, the poor-rates went on increasing; and, taking the difference of the value of money into view, had become nearly double in amount since the year 1819. Such was the state of things at the beginning of the harvest of 1830. Men were drawing gravel-carts; degraded in all sorts of ways; some of the most feeble reduced to live upon potatoes only; and evidence, given before the House of Commons, as well as before

courts of justice, proved, that many of them carried cold potatoes in their bags to eat in the fields, even at harvest. It was come to this simple point: whether a change would take place, or the once happy labourers of England should be reduced to be the vilest slaves upon earth. The former took place: a *change* was made: and now, my friend, I beg you, and all our countrymen in America, to attend to me, while I describe the *causes* and the *effects* of this change. For, here is the kernel of the whole matter; here is the centre upon which every thing has turned. Mr. HOLMES, and other friends, in LONG ISLAND and at NEW YORK, will recollect how often I used to tell them, that no change would ever take place, unless it were begun amongst the hedgers and the ditchers and the ploughmen and the thrashers; how often I have told them, that people are not formidable when assembled together in great towns. They will recollect this, now; so contrary was it to all their opinions, and so *turnoverably* do they know it to have been fixed in my mind. What, then, was it not the meetings and petitions of the great towns that produced the parliamentary reform? Was it not the political councils and unions, and the meetings on NEW HALL HILL and PETERSFIELD and HUNSER-MOOR, and TOWN-MOOR, that turned out WELLINGTON, brought in GREY, and made the Reform Bill? To these questions I answer NO, as loud as I can write it. These meetings did good, and "*great good too*;" and the persons who took the lead in them, are entitled to your admiration and gratitude. They did good, particularly by the speeches which they brought forth, and by the promulgation of those speeches; and by the able and sensible resolutions and petitions which they sent forward. But, the great and efficient cause was, the movements of the chopsticks. I had had my eye upon all the movements of the great bodies. I had, in the two preceding years, been about lecturing in person over the far greater part of England: I had seen the cause of reform fast gaining ground; but, it was not until the month of Oc-

tober, 1830, when the chopsticks had set about the work, that I really expected it to come in any reasonable time. Every event must have a beginning; and the greatest events have frequently had their beginnings in trifling causes. This event had its beginning in the following circumstances. The Isle of THANET, which, you know, is in the eastern part of KENT, and which is the finest spot for growing corn of all sorts, that I believe is to be found in the whole world; this Isle of THANET is also an extraordinarily early spot. Into it, therefore, flock harvest-men, young and sturdy men, from other parts of the county. The harvest was fine, as well in regard to crop as to weather. Numerous Irish labourers arrived in the island (which is made an island only by what an American would call a gutter, going out of one part of the THAMES and falling into the sea at the DOWNS) about a week after the harvest had begun. The English labourers, who lodged and boarded at different houses in the island, and who lived on meat and bread, were receiving nine shillings an acre for cutting the wheat. The Irish undertook to do it for three or four shillings, together with a certain allowance of potatoes, and a lodging in the barns. The farmers wanted to reduce the English labourers to this standard, and some of them refused to give work on any other terms. The remedy that suggested itself to the meat-and-bread men was simply that of driving the Irish out of the island. On a certain morning, in August, just at peep of day, and with their "bats," as they call them, that is to say, sticks about four feet long, and, at the butt-end, as big round as your wrist, they divided themselves into detachments, and went to the several barns, roused all the Irish, collected them together, and marched them to a little bridge that goes over the little stream, on the road leading to CANTERBURY, and there, without any act of violence, dismissed them; sent them over the bridge, the "wide world before them and Providence their

guide," with a threat of an application of the "bats," if they ever set their feet in the island again.

This affair being settled, the harvesters returned to the farmers, and finished the harvest at the former prices. The harvest being over, *thrashing* very soon began; and the men, upon calculation, found that they were thrown out of work by the *thrashing-machines*, which they heard rattling away in the barns. They proceeded in groups to the big farmers' houses, and demanded that the machines should cease, and that the *flail* should be restored. It is curious, that SWIFT should have observed, I think, in the "TALE OF A TUN," for I recollect, that I read it somewhere before I was fifteen years old, when the use of the implement was so very familiar to me; it is curious, that he should have observed, in speaking of some argument, that it was "*like a flail, against which there was no defence*." These Kentish men insisted upon the restoration of the use of this implement of husbandry. The farmers not giving way to this hereditary claim, and rejecting all idea of abandoning the "waust improvements of the age, ma'w'm," being full-blooded *Doctrinaires* in this respect, the men proceeded, in a very summary way, to restore this "ancient institution of the country;" that is to say, to get sledge-hammers, with which they went from barn to barn, and knocked the machines to pieces, taking for their signal for the onset the word "SWING," of genuine Saxon origin, and used, in this case, for the following reason. The flail consists of a staff, about three feet and a half or four feet long, at the end of which there is what they call a cap, to which is fastened another staff about two feet and a half long, being a piece of crab-wood generally, that being both heavy and tough. This latter staff *swings round* by the means of the cap; and is, therefore, called the "*swing*" in some counties, and the "*swingel*" in other counties. The whole of the implement consisting, therefore, of a hand-staff, a cap, and a *swing*. Hence the use of this word, the sound of which has stricken terror into the hearts of hun-

dreds of most hard-hearted and detestable tyrants.

The farmers, *generally speaking*, soon gave way. Their own safety; the tranquillity of their families; and, let us hope, a sense of justice towards their poorer neighbours, induced them to abandon the machines; some dragged the machines out into the fields, and left them there; others saw them knocked to pieces without attempting to inflict vengeance; but some had recourse to the **CALLING IN OF TROOPS**. It was not till after this was done, that a single fire took place. To destroy the machine by the sledge-hammer became too perilous, and, when guarded by troops, became impossible. Then began the fires, which, after spreading westward along the county of Kent, soon stretched through Sussex, and thence through Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Berkshire, and all the most fertile corn-growing counties. The labourers met in fifties, in hundreds, in two or three hundreds, and demanded a rise of wages, a lowering of rents, and a lowering of tithes; in many instances, the small farmers, if they did not actually join them, wished them success. In very many cases, they compelled the parson to sign a paper, or to make a promise, that he would take a less amount in tithes. The magistrates met in some places, and recommended the leaving off of the use of thrashing-machines. And everywhere a rise of wages took place. A **SPECIAL COMMISSION**, sent into the west and south-west, transported about four hundred men, and left a fearful number for execution. Petitions from the great towns, and from the great parishes in London (towns and parishes never to be sufficiently praised), saved the lives of the greater part; but, after all, hundreds of husbandless wives, and, perhaps, a thousand fatherless children, and thousands of disconsolate parents, brothers and sisters, are still alive in England to remember that **SPECIAL COMMISSION**, sent forth by the Whig Ministry in 1830.

This mass of punishment did not, however, destroy the effects of these

risings of the labourers, who, during their progress, gave signal marks of their feelings with regard to the hired overseers. There had been some men hanged, and hundreds transported; but *the wages had been raised*; and it has been impossible to get them down again in proportion to the price of provisions. The labourers are better off than they were; they do receive more than they did; in the shape of wages, relief, or some way or other, they get a much larger share than they did; and, notwithstanding the dreadful doings of the law, in 1830, they carry a bolder front than they did. The trials; the publications making observations on the trials; the endless discussions, in all shapes and sizes, relative to the poor-laws; and, I may say, my **PROTESTANT REFORMATION** and the **POOR MAN'S FRIEND**, made these **SWING** men, these thrashers, hedgers, ditchers, ploughmen, mowers, and reapers, understand all about the *origin of tithes*. All about their share of those tithes originally; all about the origin of the *poor-law*; in short, all about *their own rights*. So that the thing is wholly changed with regard to them.

And, now look at their numbers. Why, it is, in fact, all the people, except about three or four millions. Consider, then, what it is to add seven or eight pounds a year per man, to the wages of millions of men. Suppose it to be only four pounds; and you will find, taking in the wages of women and boys, that here is quite a sufficient cause for the penury that now reigns amongst landlords and parsons and all who are immediately dependent upon them. You will find no difficulty to account for the distress and beggary that are creeping over the West-end of London, and over **BATH, BRIGHTON, CHELTENHAM**, and all the places of fashionable resort; you will see a reason for there being a hundred shops shut up in **FLEET-STREET** and the **STRAND**. The short view of the matter is this: as long as these millions of labourers, including all the working people in the country) could be made to live upon potatoes, so long luxury could, might

these fashionable places; but, when the working people obtained something like their share of bread and of meat, this luxury could be supported no longer. And, when the Kentish men, in the late of TRAMPT raised their white banner, having written on it, "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES," the fate of this system was decided as completely as the sway of King JOHN was decided when the Barons raised that banner on which they inscribed, "WE WILL NOT SUFFER THE LAWS OF ENGLAND TO BE CHANGED;" the very reverse of that motto, by-the-by, which seems to have been taken by these at once silly and mischievous Whigs, who are working day and night, not to change the system and bring things back to their former state, by the correction of abuses and removal of innovations; but who are working to prevent the correction of abuses, to prevent the putting down of modern mischievous innovations, while they are as busy as flies in a grocer's window at PHILADELPHIA, in the month of July, endeavouring to root out the ancient and most sacred laws of the kingdom.

Now, mark, while the change which I have above described has been going on, the money has been getting of higher and higher value. Monstrous suffering amongst the manufacturers and artisans in great towns, especially, amongst such as are employed in the making of articles of luxury. Jewellers, watchmakers, bracelet-makers, bell-pull-makers, carvers and gilders, engravers and painters, polished-steel-workers, people employed in making iron-fences and the like; fine furniture makers; in short, all those who are employed in making things not of real solid use and necessity. For frying-pans, porridge-pots, brass-kettles, iron candlesticks, strong knives and forks, there is a greater demand than ever, and particularly for that domestic implement, called the GRINDSTONE, which is a great favourite with me, as carrying, in its very existence, certain proof, that there is meat of some sort at hand. Amongst other sufferers from this change are the makers of high-priced

fowling-places. I may spare myself, upon this subject, the trouble of saying anything but what you will find in the following facts: a gun-maker in London, who used to have about *three hundred* orders for guns at the approach of the shooting season, has this year received *three* orders, leaving out the two noughts at the right hand! The master-gunmakers of LONDON and of BRIMMINGHAM, taking this for a sign of the disinclination of the country gentlemen to shoot so much as usual, and, apparently, taking pity upon the poor souls, have generously come forward and petitioned the House of Commons *to make the law more severe against poachers*, though, observe, there can be nothing more severe, except they hang poachers, seeing that the 'squires themselves, from their Quarter Sessions, can transport them already! Aye, and the House very graciously received this petition from these disinterested and moral and merciful gun-makers. It was a libel upon the gun-makers of BRIMMINGHAM, I hope, when they used to be accused of having a form of prayer for everlasting war; but even that would not have been so savage as this petition of these gun-makers, to the "*higher orders*."

This *game-affair*, trifling as it seems, will furnish you with an excellent criterion whereby to judge of the state of the land-owners. They have so altered the game-laws, as to enable them to sell their game; and, the markets and poulterers' shops in London make as great a show of hares, pheasants, and partridges, as of fowls and of ducks. Thus has come down the pride of the English aristocracy! The lords, baronets, and 'squires, are now the poultry breeders for the Jews, the jobbers, the paper-money-makers, and all the swarms that live upon the times! Game being saleable, and reason, telling every man that there can be no property in wild animals; this maxim being written, not only in BACON'S MORGAN, but in every man's heart, there is more of what is called "poaching" than ever; because the grand difficulty is removed, namely, the obstruction to the sale.

I need say little more to enable you

to judge of the state in which the country is. It is clearly seen, that, unless the working people can be brought back to potatoes, something else must give way. Now, then, mark, there has been a "POOR-LAW COMMISSION," as it is called, appointed, consisting of two bishops, and five *feelosofers*, one of whom is STURGES BOURNE. These commissioners were to inquire into the state of the poor in England and Wales; and to point out remedies in the administration of the poor-laws. The commission, sitting in London, has sent its deputy-roving commissioners all about into the counties. The commissioners have not made any report; but they have caused the reports of these roving commissioners to be published, *by way of feeler*. I send you a little pamphlet, written by my son JOHN, on this subject. It is called, "THE RIGHTS OF THE POOR." You will see from that pamphlet, that the great object in view is, to reduce the amount of the poor-rates very greatly; and, by degrees, to introduce the *Malthusian* plan, which BROUGHAM, in 1819, said, "that he was prepared to defend to its utmost extent." You will see, from the last *Register*, and from the pamphlet above-mentioned, how false this feeler is. That is nothing, however, compared with the object which the *feelosofers* have in view.

The obstacle to this "vast improvement" is, as the rovers state, the "INTIMIDATION" which prevails in the country; that is to say, that the gentlemen and farmers would adopt the *Malthusian* system, only they are afraid of the labourers; afraid of their resentment; afraid of their vengeance; afraid of their firing of their ricks and their barns and their fields; afraid of the poisoning of their cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, and poultry. The word "intimidation," as thus applied, means all this; and I hope, and believe, that it means an atrocious falsehood; for, though there are some hard-hearted landowners and persons, and more hard-hearted farmers, I believe, that, take all the classes together, nine out of every

ten men of them, are now convinced, that the lot of the working man is still too hard; and that justice, as well as sound policy; that justice as well as their own interest dictate to them to conciliate the working people by better treatment, and not to suffer the breach to become wider than it is.

The *feelosofers*, for reasons presently to be stated, take quite another view of the matter; they are for *fighting* this "intimidation," and, therefore, they ascribe this giving of relief to the poor; this better treatment of them; this conciliating disposition in the gentlemen, the clergy, and the farmers; they ascribe these solely to the *fears* of the parties; and thus deprive those parties, as far as they are able, of every particle of the praise which is their due on this account. Ah! but they have a motive for this; for, having laid it down as indubitable truth, that the more comfortable living obtained by the labourers has been obtained only by the means of "intimidation," they proceed to suggest the means of *putting an end to the "intimidation."* And what are those means? Now you will stamp and clench your fist! Now you will wish you had them by the collar! Why, the means are, to introduce and establish what they call A RURAL POLICE! That is to say, to sweep away the tithing men, petty-constables, high-constables, headboroughs, the sheriff and his posse; and to have a half-military police and a *gendarmerie* throughout all the villages of England and Wales; thus to make England just what France was under the old black-guard Bourbon government!

But, these fellows were a little too fast. They let out, that the present sort of the justices of the peace *would not do to have the command of this "rural police;"* and that, therefore, they must be supplanted by *hired magistrates*, appointed by the Government, and stationed all over the country, uniting in their persons, justice of the peace and commandant of police! This was proceeding with less cunning than is habitual with the *feelosofers*; the squires and the persons have taken the

alarm; and well they might; for, in a very short time, their stables would have held none but the police commandants' horses; and they themselves would have had nothing to do but provide the horses' masters with victuals, drink, and beds. If they really had been noodled along into a submission to an adoption of this scheme, there would have been only one means of their deliverance. No power on earth could have prevented them from becoming the most degraded slaves that the world ever saw; no power on earth, but the arms and the "*bats*" of the labourers, who, as long as oak-saplings and ground-ash continued to grow up out of the ground, never would have suffered that ground to be disgraced by being prowled over by a Bourbon police.

This at once stupid and malignant suggestion of these rovers, will produce nothing but ridicule and contempt; but it shows you to what a pass we must have come, when such damnable suggestions could find their way into print, be sent forth under the authority of a royal commission, with two bishops at its head, aye, and even be laid before Parliament. You will want nothing more than this to convince you of the magnitude of the difficulties in which we are involved. You must perceive from this mere fact; from the mere fact of such a thing having been laid before Parliament: you must perceive, that a *revolution* is, in fact, going on; but, if you look at the wild schemes for changing the ancient laws; if you look at the projects about the church; about the East and West Indies; and particularly when, at the end of fourteen years of *PEEL'S BILL, A LEGAL TENDER OF PAPER-MONEY* is PROPOSED; when you look at these things, you can want nothing further to show you the extent of the troubles of your country; nothing further to awaken your recollections connected with it; nothing beyond this, to add to your anxiety for the restoration of its safety and its happiness.

In conclusion, I beg of you, as a great favour, to cause this letter to be republished in America, and to be circulated

in such a way as every Englishman there may read it, or hear of it, first or last. I desire you, as occasion may serve, to remember me very kindly to Mr. HULME, Mr. HAYWARD, Mr. NORTH, Mr. DOBSON, to the PAULS in Lower Dublin county, to the TOWNSHENDS in that county, and to all Englishmen that have formerly known me, and that I have called friend, not by any means forgetting Mr. RONALDSON, who has recently sent me a book, containing a history of the evils produced by your accursed paper-money. Once more I thank you for your just praise bestowed upon the people of Oldham, to be associated with whom, in your commendation, is the greatest honour that can possibly be conferred upon

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

HERE follows an account of the proceedings of this meeting, so honourable to me, and, apparently, so pleasant to the parties themselves. First, we have the resolutions that were passed at the meeting, and next, the ADDRESS to the people of OLDHAM; and, last of all, the speech of Mr. BROTHERS. Some people would *sham* modesty while they inserted this speech. I do not. I do not think, that even this speech is a great deal more than my due. At any rate, I copy it from an American paper, and I like it the better for its having (as I am sure it has) stung the soul of every villain of a usurer, or a would-be tyrant, in the United States. The press, in that country, as in this, is almost wholly in the hands of the *usurers*, who threaten even that country with slavery. These ruffians hate me from the very bottom of their souls. The whole of my writings are *republished at New York* all my books of every description. So that the villains know all about my proceedings. They have always very much hated me: the newspapers and the whole of the periodical press, if not the whole of the book press, is under the absolute control of the *MONEY-MEN*

STER; aye, and to an extent that is hardly credible. I shall next week publish a book upon the subject, which will show those who knew America forty years ago, that even that government is in danger of destruction from the monster of paper-money. I shall dedicate this book to the SPEAKER of the House of Commons, who has heard more nonsense, and seen more mischief done, in this way, than any man that ever breathed, and who is not yet got above half-way into the consequences. It is very curious, that somehow or other, every scoundrel, who desires to live in idleness upon the labour of other people, is sure to *smell me out*. No matter what country he may belong to, or in what country he may be: my writings are, more or less, everywhere; and the lazy, cheating vagabonds find out that I am their enemy. These vagabonds are a RACE; and some of them are found in all countries, like rats. And a French rat hates an English cat as much as the nasty devouring devil of a French rat hates a French cat. I am the universal cat, and those devils of all nations hate me. One great pretext of the devourers is, that they are "*literary men*," as they call themselves in England, and "*hommes de lettres*," as they are called in France. Putting them all together, I give them POPE's appellation: "*The race that write*." This race pretend, upon the mere ground of their being able to scrawl words upon paper, and to induce some wretched printer out of work, to put their stuff into letter-press, and on sheets of paper: upon this mere pretence, this race pretend that they are "*gentlemen*," and the name of gentleman they interpret to mean, one who has a right to stuff his maw, to cover his back, and to stretch his lazy limbs, with the aid and assistance of the best food, drink, clothing, and bedding, that are to be found in the country; no matter at whose cost: no matter who toils, who sweats, or who starves, on account of their being thus kept and entertained. This race regard every man of real industry, as having been created for the

express purpose of causing them to live in idleness and luxury. It was curious to observe, during the "*ROYAL WAR*," that the tradesmen in London; that the apothecaries; that all persons really engaged in pursuits of industry, whether high or low in those pursuits, felt the deepest concern for the labourers, whose miserable condition was then first made known generally to the town; it was curious to observe, that all these expressed their pleasure at the prospect of the labourers being made better off, while they deplored the acts which they had been driven to commit: it was curious to observe, that all this description of persons pleaded for mercy for them; while the race that write called them "*villains*," "*monsters*," "*incendiaries*," "*assassins*," and called for their blood as eagerly as the thirsting pilgrim calls for water from the brook. Ah! stupid as the vagabonds are, imbecile as are their minds, they had the sagacity to perceive, that what the chopsticks ate and drank, they could not have to eat and drink; and so the thing has turned out; for, they are now beginning to look for a red-herring, where they formerly found roast meat, and all the good fare of the world. I have heard of a fellow that calls himself a lawyer, who was to have been one of BROUGHAM's local-court-judges, who, talking with another person about the state of the labourers, and having expressed his agreement with the roving commissioner, MAJENDIE, that they "*lived too high*," and having been told by the other, that they could not live upon less, answered, "*Damn them, they shall live upon less!*" I dare say that the fellow was hungry at the time, and conceited that he smelled the bacon and cabbage coming out of the country pots. Go to work, you idle vagabond; go to work; make shoes, or make something that is useful; or else I say, "*Damn you, you shall starve!*" This is the contest which is going on. The labourers have the laws of God and of man on their side. The Old Testament says, "*Muzzle not the ox as he treadeth out the corn*." The New Testament says, "*He that will not work, neither shall he eat*." The laws of England

all who have read his works; and those who have not read them, of course know nothing about it. Who, that read his "*Advice to Young Men*," will not say that it is the best advice ever given to youth: and that, if followed, will lead to domestic happiness, instead of misery and wretchedness, consequent on following such teachers as Brougham, Malthus, and the Scotch tribe of "feelosophers." In his "English," and in his "American Gardeners," he has shown us how to make the best use of our gardens; and in his "*Woodlands*," we learn how to plant trees, and to do every thing belonging to the delightful task of raising them. Then, how should we have got at "*Tull's Husbandry*," had it not been for William Cobbett? He hunted it out, and discerned its worth, republished it, and thus furnished us with the best instructions as to the cultivation of the earth; which, when those who toil shall be allowed to enjoy, will be a blessing of the first magnitude to our poor countrymen. His "*Treatise on the Corn Plant*" is another valuable work, and, in spite of all that the hirelings can say against it, he will make that plant the common growth of his country before he has done with it; and we, who live in America, know what a blessing he will in that case have conferred on the poor man. In fact, his whole soul seems to have been devoted to the cause of the poor. See in his "*Rural Rider*," with what minuteness he has examined every particular, as to the sufferings of the labourers employed in agriculture; as to the cause of the great changes that have taken place, especially within these last thirty or forty years, operating entirely against them; how well he has made himself, and by his description made us, acquainted with the facts relating to their sufferings. Indeed, he appears to be the only man that understands their grievances; and, finally, to him must be committed the task of redressing those grievances. His manner of instruction is such as no other man ever possessed, and such as even his very enemies are charmed with; excepting that he will mix every thing up with politics. "What a pity it is," say the bishops, the pensioners, the infernal stock-jobbers, and all the host of public robbers; "what a pity it is," say they, "that the useful works of this man cannot be divested of politics!" Mr. Cobbett has given us a taste for rural pursuits; and these pursuits, in my view of the matter, are, "and of right ought to be paramount to all others." I was born and brought up in a farming village, and I know something of them; and, though it has been my lot for years to live in towns and cities, yet, how oft have I "cast a longing lingering look behind," and, when reading the beautiful works of Mr. Cobbett, been tempted to curse the hour in which I left a country life. He has not only instructed us how to obtain the fruits of the earth, but he has given us "*Cottage Economy*," in which we learn how to use them to the best advantage. He has there taught the pretty girls the art of making

what is called Leghorn plat, and thereby enabled them to earn their bread while sitting at the cottage door with their cheeks as red as roses, surrounded by honey-suckles, jessamine, and sweetbrier, instead of being placed in a noisy factory, in a heat of eighty-four degrees, and sucking in cotton flax till they can hardly make a wheeze of it. The works that I have already named, are sufficient to immortalize their author; but those works, valuable as they are, would have availed nothing, had they not been supported by others. There is a swarm of locusts in England; and no sooner has the industrious husbandman obtained a bountiful supply of the fruits of the earth, than these locusts devour it all up. To prevent which Mr. Cobbett gave us his "Poor Man's Friend," a book that shows us in what situation the poor stand with regard to those locusts, who, having the power of speech, give it out that they have a right to the whole of the country; and that if the poor are not content to toil for them, "that they will clear the land," and "force the poor to the law of nature." But this little book tells us, that the law has "provided ample means of relief for the poor, and that all the lands, houses, goods, and cattle" in the country are secured for their maintenance; and, further, it hints that, if the poor must be driven to the law of nature, that the said law shall be the order of the day as well with respect to the Malthusians as to the poor, and, in that case, it may be presumed, that the poor will have no objection to surrender up their right in the social compact, and, without delay, enter on the new order of things. Mr. Cobbett determined that we should not want for information as to the ancient rights of the poor, and as to the manner in which those rights have been frittered away; determined, in spite of all the time-serving histories of England that have been written, that we should know well all about these things; he, for that purpose, has kindly put into our hands his "History of the Protestant Reformation," being a true history of that event, and therefore, a thing that we never had before. This book details to us things that no man on earth would believe, if there were not chapter and verse for them; it clearly shows us, that that change ought to have been called the "accursed Usurpation," instead of the "blessed Reformation;" that, up to that time, there had been no paupers, as the poor man is now degradingly and impudently called; that, until then there had been but one Christian religion in that country, and that the people had lived happily under it for nine hundred years; that its object was pure charity; and that the tithes were given expressly for that purpose. The priest being the guardian and protector of those who could not help themselves, and that he might have no other business or care upon them, he was not allowed to marry. Very different, indeed, since the "blessed change!" Now they do little else but marry,

and present the country with swarms of misses and young parsons; to keep whom all the tithes together have been found insufficient, and they have actually taken the money from the public treasury to the amount of hundreds of thousands of pounds for their further comfort and enjoyment: for these "blessings," it appears, we are indebted to Henry the Eighth, as bloody minded a villain as ever sat upon a throne. He was, however, in the early part of his life, the "Defender of the Faith;" but, when "the faith" would not admit of his indulging in his lustful propensities, and killing one wife after another at his pleasure, he left off "defending the faith;" took forcible possession of the faith's property; divided it among a few others as base as himself, who stood ready to support the very devil for emolument and preferment. Well might old Cramer, as Mr. C. says, hold out his unworthy hand; but his hand was not more unworthy than the hands of all the rest concerned in that nefarious transaction. Gentlemen, it is from this source that we Protestants and Dissenters got our religion; and I declare, when I think of it, being a Protestant, I feel as if every drop of blood in my body were ascending towards my face. The effect of these things we have all of us felt most severely; but we should never have known the true cause of them, had it not been for a Cobbett, who was sent into this wicked world (as I believe) for the express purpose of rectifying, as far as possible, all these abuses. He has, in all manner of ways, been the great teacher of the nation. His "English" and "French Grammars" are allowed by all judges to be the best that have ever been printed. They are written in such a plain and familiar style, that with a little attention to them, we may become tolerably proficient in making the right use of words; without which we should not be able, as he says, "to assert with effect the rights and liberties of our country." "Tyrrants," says he; "have no enemies so formidable as the pen;" and what a beautiful illustration he has given us of that fact, in the case of William Prynne. "The long imprisonment," says he, "the heavy fined, the banished William Prynne, returning to liberty, borne by the people from Southampton to London, over a road strewn with flowers, then accusing, bringing to trial, and to the block the tyrants from whose hands he, and his country, had unjustly and cruelly suffered." Then, to stimulate us to do our duty, Mr. Cobbett calls on us to bear in mind, that, without a knowledge of grammar, Mr. Prynne could never have performed any of those acts by which his name has been thus preserved, and which have caused his memory to be held in honour. In the same manner, gentlemen, the memory of William Cobbett be held, until there is not a soul left in Great Britain that is capable of judging between right and wrong. The bare enumeration of Mr. Cobbett's works is enough to fatigue an ordinary mind. I must not, how-

ever, forget to notice the *Register*, because that has been the principal weapon that he has made use of in his long campaign of thirty years against the desperate faction of Whigs and Tories. I will not say factions: no; they are and ever have been one faction; and how the people could ever be made to think otherwise, is now a matter of surprise to all the world. Paine described them long ago. "The national purse," says he, "is the common hack which each mounts upon. It is like what the country people call 'ride and tie.'—you ride a little way, and then I." Who ever heard of a Whig doing any thing more than a Tory, except it was in the way of oppression? What a folly, then, to give them credit for passing the Reform Bill, and to withhold the same from the Tories for having passed the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Neither of these things would ever have been done, had they not been frightened, and forced into it; and this I would venture to stake my life upon. But let us take for a sample of the Whigs, that old shuffling Burdett. When I was a boy, fourteen years of age, and was at Brentford, in 1802, gaping, with my mouth wide open, at this fellow, while he was bleating about "standing upon a rock, from which he could not be removed by any hired magistrates, hired parliaments, or kings." When I heard him say that he would much rather that his children should be poor in a free country, than rich in an enslaved one, and that his country should be annihilated rather than enslaved; and when I heard the swarms of cockneys crying out, "Go it, my dear Franky," little did I think then that I should hear of his taking by the arm one of the rappest Tories in all England, and (like Lafayette by his citizen king) hold him up to the Parliament as a model of purity and excellence, declaring, at the same time, that "no other man in that House could be a just competitor with that honourable gentleman to fill the important office of Speaker of the reformed House." But, as he once said, none of us know what we shall turn into. "Perhaps" said he, "I may turn into an oyster;" and, verily, he does appear to be dwindling into something of that sort; whether he will finally become an oyster or a snail I cannot tell; but I think there is every reason to believe that he will soon be one of them. Let us call to mind how he has been raving all the former part of his life about "tearing the leaves out of the accursed red book." He never expected, at that time, that the book was in danger. No; he thought it would be impossible to soil a single page of it, and that his honourable friend and colleague, little Hobhouse, and Juliana his wife, would keep peaceable possession of their pensions to the end of their lives; but, he has lately discovered that the "red book" is actually beset with imminent danger, and no man in that country is more alarmed at the fact, than is this "Westminster's pride and England's glory,"—a title, by-the-by, that would have become ex-

fract even in his own life-time, but for the *Register*. The people who gave it to him, now detest him worse than they ever did Castlereagh. They would not hear him at his last election, and they pelted him with all manner of filth that came in their way; but finding that they could not, at that time, shake him off, they put the pledges to him and he refused to take them, remarking that "none but fools asked for pledges, and none but knaves gave them." Gentlemen, you will not be surprised when I tell you, that he was made heartily to repent of this piece of impudence before the election was over. He attempted to explain it all away, after the fashion of the honourable House; but, the people of Westminster know him, and his race is run. If there should be one among us that does not know him also, that one may wonder how it happened that the "knaave" was again returned. To him I say, the reasons are these: first, because there is not, even under the new order of things, one man in a hundred in that city, that has a vote; and second, because those who have votes, for want of the ballot are obliged to use them as the placemen and pensioners think proper to direct; but, it will not be long before these matters will be put right, and then "Glory" and his man "Sancho" will have no more chance of success there, than I should have here, if I were to offer myself for President of these United States. I know of no man that is capable of describing this fellow but Mr. Cobbett, who tells us that "he was going the other day through Egham, and," says he, "I saw before I came to them a great crowd of idle fellows assembled round a cart loaded with earth or dung, I forget which, and apparently in great embarrassment, on account of the unwillingness of the old, tall, bare-ribbed, broken-down chaise-horse which they had got in the shafts. Coming up to them, I stopped and joined the spectators, who were numerous enough to have carried the contents of the cart, each taking a gallon in his hand. The old fellow jostled about, shook his harness, turned his head from side to side, as if looking for the means of escape, and, when bidden to go on, tossed up his head, clung his ears down to his poll, and patted about with his feet as if dancing a hornpipe, anything but apply his shoulders to the tug." "There," said I to my companions, "there is Burdett in a reformed Parliament." After sitting some time and viewing the scene, I said to the anxious multitude, "Put the cart in motion yourselves, push it up against him, and let him find it coming." They followed my advice, some got to the wheels, others shoved behind, and, as soon as the old boy found it coming, off he set, prancing, and tearing, just as he used to do in the rattle-trap post-chaise, and the fellows took good care not to let him stop until they had got the load safe into the meadow. If they had stopped only for one minute, and he had felt that the thing was not coming, he would have pitched up again, and danced another horn-

pipe. So that I very well know the way," says Mr. Cobbett, "to get Burdett into a gallop, and how to keep him there. Some of the rest of us must sustain the dead pull, during which he will be afflicted with the gout, or be detained in the country by a heavy fall of snow; but when we get the thing a-going, in he will come, and prance away, threatening to tear the harness all to pieces." Such gentlemen, will be the case with all the Whigs, as well as with "Glory." The "nine Radicals," backed by the people, will have to push it up against them, and go they must, or the cart will be over them, and crush them to atoms. There appears to be a pretty large majority of what are called "reformers" in Parliament, who, expressed or understood, are pledged men. But this pledging is nothing new; they always promised, in their electioneering speeches, to support every liberal measure that should be brought forth; but they took special care never to have one brought forth, until the sovereign people exclaimed, "This much have we endured; but no more! and here shall your insolence be stayed!" The affairs of the country have hourly been getting worse and worse for these last forty years, and yet these fellows, when they have been obliged to face their constituents, have boasted of their services, and, like the "old chaise-horse," called themselves tried men. Now, however, they will be tried indeed. Mr. Cobbett's fourteen propositions will try them, and woe be to the man who is found guilty of having promised to support those propositions, or any part of them, and lacketh his exertions when the hour cometh; for he may be assured that "the man at the top of the tower" will not suffer one particle of such conduct to go unobserved by the people. The "Antullucks" pretend to be pleased at Cobbett having got into the House. "Now," say they, "he will find his level." If the Speaker happens to salute him with the "ungloved hand," he will at once be metamorphosed into a "Hunt." Ah! you silly noodles, but don't you know that, in this case, the matter is reversed, and that the gloved hand, the ungloved hand, and all the trumpery that has been made use of to deceive the people for so many years, contract like the sensitive plant at the approach of this man? don't you know that hundreds of thousands of pounds have been expended to keep him out of that House; and that if money would have bought him, he would have been bought. That to destroy him, persecution after persecution has been heaped upon him. That the lying panders of the vile press in all parts of the world have been paid to put him down. That at times, as he says, they have got him down, trampled him in the gutter, and thought he was done with; but, says he, "I have got up again, shook myself, and have felt fresher than ever;" and do these simpletons think that a man of this stamp, that the author of the *Register* can be intimidated by anything that can be done, or left undone,

by a den of guttling Whigs and Tories, a sample of whom is the "old chaise-horse?" No, indeed; on the contrary, he will soon lead the whole of them, or drive them on. By-the-by, I observe in his "maiden speech," as it is termed, that he has already trampled over the "Old Hack." "The honourable Member for Westminster behind me," says he. Gentlemen, I confess that I am rather superstitious, and I cannot help thinking, that that word "behind," used too, on their very first meeting, augurs well for the people, and ill for the faction. Well would it have been for the guttlers and for their country too, if in 1819 they had had the author of the *Register* in their House, instead of their "John Kemble," as they call him. Something might then have been done to save them, as well as their country; but the player-man settled the question, by bringing in his "Peel's Bill," a bill, which I hardly know how to speak of, whether to say that it was the greatest curse, or the greatest blessing that ever happened to England, but I am sure it was one; and I am rather inclined to think it was the latter, because, if it had never existed, our friend Cobbett might have been tempted to patch the "thing;" but this bill has rent it in such a manner that patching is out of the question, and a new one must some how or other be obtained. May God direct them in choosing a good one, because, as the ladies say when they buy a new gown, "A good one is always the *cheapest* in the end, cost what it will to begin with." Gentlemen, a few days ago I received a letter from a friend of mine in England, and he tells me that the froward conduct of the southern states of this country has acted as a damper on the spirits of the wavering reformers in England, and that the nobles are handling the affair to great advantage. "See," say they, "the whole union is going to pieces! This is republicanism. Ah! this is the effect of general suffrage and vote by ballot!" "I," says my friend, "have been an advocate for the ballot, but since I have heard of the confusion that your country is said to be in, I must confess that I begin to be doubtful of its utility." Now, gentlemen, how much is it to be regretted that such erroneous doctrine as this should, at this time, be spread among our old countrymen; when the fact is, that if there had still been a proof wanting to show the excellence and stability of this Government, the affair just alluded to furnishes us with that proof. We will not attempt to deny, that in this, as well as in every other inhabited country, there are men who would, if they could, usurp and encroach upon the rights and liberties of their country; but here, the people no sooner discover any injustice towards them, than they rise like freemen, and say in the language of their excellent president, "We ask for nothing but what is strictly right, and we will submit to nothing that is wrong." Their representatives assemble, bear their complaints, admit the grievances,

if there are any, grant redress, and then separate in harmony, and in good fellowship; such, as I venture to say, will never be known in England, until there is *universal suffrage*, and, of all things, *vote by ballot*. The people of England, scourged as they have been, have not been allowed to petition or remonstrate unless in language such as the borough-mongers themselves deemed respectful, as if it were not a mockery to suppose that petitioners could possibly have respect for such a putrid mass as that. Gentlemen, it is to the writings of Mr. Cobbett that I owe the little knowledge that I possess; and if I comprehend the meaning of the word gratitude, then gratitude it is that I at this moment feel in my heart towards the author of these works. His "*Year's Residence in America*," and his "*Emigrant's Guide to the United States of America*," have saved hundreds of families from wretchedness and misery. He has there shown what a folly it is for men, born and brought up in a garden, to go a "nation-making." To emigrate to America, and to settle down among the natives of a cultivated district, who have always shown themselves ready, with open arms, to receive us, is well enough; but, good God! what a picture have we, in the family of Birkbeck, of the wildness and stupidity of going to

"Matted woods where birds begin to sing,
And silent bats in drowsy clusters cling."

Mr. Birkbeck, unfortunately for himself and family, conceived the extravagant scheme of peopling a desert, and rashly embarked his property into it; then, finding that he was beset by immediate ruin, if he could not draw others into the same snare, he resorted to writing and publishing letters of temptation to his countrymen, the effect of which letters were so nobly destroyed by Mr. Cobbett's answers to them, which are to be found in the said "*Year's Residence*." The next work that I shall notice, Liverpool, Castlereagh, Eldon, Sidmouth and Company, had the high and lasting honour of conferring a title upon, to wit, "*Twopenny Trash*." They took the example from Columbus, who, on his first landing on this continent, was presented by the natives with a variety of things, and among the rest was some gold dust, which the crafty Spaniard threw away with contempt. By this stratagem he thought to make the Indians think it was "trash," and that they would pay no more attention to it. But the people of England would not believe that Mr. Cobbett had put forth "trash," so they set to work to sift it, when lo and behold! they found the principal part of it was (to borrow a couple of words from T. Attwood, Esq.) "*refined gold*." But what shall we say of "*Paper against Gold*." Nothing, gentlemen. That book is above all praise. Those who have not read it, and are wondering what it can be that preys so grievously upon the vitals of their country, ought, without delay, to send

this book, and they will no longer wonder. The "vail will be rent," as Paine said, "never to be repaired." There they will see the cursed effects of paper-money, of stock, of consols, annuities, long annuities, short annuities, and all the tricks made use of to "falsify the balances by deceit, and to buy the needy for a pair of shoes." Now to the "History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth." Such a history as no man ever heard of before, nor, would he have heard of it now, but for Mr. Cobbett. We who have lived in this regency and reign, know that every word of it is true; but, can it be credited by a future generation? This history ought to be printed on parchment, with the attestation of its truth from every man who knows it, then deposited in Somerset House for the use of the public. Without something of this kind, we can hardly expect that the next generation will believe that Englishmen were, during that time, put into harness, hooked to carts, and made to draw gravel under the lash of a hired overseer. Peel says that this history ought not to have been written till a future time, "it is too nigh," he says, "to do it justice." O Peeley! Peeley! I wonder when it will be the right time to write your history. To be sure it is pretty well done now, but it is in detached pieces. I want it put together, and made a nice little book of, so that I might carry it in my pocket, and at my leisure, mark, learn, and inwardly digest it. But Mr. Cobbett is too busy at present, and it is "to nigh" for any other man "to do it justice," so what will be done in this case, I cannot say; but, I know that without it, we cannot, with propriety, say that "The play is over, and that we will go to supper." As to the "Sermons," we must be modest about them, or we shall have the parsons about us; but, I think that we shall not be called to account if we merely say, that, at least, they have done as much good as all the rest of the sermons that have been published since the "blessed change." If the Right Rev. Gentlemen are at all candid, they will readily allow that, even the pious Joshua Watson (the wine and spirit merchant of Mincing-lane, and treasurer for the Society of correct expounders of evangelical truths, and firm supporters of the established church), even Joshua himself would, I think, if he was hard pushed, admit that these sermons have done good, and "great good too," towards making men think aright on religious subjects, and taking this for granted, we will leave the "Sermons" to work their own way. Gentlemen, before I conclude, I beg to call your attention to the propriety of our sending address to the sensible and independent electors of Oldham, who, regardless of the frowns of an impudent and ignorant aristocracy, have so nobly done their duty. Mr. Cobbett was called the Fourth Estate when outside of St. Stephen's, and what will he be called now that the men of Oldham have put him inside? He will not be long, I hope, before he will unyoke the gravel-drawers, and let the men out of the

pounds. In a neighbouring village to that in which I was born the hired overseer used to drive the labourers every morning into the pounds there to remain till night, unless in the intermediate time they might be wanted: in which case the overseer directed them where to go, and when to return; and if that is not slavery, pray tell me what is slavery? Yet do we ever hear of the Wilberforce tribe troubling themselves in these matters? No! they are emancipators for the foreign department only, while the duties of the home department devolve on Mr. Cobbett alone. Not a single person ever speaks, acts, or appears to feel for the poor agricultural labourers. They may be reduced to skin and bone, they may die for want, and their dead bodies may be sold and cut to pieces, and who speaketh in their behalf but this man?

SONG.

In what a sad state is the great British nation,
Where freedom once flourish'd, the pride of
the earth;
Where, press'd to the ground by infernal
taxation,
Her sons are now fleeing the land of their
birth.
There the ploughmen in rags, with cold
"taters" in bags,
Wander after their nags, while they mourn
their hard lot:
There the tax-eating spies, and tormenting
excise,
Are now swarming like flies o'er that beau-
tiful spot.

CHORUS.

Yet England's a country whose face is de-
lightful;
We ne'er see its equal wherever we roam:
Though vile Whigs and Tories have made it
so frightful,
We ne'er can forget that it once was our
home.
There's the Church, with its Bishops, Arch-
bishops, and Deacons,
And Rectors, and Vicars, and Prebends, by
dozens:
With fair and round bellies, and noses like
beacons;
The sons of the great, or their nephews, or
cousins.

They seem only born just to eat up the corn,
That should feed the forlorn, who are
starving for bread;
Who by these canting praters are fobb'd off
with "taters,"
A root that dame Nature's taught wise men
to dread.

Yet, &c.

And then there's the police, to keep people
quiet;
While the drink and the victuals are taken
away;
When hunger impels them to tumult and
riot,
It's ready to strike, if the justices say.
There's the famed "Blue and Buff," who'd
of fighting enough,
And were handled so rough on the lakes and
the wave;
Who got nought but hard knocks, and were
beaten like stocks,
When they came here to fight with the free
and the brave.

Yet, &c.

But its time to look forward to something
more pleasant,
Than the peltings we've felt of this pitiless
storm:
Of troubles we've had quite enough for the
present;
We'll hope better things now they've got
the reform.
May the tithes and the malt tax soon follow
the salt tax,
And all that the mind racks be banish'd the
land;
May the poor find relief in good ale and roast
beef,
And assuage every grief with good stuff in
each hand.

For England's, &c.

May Cobbett, triumphant, soon carry his
measures;
His just propositions will set the "thing"
right;
May the nation no longer be robb'd of its trea-
sures,
And the base Whigs and Tories soon sink
out of sight.

May the active "dead weight" on its back be
laid straight,
While the people elate, will rejoice at the
blow,
May the sinecure list not much longer exist,
And the debt be dismiss'd with old Roths-
child and Co.

For, &c.

Then Burdett and Hobhouse, with Denman and
Brougham,
And ——— and ———, and the other shoy-
boys,
Will be known to the world as the Cobbettites
knew 'em,
For men who mean nothing but mischief
and noise.
But it's wasting your time to say further in
rhyme,
Besides I must chime to the end with my
song;
So friend Cobbett we'll bless, drink to Old-
ham success,
And consign to distress those who seek to
do wrong.

For, &c.

I feel that I've scarcely done justice to Old-
ham,
Whose voters have proved themselves
"good men and true,"
Not caring how Whigs, or how Tories might
scold 'em;
They've fought the good fight, and our
praises are due.
May th' example they've set, by like feeling
be met;
Ne'er may England forget what was done
on those days,
When by nature directed, they Cobbett
elected,
Whom God had protected, our country to
raise.

For, &c.

A number of other songs and toasts were
given, which want of space compels us to
omit. The festivities of the occasion were
continued until a late hour.

LOCAL COURTS BILL.

Bolt-court, 10. July, 1833.

I CONGRATULATE the industrious part of the people, particularly those who do the *hard labours* of the country, upon the fate of this monstrous bill, which the House of Lords, last night, flung back into the Malthusian budget by a *majority of five*. The *Morning Chronicle* has had the audacity to call this the "POOR MAN'S BILL." Anything so *impudent* as this never before found its way upon paper. Why, my great objection to it was, that it was a bill, not only to take away the poor man's dinner, but to strip him of his porridge pot, his bedding, and even his very clothes on his back. I objected to the half-mad, half-drunk, crack-brained innovation; I objected to it on many other accounts: I saw with horror, a *hundred new judges*, dependent on the will of the Government for promotion, at least: I saw with horror, judges to be settled and living upon certain spots, there to be visiting, with their wives and families, amongst the rich people all around them. I saw what this must lead to with regard to inferior tradesmen, farmers, and working people. I saw, too, that this scheme was to co-operate with the scheme for putting down all the county and parochial authorities, which have been in existence since the time of ALFRED, and establishing in their stead, a *Bourbon police*, commanded by such-like officers as the metropolitan police are under, and, of course, acting in the same manner!

This was the "*Poor Man's*" Bill, then, was it? It would have been a great benefit to the poor man to have had a spy or two in every village in the kingdom: great benefit to the poor man to have been *dogged* about the fields and the hedge-rows: a monstrous benefit to the poor man to get transported for seven years upon the evidence of a policeman, who, dressed in a smock-frock, had detected him in the act of aiming at a pheasant, or at cutting and maiming a hare.

Oh! but it was to make law cheap

for the poor man! Never was there a greater delusion than this: never was there a piece of more complete imposture; never was there anything more completely crack-brained. What *law* is wanted by the working classes? When do they come before the courts as *plaintiffs*? What money disputes have they with anybody? except about wages, the decision with regard to which is already provided for, at as cheap a rate as it can possibly be, unless there be extortions on the part of those who administer the law; and which extortions, wicked as they are, are a mere feather, compared with the mass of bribery of judges which would have taken place under this bill. Not in plain *money* perhaps; but the larder of the local judge would have been crammed with game, venison, fish from the lord or squire's tanks; and his table would have been covered with strawberries at Christmas, cherries in March, and pine-apples and grapes all the year round. A pretty chance a poor man of the vicinage would have stood before a judge like this; and, observe, the jury was first to be reduced to *six* instead of *twelve*, with a power in the judge to proceed without any jury at all under certain circumstances! In short, it was a scheme for beginning the work of totally abolishing juries; and Major CARTWRIGHT has told us all, a thousand times over, that the Scotch projectors would never be content till they had abolished English law; and, above all things, the *Trial by Jury*, towards which a pretty bold step has recently been taken, independent of the crack-skulled bill.

All this was to have been very cheap. A rope does not cost much to hang a man with. However, it would have been cheap, only to the creditor of the poor man, mind that! The working men in the country, and all over the country, are, unhappily, constantly, on an average, in debt to the shop-keepers to the amount, probably, of a month's or six weeks' wages. As things now stand, a cruel creditor cannot bring his action for such a sum without losing more than the sum itself; but this bill

would have enabled such creditor, by the use of "*cheap law*," to strip the poor man of his very shirt, and bundle him and his family into the lane, or lay him upon the bare floor. This was the benefit that the generous Whigs intended for the poor man; and the *Morning Chronicle* abuses the Lords, as if they were so many thieves, because they have prevented the poor man from having this benefit, the full amount of which can be truly estimated by no man who has not been turned into a lane with his wife and crying children, to find themselves lodgings in the poor-house, or under the canopy of heaven.

But there was a *reconciliation-project* in the bill; and fellows with "*all jaw and no judgment*," told us of the great number of law-suits that was prevented "*upon the Continent*" by this species of arbitration, half voluntary and half compulsory. I wish these fellows would cease to refer us to the "*Continent*" for examples for us to imitate. There is something suspicious in the very circumstance, that the scheme seems to come from the hellish governments of Germany. But, as the "*all-jaw and no-judgment*" *feelosofers* must send us abroad for an example, *why not send us to the United States of America*, where our own common law was, and is, in existence, and where (in *Pennsylvania* in particular) the reconciliation or arbitration system was introduced? Did it *diminish* the number of law-suits? It augmented it tenfold; and the Court of Common Pleas, which used to sit at PHILADELPHIA, about that part of the year which our judges sit here in London, was, when I was last there, sitting *every day in the year*; Sundays, Christmas-day, Good Friday, and the anniversary of the revolution, excepted.

I have no more time: this project is like all the rest that we have seen brought forward; wild, inefficient for any good; innovation with mischief; and, if the Lords do not sweep away the crack-brained stuff, bit after bit, I will not say that they ought to be swept away themselves. But I agree with Lord ELDON, that, if they suffer the

ancient laws thus to be torn to pieces; if they suffer assaults thus to be made on the Trial by Jury, on the county and parochial governments, on the laws of debtor and creditor, always sacrificing the poor to the rich, always laying the fruits of labour upon the altar of Mammon; if the Lords do not make a stand against this progress of the damnable doctrine of "*ACCUMULATION*;" then I say with Lord ELDON, "that they will cease to be a House of Lords—much sooner than they expect." The next project to go before them, is the Irish Church *Reform Bill*; against which I should have voted with Mr. HUME and others, if I had been in the House when it passed. I should have voted against it, if it had never been altered from the first; for what is that clap-trap, the diminishing the number of bishops, while, in fact, the property is taken from the church and given to the rich; while, by this change, the poorer part of the renters, those who *toil upon the land*, are transferred to landlords a great deal more hard and grinding than the bishops! Mr. LALOR proposed a clause which would have prevented this. That clause was scouted. So that, at last, this Irish church "*Reform*" Bill is really a transfer of property from the hands of easy landlords to the hands of grinding landlords. Here, again, I trust to the Lords for the rejection of the project. If, indeed the nation at large had been to be benefited, and especially the toiling occupiers of the land in Ireland, it would have been a different matter: then the terrific word "*COLLISION*" should not have deterred me from fighting for the bill, inch by inch; but, it being what it is, I most heartily rejoice in the prospect of its rejection. To conclude, if *collision* be so much to be avoided, why did not all the projects begin in the Lords! However, as I hope, that the affairs of this troubled nation will be settled in a *peaceable manner*; so I hope, that these projects will all end in the Lords, and particularly that project which is to saddle the children in the cradle with another twenty millions of debt; and add one

million a year to our already intolerable burdens.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 6. July, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,—That FACTORY BILL, about which we have talked so long, and about which you have been so anxious, stood on Friday (yesterday), ready to go into a Committee, the House having before agreed to the SECOND READING. When Lord ASHLEY made the motion for going into the Committee of the whole House, Lord Althorp moved, as an amendment, to refer the matter to a *Select Committee*. To assent to this amendment would, in *our opinion*, have been to cast the *Bill out for this Session at least*: therefore, we opposed it; and, besides, Lord Althorp proposed an *instruction to the committee*, which must have made the bill hardly worth having.

After a debate of more than four hours, the House divided, when there appeared 164 for Lord ASHLEY, and 141 for Lord Althorp; so that the bill is now going on towards becoming a law. You will, I suppose, find a list of the 164 in the newspapers; but it is right that you should know who it is to whom you will be indebted for your triumph thus far; and, therefore, I name Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Hardy, Mr. M. Attwood, and particularly Sir ROBERT INGLIS, whose speech, even if I had known nothing of the matter, would have decided me, as I dare say it did many of the southern gentlemen who voted with us; but, above all others, you are indebted to Lord ASHLEY, whose zeal and constancy in your cause cannot receive too large a portion of your gratitude.

On the other side, Mr. RICHARD POTTER, before the debate began, besought us to enter upon it in a dispassionate manner; read a part of Mr. OASTLER's late address to the people in Yorkshire, which he censured very much; and condemned the proceeding

which took place some time ago at MANCHESTER, when Mr. SADLER was there. The speakers in support of Lord ALTHORP's amendment, were, Lord ALTHORP himself, Mr. EGERTON, Lord MORPETH, who, nevertheless, expressed himself decidedly in favour of some effectual measure of the kind; Mr. HYATT, member for STROUD; Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD; Mr. POULETT THOMSON; and, the game being very dubious as to its result, the Minister played his *trump card* in your countryman, Mr. STANLEY, who did his best; but that best was not enough. There was a grand display of "commercial interests," and "manufacturing interests," and the "sinews" and "power" and "glory" of the country; but the two hundred thousand poor little girls held up their hands, and, to the honour of the House and the country, they prevailed.

I hope that this bill will be passed, and that it will do a good deal towards preventing those horrible cruelties, of which you have so long and so justly complained. I am,

Your friend and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LEGAL TENDER.

I SHALL next week publish, addressed to the SPEAKER of the HOUSE of COMMONS, a book upon the subject of paper-money, price *four shillings*. It contains an account of the destructive effects of this engine in the United States of America; and I have prefixed to it an introduction by myself, in order that the reader may understand things necessary for him to understand, and with regard to which his information would be insufficient were it not for this introduction. The book has just been published at PHILADELPHIA; and one copy was immediately sent off to me from that city, while another was sent to me from NEW YORK. I shall send a copy of this book to Lord ALTHORP, and another to Lord LYNTHURST, as soon as I can; and then, let the two Houses proceed and pass a legal tender as soon as they like;

but let this nation bear in mind, that they will have had **FULL WARNING** as to the consequences. The price of the book is **FOUR SHILLINGS**, and it will be published next Wednesday.

POLICE WORK.

My readers will not expect from me any statement of the evidence which has been given before the committee in the House of Commons, which I moved for, and of which, I am, of course, one. They may, however, expect the following information upon the subject; namely, the committee has met four times, first, to appoint a chairman, and three times to examine witnesses, and that the committee meets again to-day (Friday) at three o'clock, to settle upon some matters relative to the remainder of the proceedings, when, as I expect, it will be determined to resume these proceedings on Monday, and to continue them, without interruption, until the whole be finished, which I expect will be towards the close of next week. The public are naturally impatient to hear a report of a committee of the House of Commons upon this subject; but, they should consider that every word is written down, and that there must be time for transcribing and printing; time for the reading of documents; and time for analysing the evidence, and for summing it up in the shape of a report. The committee have had before them, the petitioners, **POPAY** himself, the superintendent of his *division* (**MC CLEAN**) as they call it, and also the two commissaries or commissioners, **ROWAN** and **MAYNE**.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

I HAVE just published, price **THREE-PENCE**, **THE RIGHTS OF THE POOR**; being an exposition of the proceedings, and of some of the falsehoods of the *roving* poor-law commissioners; that is to say, those who have been sent about the country to pick up information and to make reports. This is not much expense; and every Political Union in the country, in Scotland as well as in England, ought to have a copy.

PETITION OF THE CARTWRIGHT CLUB, presented by me to the House of Commons on the 1. June.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

"The petition of the undersigned, on behalf of themselves and the other members of a club, founded on the principles of the late John Cartwright, and calling itself the Cartwright Club, and unanimously agreed to at a Quarterly General Meeting of the Club, held on the 3., and by adjournment on the 11. of June, 1833.

"Showeth,—That so soon after the meeting of a reformed Parliament, your petitioners are grieved to be obliged to petition your honourable House for a further reform thereof; seeing, as your petitioners now do, that your honourable House possesses *no sympathy* with the *great body of the people*, as evidenced by various acts and resolutions to which your honourable House has recently (much to the surprise of your petitioners and the nation at large) given its consent.

"That the indulgence of your honourable House is claimed by your petitioners, while they state the following self-evident principles, which they entreat your honourable House well to consider and to act upon, as the only means of giving security to the throne, liberty to the people, and freedom from the intolerable, unequal, degrading, and vexatious burden of tithes and taxation under which they now labour.

"That when the people have ceased to be represented the constitution is subverted.

"That taxation without representation is a state of slavery.

"That no adequate security of cheap and good government can have place but by means of, and in proportion to, a community of interests between the governors and the governed.

"That on any occasion upon which this community of interest fails to be entire, the interest of the *few*, or of one, ought to give way to the interest of the many.

"That under the Government of this country no such community of interests can take place, but as the persons in whose hands the administration of public affairs is vested are subject to the superintendence and control, or check of the representatives of the people; such representatives speaking and acting in conformity to the sense of the people.

"That according to established usage, as evidenced by speeches from the throne and other public acts, the members of your honourable House, being in your collective capacity styled '*representatives of the people*,' and the powers exercised by your honourable House being on no *other* grounds recognised as constitutional, it is only so far as your honourable House are really and substantially representatives of the people, that the powers

so exercised by your honourable House are *constitutionally* exercised.

"That it is only in so far as the members of your honourable House are in fact chosen, and from time to time removable by the free suffrages of the great body of the people, that there can be any adequate assurance that the acts done by your hon. House are in conformity to the sense and wishes of the people; and therefore the members of your honourable House cannot in truth, and without abuse of words, be styled or declared the representatives of the people.

"That no member of your honourable House can otherwise than by a notorious fiction be styled a representative of any part of the people, other than of the part composed of such individuals as have, or might have, voted on his election: and that by the general appellation of representatives of the people is, and ought to be understood, representatives of the *whole body* of the people.

"That the sense of the whole body of the people cannot be adequately conformed to by their representatives, except as the suffrage of each person in the choice of his representative has force and effect, as equal as may be, to that of the suffrage of every other person.

"That on the occasion of electing a representative of the people, no man's suffrage can with truth be said to be free unless he stands unexposed to the hope of eventual good, or the fear of eventual evil to himself and his connexions, from the power of influence of every individual on account of his suffrage.

"That the sense of the people can never be truly represented and conformed to by members of your honourable House otherwise than as your honourable House are dependent upon the wishes of your constituents for your continuance in your situation as representatives; such wishes of the constituents being expressed by their suffrages being freely delivered as above.

"That as the dependance of the representatives upon their constituents will be greater the shorter the term is for their removal, and as no inconvenience can be apprehended from one election at least taking place in every year; and as it appears that by divers statutes and long-continued practice that the principle of at least annual election is conformable to the ancient laws and practice of this realm, it is therefore expedient that the people should be enabled to remove their representatives, and, if necessary, repair the misfortune of having made an improper choice at least once in every year—besides, as a man comes into the possession of his inheritance, whatever it may be, on attaining the age of twenty-one years, when election is withheld for seven years, then all who came of age since the preceding election are kept out of their inheritance and beat birth-right till the next election. Even supposing the representation of our country were in other respects quite perfect, yet septennial Parliaments would still deprive the whole nation of its political liberty for six

parts in seven of human life, and triennial Parliaments must have a like effect for two parts in three.

"That it is necessary by all practicable means to render every representative of the people as completely exempt as possible from all evil influence of the ministers of the crown.

"That the offices, commissions, and emoluments—the power, rank, and dignities, and other advantages which are at the disposal of the crown and its ministers, constitute so many instruments of temptation by which the members of your honourable House are exposed to be seduced from their duty, and induced to sacrifice the general interests of the people to the particular interest, or supposed interest of the crown, its servants, and their adherents.

"That as the influence of the crown cannot be made productive of its natural effect without counteracting and overpowering the influence of the people in the breasts of members of your honourable House, so as to engage them to make continual sacrifice of the interests of the people to the separate interests of the servants of the crown and their adherents, such influence may with truth and propriety be termed a sinister influence.

"That parliamentary patronage not only prevents comprehensive, free, and equal suffrage, whereby alone the sense of the people can be made known, but operates on the one hand as a perpetual inducement to the servants of the crown to favour the individuals who are possessed thereof, to the prejudice of the people: and, on the other hand, as a perpetual temptation to those individuals to maintain the influence of the crown, from which they may expect to derive benefit to themselves and their connexions, and to stifle the voice and destroy the liberties of the people.

"That, for as much as no adequate diminution of such influence of the crown can now be effected, the only resource which remains is to correct this influence by a counterforce consisting of the influence of the people.

"That in order to place the influence of the people on a firm and lasting foundation, it is necessary to make one great sacrifice of all separate, peculiar, and private interests, and to proceed to establish a constitutional, simple, consistent, and intelligent plan of reform, in virtue whereof the whole body of the people of this realm may be truly and fairly represented in your honourable House.

"Your petitioners, therefore, pray that all persons shall have the right of voting for members of your honourable House, as being of the male sex, of mature age, of sound mind, and not incapacitated by crime; and shall, during a determinate time antecedent to the day of election, have been resident either as householders or inmates, within the district in which they are called upon to vote.

"That the kingdom be divided into a certain number of electoral districts, as nearly

equal to each other in population as consistently with local convenience they may be, and each such election district do return *one* representative and no more.

"That for the prevention of unnecessary delay, vexation, and expense, as well as of fraud, violence, disorder, and void elections, the election in each district be begun and ended on the same day, and that such day be the same for all the districts; and for this purpose, not only the proof of title, but also every operation requiring more time than is necessary for the delivery of the vote, be accomplished on some day or days antecedent to the day of election; and that the title to a vote be the same for every elector, and so simple as not to be subject to dispute.

"That for the more effectually securing the attainment of the above objects, the election districts be sub-divided into sub-districts, for the reception of votes, in such number and situations as local convenience may require.

"That for securing the freedom of election the mode of voting be *by ballot*.

"That for more effectually securing the unity of will and opinion, as between the people and their representatives, a fresh election do take place *once in every year* at the least; saving the crown its prerogative of dissolving Parliaments at any time, and thereupon, after the necessary interval, summoning a fresh Parliament.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

[The following Article is taken from
Cobbett's Magazine].

The Book of Economy: or, How to Live well on 100l. per Annum. Also, How to Live comfortably on 50l. per Annum. BY A GENTLEMAN. Twelfth Edition. pp. 35. 18mo. London, 1832.

THERE are few books published which have so extensive a circulation as the one now before me, if I am to believe the profession of the publisher upon the title-page. But the extent of its circulation is an evidence, not so much of any intrinsic merit of the book itself, as of the great numbers of those beggarly gentry who live in this metropolis, whose principal care is to endeavour to eke out their scanty means of existence, and provide a spare and half-sufficient diet, at the same time furnishing themselves with the dress and outward appearances of the man of wealth. These creatures are great observers

of CHESTERFIELD'S Advice to his Son, in which he directed the young man to clothe himself above his fortunes, to pay pretty compliments, to court other men's wives — to study chattering, grinning, and all the mannerism of the fashionable world, who live in one ceaseless round of playing the polite and pretty to one another. Such a never-ceasing farce is pleasant enough to be engaged in when there is a large pack of servants to act the inferior parts, as running of errands, bringing whatever you please to want, loading the table with good things to be devoured by their betters of the *dramatis personæ*, and so forth. But when it comes to acting the purely polite or pretty parts, the fashionable and the genteel, without having the considerable fortune requisite for this purpose, it is a very sorry farce indeed.

These creatures, the annuitants of 100l. a year, are taught by this how to live *well*, and in *London*. Each man will form his own idea as to what "*living*" means, and what "*well*" means; but our author's idea is, that a man who has no place worthy of being called a home; who has no fire, candles, nor the means of providing a single meal at home; who is necessarily a prowler from coffee-house to gin-shop, and from gin-shop to coffee-house; that such a voracious, half-fed wolf, who prowls forth thrice a day, and in all weathers, with the hungry intent of snapping a scanty meal—that such a wretched creature is *living well*. This our author thinks. He has just pointed out a cheap coffee-shop, and exclaims, in great exultation (p. 11),—"You may there breakfast for sixpence: bread, butter, a plate of cold meat, and a large cup of excellent coffee! What think you of that?"

Why, think of it! what would any man of sense think of it? He would take the articles of which the breakfast is composed, and value them one by one. Bread; I eat two penny worth every morning. But our prowling gentleman is to have, I suppose, but half his full: therefore bread 1d. Butter 1d.; I eat two-penny worth every

morning at breakfast. The large cup of excellent coffee is, by our author himself (p. 14), valued at 3*d.* But supposing the excellent coffee to be excellently watered,—and water is the principal ingredient in making large cups of cheap coffee,—we may rate it at 2*d.*,—the poor solitary cup which is to be all that our gentleman-prowler is to drink at his breakfast. I drink two cups, and often three.—But come we to the subject. By adding up bread 1*d.*, butter 1*d.*, coffee 2*d.*—in all 4*d.*—we have, out of the 6*d.* for breakfast, 2*d.* remaining to pay for the plate of meat. A plate of meat for twopence! What do I think of *that*! It reminds me of the story told by MATHEWS in personating a Frenchman. “Ah! when I was in London last, I lived in——what do you call dat street, which all de streets meet togeder?—Eh! Seven Dial! When I live in de Seven Dial, every ting was so cheap!—de meat it was so cheap! One large plate of meat for two pence, and de man he come and bring it to de house. I live in de garret, and de man from de bottom of de stairs he cry wid one voice which make de whole house for to ring: “Cat’s Meat!”—Oh! such a large plate of meat for two pence!” And if a plate of meat is to be furnished for two pence, as much as a man can eat, what can it be but cat’s meat, or something in quality very near approaching it? If the quality be good, the quantity must be deficient: a nice thin slice, weighing about two ounces, and spread prettily ever the whole of the plate, to make a show as moonshine does. I would double it up into the space of two walnuts, and swallowing it down in a couple of mouthfuls, send for a half-a-dozen more such platefuls. But then the meat, instead of 2*d.*, would cost me 1*s.* Two or three cups of coffee, instead of one, will make 6*d.* or 9*d.* Then bread, butter, waiter, and all, 1*s.* more—making altogether, at the least 2*s.* 6*d.* And this must be the case of a man’s breakfast out of a victualler’s of any description: he must either pay for a good meat breakfast, or be fed on cat’s meat, or have a mere moonshine break-

fast—all show, and nothing solid. It is to a mode of existence like this that the writer attributes the character of *well* living. Can it even be called living at all? A country lady of my acquaintance being, some time since, in the cottage or hut of one of her poor neighbours, was struck at seeing such a perfect absence of all means of enjoyment as the scene presented. “Why, bless me!” said she to an old woman sitting huddled up in the chimney-place,—“why, bless me! good woman, how can you ever manage to live?”—“Live, ma’am?” replied the poor woman, “we don’t *live*—we only *bide*!”

Our author, having recommended his annuitants a cheap breakfast-shop, directs them to various cheap dining-houses, which sort of dining-houses the frequenters of them call very appropriately “dead-meat shops.” I shall not direct any man to any one of them; but I shall proceed to page 17, from which I make the following extract:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
“For breakfast, per day.....	0	6
Dinner, on an average, per day..	1	6
Divans, theatres, or tea, average	1	3

Per day 3 3

	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Per annum	59	5	6
Clothes (less old suits) ..	10	10	0
Two hats	2	2	0
Shoes, &c.	2	0	0
Shirts, &c.	2	0	0
Washing	3	0	0
Rent	14	0	0

£92 17 6

“The surplus is sufficient pocket-money for all but the vicious; for *them* I write not.”

The surplus is 7*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* And is this sufficient to purchase the articles the author has omitted, leaving pocket-money altogether out of the question? Or, is the gentleman to be destitute of cravats, pocket-handkerchiefs and stockings, candles, coals, wood, soap, gloves, gaiters, blacking or grease, pens, ink, marking ink, combs, hair-cutting, brushes, books? Is he to have nothing to pay for mending; nor to have needles, thread, scissors—nor penknife, strap,

hone, oil, razors, paper, wafers, sealing-wax, postage, repairs to watch, umbrella, purse? none of those thousand little expenses that it is impossible to enumerate, which are so continually wanted by every man attempting to live as a gentleman, and which, taken in their aggregate amount, arrive at no inconsiderable sum? The coals, wood, candles, and soap alone would amount to more than the 7*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, leaving all the other articles out of the question. But it is evident our author does not intend his annuitants to have any fire whatever, *at home*, at any rate, for he is sending them out to the pits of the theatres, to cigar-divans, to the *drawing-rooms*!—The Lord bless him!—to the drawing-rooms of coffee-houses; to while away their time in *warm rooms*. How much better it would have been for him to recommend them to keep the money they would spend at these places, and have a fire at home! Then the home would not be such a scene of wretchedness as to cause them to be ashamed to be seen in it, which we can easily perceive to be the real cause of the following advice, whatever pretence is put forth:—

“Never give your address unless to
“a very intimate friend indeed; you
“will then avoid the *possibility* of two-
“penny-post and other letters, and a
“red-coat—than which the head of
“Medusa is more tolerable! Give the
“waiter at some hotel (the Salopian
“for instance) an *occasional* douceur of
“five shillings, and he will receive
“notes, &c.”

The place that the annuitant is to live in is to be such a wretched hole, that no human being is to be admitted into it, save some despicable creature living in the same hugger-mugger manner as himself. It is to be such a one as the poet expresses by the following verse:—

“’Twas the adder’s bleak abode;
“’Twas th’ apartment of the toad.”

For let us consider what can be had in London for the money. Here is the item—Rent, 14*l.* a year, or 5*s.* 6*d.* a week, and which word rent has been explained to include attendance. So that, we have rent and attendance 5*s.* 6*d.* a week. You could not get a

woman to act in the treble capacity of chambermaid, boots, and waiter, under 6*d.* a day, or 3*s.* 6*d.* a week. So that, we have 2*s.* 0*d.* a week remaining for rent. And what sort of a lodging can be got for 2*s.* 0*d.* a week? A kitchen below stairs; but it is to be without fire, a cave, a cellar, a cavern under ground, such as the wolf lives in! No wonder we meet with frequent recommendations by this writer to the annuitant to go prowling about. “As you will be little at home,” &c. And, again: “The British Museum is also an agreeable walk, and for nothing;—” “I wish there were a few *seats* in it!” Ah! I warrant him he does! What a precious bore such a fellow as this must be! Not knowing what to do with himself all day long, no wonder he finds, as the book says, that “there are *very, very few* folks who are *always* glad to see one in a domestic way.” How can it be otherwise? The fellow is ashamed to let any one know where *he* lives,—and he says he recommends this mode of life after fifteen years’ experience,—then he wonders that people do not feel *very, very* glad to see him in a domestic way. Why, this fellow, once admitted into a house with food or a fire in it, there would be no getting rid of him. “*Let not thy feet be too frequently at thy neighbour’s house, lest he get tired of thee.*”

Our economist says (page 17)—

“In the summer or winter season,
“you can occasionally lounge away a
“whole morning very delightfully in
“the saloon of arts in the Colosseum,
“among beautiful statues and as *beautiful women*, for two shillings.”

Now, what a brute a fellow must be that would send young men eyeing and snuffling after “beautiful women,” and assume that they shall have a Platonic insensibility to the charms of the fair sex, as we see he assumes in page 23:—

“As you have no temptation to
“marry, the evils of that state to others
“are a mean of consolation to yourself.
“Servants, a numerous acquaintance,
“the jealousy of rivalry, the midnight
“debauch, the morning headach, the
“fever and the physician, are to you as

"unsubstantial shadows. You see them, indeed, as they haunt the world, around—but for *you* they have no "speculation in their eyes!"—Happy man! What can I say more to render you sensible of the advantages you enjoy? All the rational pleasures of the greatest city in the world are from time to time within your grasp. No man, of any tact, is twelve months in London without forming such acquaintance with the members of the theatrical establishments (I do not mean actors only), as will give him, to a certain extent, the privilege of entering the theatres and Opera "without expense once a week."

He, however, has the Scotch idea, and allows of marriage, not as the result of mutual affection, but as a means of enriching oneself. And the way he proposes of obtaining a rich wife is as absurd as any project that ever entered into a day-dreamer's head.

"There are (he says) very respectable dancing-masters, who give public balls during the winter, and if you are particularly fond of the art, you may for a trifle procure admission. A rich girl, and a good one too, may sometimes be met with at these assemblies, and she may not be much more difficult to win than Lady Anne. If yours is a *marrying* humour, you may then prudently follow her up *les petits soirs*."

I can tell you what has happened to me within the course of my experience; a circumstance that ought to be well weighed by every person who expects to pick up a rich, and, above all things, a good wife, at one of these dancing-masters' rooms. When I had just left school, quadrilles were introduced; and I, who had been merely taught country-dances, went to a respectable dancing-master's evening parties to learn the new system of dancing. The gentlemen of whom these parties were composed, were respectable; that is to say, were persons that had the manners and appearance of gentlemen; but they were, for the most part, gay young fellows, who went, not for the purpose of

learning dancing—that was merely the pretence; nor for the purpose of picking up *wives* there; but for the purpose of amusing themselves. Besides these gay young fellows, there were a few of as great blushing boobies, and overgrown schoolboys, that really went to learn dancing. We, the gentlemen, paid for our admissions; but the *ladies*, according to the usage of our polite neighbours the French, were admitted gratis. There was one young lady whose pretty appearance and liveliness pleased me exceedingly; she was always dressed in a becoming manner, and gave me every encouragement that a young man emerging into life could expect when attempting to exercise his politeness towards the young lady he admired. I could not forbear asking the dancing-master her address, but was surprised at his evasive answers whenever I made that inquiry with respect to her or any other of the *ladies*. But fortune, one morning, in a sportive mood, withdrew the veil from before my eyes. It was about half-past eight in the morning, as I proceeded towards the Temple: my road lay through Newport Market. In passing through a passage with shambles on each side, whom should I meet but my pretty, polite, and engaging young lady, walking all alone, and in a morning-dress of the most filthy appearance! I blushed, and felt hurt for her at the unpleasantness of the rencontre. She, however, had no such feelings; but, with a nod and a wink, proved herself not so polite, but as pretty and engaging as ever. I passed on my way, and never danced with her again—and, for the respectability of the dancing establishment, never communicated the circumstance to any one.

As to there being no difficulty in winning girls at these dancing establishments, no one calls that in question; but, I can assure our author, no respectable person ever sends his daughters to places where any young rake, with gentlemanly manners and a few sovereigns in his purse, can get admission for the month, and pretty soon become familiar with any of the *ladies* there. Let any one that please, after this

example, go and get a wife in such a way.

Our author has, in page 28, given his 100*l.* annuitants the following advice:

"Do not be too frequent a visiter at houses where there are pretty daughters without fortunes. However philosophical you may think yourself, it is far from impossible, that you will in the end fancy yourself in love, and, by habitual delusion, eventually become so; nay, you may even be so bewitched, as to stretch your conception into a fallacy, and conclude that a rump steak and potatoes for two, may be eked out of the provision for one! For heaven's sake, my dear fellow, try the experiment, provide yourself with your ordinary meal, and call in your sweetheart to partake of it, and if you are not fairly famished out of love, all I can say is, that you and your one hundred pounds a year were far better bestowed in Bedlam than elsewhere!"

Now here is a blessed idea! that the wife of a man possessed of merely 100*l.* a year, is to live in a state of do-nothingness all the days of her life. If a gentleman with merely this income is too lazy to work, the girl that he is courting ought not to think, "I'll follow his example, and live lazy too;" but she ought to think, "What a fool I should be to marry such a base dog as this at all! A butcher's boy is out and out more for a gentleman than he is; better fed, more respected by his acquaintance, and with a better chance of getting on in the world than such a lazy genteel prowler as this." And when the man comes to ask her in marriage, she ought to give him the advice that the celebrated GOLDSMITH gave his brother. The brother wrote to GOLDSMITH to this effect: "I find it a very difficult thing to live as a gentleman upon an exceedingly limited income." GOLDSMITH wrote back: "Well, then, you had better not attempt to live as a gentleman upon such scanty means." His brother took his advice, ceased to live as a gentleman, and, starting as a dealer in furniture, gained a compe-

tent livelihood, and lived comfortably enough. And so it is with our gentlemen prowlers: if they would work a little, the hundred a year that they have whilst doing nothing would be something decent to back them with, and industry would, in all probability, give them the means of keeping house, of having a local habitation and a name, and of being looked up to as respectable persons, which a man that lives *where* and in *such a manner* as that he is ashamed for it to be known, never can be. Above all things, let gentlemen of limited incomes cease to dress above their means; and let them, in the choice of their wives, take for their motto: "The wife for my money shall make a good pudding, and not be ashamed to clean pots, pans, and, above all things, the gridiron, that sensible emblem of the inherent right of Englishmen to eat meat every day." Such men of 100*l.* a year will be happy; and such wives, instead of dividing and diminishing their comforts, will very greatly add to them. In France there are thousands of persons of very limited incomes, and who live as gentlemen; but then they do not spend their money in the purchase of articles of comfortless luxury. Their manner of living is this:—They have no servants, but they wait upon themselves: the wife cleans the house, does the cooking, scours the utensils, and does every thing within the house. I have seen the wife of the mayor of a village, in which I lived some time, sweeping the house out; the street-door open, and she sweeping the dirt into the street, not at all ashamed of being seen at her employment. The husband used to dig in the garden, and produce all the vegetables necessary for the family; go to the butcher's, baker's, chandler's, and do every thing that was to be done out of doors. On the Sundays and festivals, or *fête* days, they were nicely dressed, and smiling and happy, and enjoying the dance among the industrious classes of their neighbours, who were happy, and from the very same reasons: the poor gentleman and wife considering themselves nothing superior to the

cultivators and village-shopmen equally rich with them ; and the cultivators and little shopmen respecting and conversing familiarly with the mayor and his wife—no pride on the one part, and no servility on the other, but all mutually respecting and esteeming one another. And, what will seem surprising to Englishmen, I have seen a married gentleman, having his country mansion, his house in town, and his carriage, horses, and servants—this gentleman, the only son of a very wealthy barrister at Paris, coming home from the fields, seated on the same horse with one of his cartmen. I met the cavalcade, and was walking and talking with a day-labourer who had long occupied about three acres of land of this gentleman. When we came up to him, he stopped his horse, and shaking hands with the day-labourer, addressed him in this familiar manner : “ Well, how are “ you, my brave man ? How have you “ been ever since I was last in the vil- “ lage ? ” I have seen the same gentle- man and his brother dancing in the village dances with the poor gentlemen and ladies, with the shopkeepers and cultivators, and with the sons and daughters of these and of the day-la- bourers, all mutually esteeming and respecting one another. Too much familiarity breeds contempt : that is, when a little boy advises himself to pull the hair of his father’s coachman or footman, the latter will make this observation by way of warning ; and, so used by him, it would mean nothing more nor less than this—“ If you for- “ get yourself, and take undue liberties “ with me, I shall treat you with con- “ tempt, and give you a drubbing, my “ little buck.” But let a servant or inferior be treated with kindness by the person on whom he is dependent ; so far from despising him, he will be the object of his esteem and regard, as we see from innumerable instances of re- spect that are shown by the poor in France towards the rich. And it seems to me, that a state of society thus con- stituted is infinitely happier than one containing haughty aristocrats, half- starved gentlemen paupers, servile to-

wards the rich, and overbearing to- wards the poor ; and working classes so wretchedly poor, that they bear no feel- ings of affection towards the rich and middle classes, because they have never been treated with respect and kindness by them.

The writer of this book has chosen a class of persons in comparatively good circumstances ; but, by the directions that he gives them, he plunges them into a state of misery. By forcing them to be *gentlemen*, and to be prowling about, he directs them to waste their money in pursuits worse than useless. Who could be so base as to consent to grow up and live to old age without having any worthy pursuit—to be desti- tute of the endearments of a family and the comforts of a home, and to be re- spected by no one ?—which must in- evitably be the fate of the annuitant that follows his advice. But let us suppose that, by some accident, the annuity disappear. The panic of 1825-6 nearly blew up the whole set of them ; and more improbable occurrences than a discontinuance in the payment of an- nuities might happen. In what situ- ation would our lazy, loitering, coffee- house-haunting gentleman find himself then ? It is easy enough to direct a man with 100*l.* a year how to live upon that sum ; for that sum of money is abundantly sufficient to obtain the ne- cessaries of life. But I should like to hear how the overseers of parishes, or the managers of workhouses, would explain to paupers the mode in which they should go to work to procure a happy livelihood for a family by the means of 3*s.* 6*d.* a week. A. W.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 5, 1833.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

KNOWLSON, W., and W. Skin, Ash-ton-
under-Lyne, drapers.
WROE, W., Bradford, Yorkshire, wool-
comber.

RANKRUPTS.

COOK, B., sen., Birmingham, brass-founder.
 GARNETT, E., Lancaster, coal-dealer.
 GRAY, G., Great Portland-street, Marylebone, corn-dealer.
 GRAY, E., Harborne, Staffordshire, nail-factor.
 GREENWOOD, J., Liverpool, flag and stone-merchant.
 HINXMAN, R., Kittknocks, dealer and chapman.
 LOWN, J., Eaton, Nottinghamshire, miller.
 SHIRLEY, W., Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Gloucestershire, builder.
 TRUCKEY, R. H., Bristol, builder.
 TUCKER, J. and W., Exwick, Devonshire, and Exeter, millers and corn-factors.
 TURNER, J. Lynn, Norfolk, jeweller.
 WILSON, E. and M., Shipston-upon-Stour, Worcestershire, butchers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

NAISMITH, J. and W., Hamilton, tanners.
 NAISMITH, T. and Son, Hamilton, tanners.

—
 TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

MILLS, G. A., Newark-upon-Trent, grocer.
 STOCKTON, S., Long-yard, Lamb's Conduit-street, wine-cooper.

BANKRUPTS.

BEVIL, J., Hanbyford-place, Kennington-common, auctioneer.
 BOLTON, J., and R. Barnes, Preston, Lancashire, corn-merchants.
 BOLTON, J., Preston, Lancashire, coal-merchant.
 BRIDGEND, T., Folley-lane-end, Staffordshire, clay-merchant.
 BROADHURST, T., Stockport, Cheshire, builder.
 MARRIOTT, F., jun., Mapperley, Nottinghamshire, brewer.
 WRIGHT, J., Chancery-lane, law-book-seller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

FRASER, J., Dornoch, merchant.
 NEIL, M., Edinburgh, builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 8.—The supplies of Wheat since Friday, owing to the easterly winds, have considerably increased, although the arrivals fresh up this morning from the home counties were only moderate. We had a faller attendance of buyers, and all the better descriptions of Wheat commanded a free sale at an improvement of full 1s. per qr. on the rates of this day se'nnight. Inferior and stale parcels were held at their former currency, without,

however, meeting much attention. For bonded descriptions we heard of little inquiry, but holders were not inclined to give way in their demands.

Barley continues in very limited supply. The parcels on hand obtained rather better sale, at Monday's quotations.

Malt dull, and prices nominally the same. Since Friday, the supply of Oats has considerably augmented. The trade ruled dull, and a slow sale was experienced at Friday's improvement of 1s. per qr. on the currency of this day se'nnight.

Beans came more freely to hand, and must be noted 1s. cheaper.

Peas are in very short supply, and prices remain without alteration.

Flour was a languid sale, and the rates underwent no alteration.

Wheat	54s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	32s. to 34s.
— Boilers	38s. to 44s.
— Grey	33s. to 35s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	31s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mear, new	—s. to 60s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	—s. to 78s.
— Limerick	—s. to 76s.
— Waterford	74s. to 76s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 8.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was, for the time of year, moderately good; the supply of Porkers but limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull. With Beef at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were short-horns, about a fourth of them were Scots, interspersed with a few Norfolk home-breds; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Welsh runts and Devons, with a few Herefords, Sussex, and Irish Beasts, Town's-end Cows, &c. The short-horns, Scots, and home-breds, chiefly from Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Leicestershire (say about 800 of them from the former county, with a few from Essex, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire: 600 from the next, and 400 from the latter), the Devons, Welsh runts, and Herefords, chiefly from our western and midland districts, the Sussex beasts from

Kent and Sussex, and the rest principally from the London marshes.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs, and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, old Leicesters, and polled Norfolks, with a few horned Norfolks and Dorsets, old Lincolns, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About a moiety of the Lambs were new Leicesters, chiefly of the South Downs cross: about a fourth South Downs: and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Dorsets, Kentish half-breds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 12.

The arrivals this week are small. The prices rather higher than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

Consols for Account... 90½.

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New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. AN ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by Wm. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

4. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

6. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

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8. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

9. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

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13. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

14. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

15. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

16. LETTERS FROM FRANCE: containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

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A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which these are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

This day is published, price Three-pence,

THE RIGHTS OF THE POOR AND THE POOR-LAWS.

a reprint of an article from *Cobbett's Magazine*, with corrections and additions by the author.

Published at Bolt-court, and by C. PENNY, 110, Chancery-lane.

Was Published on the 1. of July,

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COBBETT'S MAGAZINE; a Monthly Review of Politics, History, Science, Literature, Arts, &c. &c. The Contents of the Number are as follows:—The Drama and Dramatic Literature—Marloe—Fine Arts—The Royal Academy Exhibition, No. 11—Fantasia—Foreign Tyranny and Persecution—The Book of Economy—Invocation to the Fairies—The College of Physicians—The Execution—Morning Dew and Ladies Complexions—Patriotism; or, Our Love for and Duty to our Country, No. III—Myary's Letters to the Editors—"Best possible" Chronicles of Consistency—Administration and Operation of the Poor-Laws—Natural History—Events of the Month—Critical Notices, &c.

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N.B. The second edition of No. I. is just published.

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A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

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THE ANNUAL DINNER of the Club and visitors, to celebrate the memory of that champion of real reform, Major Cartwright, will be held at the *Eyre Arms Tavern*, St. John's Wood, on Saturday next, the 20. July, being the anniversary of erecting his statue in Burton Crescent.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P.,
in the Chair.

Tickets (which are limited), at 5s. each, may be had of Dr. Ellmore, 9, New Cavendish-street, Portland-place; Mr. Rogers, 58, High-street, St. Giles; Mr. Smith, 4, Gutter-lane, Cheapside; at the Bar of the Tavern, and of

THOMAS CLARKE, Hon. Sec.
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Dinner on the table at 4 for 5 o'clock precisely.

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FOR CASH ONLY.

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A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	14	6
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Cobbett's Cord (a new article)			
Trowsers.....	1	2	0
Plain Silk Waistcoats.....	0	16	0
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Valentine ditto.....	0	12	0
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LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

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J. T. BETTS and Co. deem it expedient to state, that their only Establishment is at No. 7, Smithfield Bars (leading to St. John-street), where the PATENT BRANDY, either PALE or COLOURED, may be had, in quantities of not less than two gallons, at Eighteen Shillings per Imperial Gallon, for cash on delivery.

N.B. A liberal allowance to the Trade.

THE COLDBATH-FIELDS OUTRAGE.

AT a full MEETING of the COMMITTEE for superintending the FUND for defending the Persons charged with the offence of being present at the Meeting at Coldbath-fields on the 13. of May, &c., held on Tuesday Evening, July 9., the Rev. Dr. WADE in the chair,

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. That the thanks of this Committee be given to Messrs. Charles Phillips and Clarkson, for their noble, manly, and talented defence of George Furse, which mainly assisted in rescuing him from the fangs of his cruel, cowardly, treacherous, and blood-seeking enemies.

2. That the thanks of this Committee be given to the Gentlemen composing the Jury, by whom George Furse was tried, for their unwearied attention to, and acute investigation of, the evidence adduced, and for their honest verdict of "NOT GUILTY;" thereby covering the "intended victim" of ministerial vindictiveness with the protection of the laws, and covering his "would-be butchers" with the contempt of every honest man.

3. That the thanks of this Committee are eminently due, and are hereby given to Mr. William Cobbett, M.P., for the zeal and ability with which he counteracted the prejudice attempted to be established in the public mind, by a wicked paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle*; and also for his zeal and ability in exposing the conduct of Popay the spy, by which exertion much prejudice was removed, and the public mind prepared to secure Mr. Furse a fair trial.

4. That the most grateful thanks of the Committee are due to the *True Sun* newspaper, for the fearless and able exposure of the Police-spy system, as regards the fellow Popay, first made in the columns of that unflinching Advocate of the people's rights; and to the "*Weekly Dispatch*," and "*Weekly True Sun*," for resolutely following up the attack of their Daily Contemporary.

5. That the like grateful thanks be given to the *Morning Advertiser*, the *News*, and such other Weekly Papers as have supported the cause of the People against the attempted despotism of the blue-coated gendarmes.

6. That the like grateful thanks be given to the *Poor Man's Guardian*, the *Working Man's Friend*, the *Destructive*, and the *Reformer*, for their continued support of the oppressed and persecuted members of the National Union of the Working Classes, connected with the late brutal proceedings of the Police at the Calthorpe-street Meeting.

7. That these Resolutions be advertised in the *True Sun*, *Morning Advertiser*, *Weekly True Sun*, *Dispatch*, *News*, *Cobbett's Register*, *Poor Man's Guardian*, *Destructive*, *Working Man's Friend*, and *Reformer*.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-report, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



POLICE.

Bolt-court, 18. July, 1833.

THE public mind is agitated very much upon this subject; and great impatience is shown to know the result of the inquiries of the committee of the House of Commons, for which it is generally known that I was the mover, and of which it is as generally known that I am a member. This is what is called a *select committee*; and it would be manifestly improper for any member of the committee to make, or cause to be made, any publication or promulgation of a knowledge of the proceedings, as far as relates to the nature of the evidence taken, until after the committee has concluded its labours and laid the result before the House. Nor, would it, even then, be right for any member of the committee to promulgate a knowledge of that which might take place in discussions in the committee itself, otherwise than by a statement made to the whole House, which is very frequently done by members of committees, who think it necessary to state their reasons for not concurring in the report, which has been agreed to by a majority of the committee.

This being the case, my readers will expect from me nothing more than a mere narrative of the steps taken by the committee, such as are known to every clerk and door-keeper about the House, but which cannot be known to the public in general.

On the 3. of July certain members of the committee met, amongst whom I was one, and Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD

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was appointed chairman. This was on a Wednesday. On Friday, the 5. of July, we met and took the evidence of four of the petitioners, Messrs. BROWN, PRICE, SIMPSON, and FREDERICK YOUNG. On Monday, the 8., we took the evidence of Messrs. HERSE, SHELLEY, WOODFORD, and COLLINS, and also the evidence of Mr. McHENRY, who was not a petitioner; and further, the evidence of the superintendent, McLEAN. On Wednesday, the 10., we took the evidence of POPAY, and of the commissioners, ROWAN and MAYNE, the commissioners putting in, at the same time, the WRITTEN REPORTS which POPAY had made to McLEAN, and which had been delivered to the commissioners, and by them kept; and, of course, these reports compose part of the evidence which we have now before us. On this day, POPAY asked to have legal assistance; and the committee determined to meet on the Friday, to settle on what course we should then pursue, as well with regard to this request of POPAY, as with regard to the written reports which we had received. On the Friday, then, it was determined to present a petition to the House on the part of POPAY, to grant him legal assistance in the cross-examining of the witnesses who appeared against him; and it was also agreed, that a sub-committee should meet on Saturday, the 13.; that is to say, the next day, to read and consider the written reports, and to offer their opinion as to whether they should be printed or not. On Saturday, the 13., the sub-committee met and examined the reports accordingly. On Wednesday, the 17., the committee met again, time having been given to POPAY to find out, if he could, witnesses to bring on his behalf. I should observe here, that the chairman had permitted a manuscript copy of all the evidence against POPAY to be taken to the HOME OFFICE; that is to say, to be written out and carried to the Secretary of State; and that, when POPAY

came before us on Friday, the 12., he told us that he had seen all that evidence, and that he had, in consequence, framed a great number of questions which he wished to have put to the witnesses. When we met on Wednesday, the 17., we found, that POPAY had no lawyer as he had been permitted to have, if he chose; but he brought his questions to put to the witnesses, and put those questions himself. On this day we proceeded with the cross-examination. And, the reader will give us credit for our patience, when I tell him, that there were ten of us present, during nearly the whole of the time, and that we sat four whole hours, to hear the cross-examination of two witnesses, Messrs. BROWN and PRICE. We then adjourned until Friday, 12 o'clock, when we are to resume the cross-examination.

If the public think, that here has been *extraordinary indulgence* granted by the committee to POPAY and to the *Home Office*, I think so too; but this indulgence has had, in every case, my *heartly concurrence*. Let that be clearly understood by the public. The charges made by the petitioners were heavy; and, besides that justice towards the other party, demanded that every opportunity should be given for the defence, it was wise, in order to give public satisfaction, that every possible indulgence should be given to those who had to make that defence. The complaint, therefore, which I made to the House on Monday night, was not that too great indulgence, of any sort, had been granted; but that, a newspaper, called the "*Police Gazette*," had stated that POPAY "had seen the evidence; that he had made extracts from it; that he had found part of it to be *false*; and that, the whole was doubtful from the *discreditable character of the witnesses*." This was what I complained of. I complained, that the indulgence which we had granted, had been converted into the means of aspersing the characters of the witnesses that had been brought before us; and I thought it my duty to state to the House, that I believed that every one of those wit-

nesses was a man of spotless character, and of sober, honest, and laborious life: this I did believe, and this I believe now; and, upon this point, I am very anxious, it being my first duty, in this case, to take care, that these petitioners receive no injury on account of having petitioned. I made full inquiries on this head, before I presented the petition; I saw every one of the petitioners, and I was satisfied, not only of the truth of their allegations, but also of their good and unimpeachable character. Of all this I should have said nothing, however, had it not been for the publication which I have mentioned above.

Thus the matter stands at present; and I beg the public to be assured, that the committee will proceed diligently to bring the affair to as speedy a termination as possible, consistent with what is due to all the parties. I regret, exceedingly, that so many industrious men, some of whom cannot well afford it, should lose so much time; but, we must recollect, that, as the YANKERS say, "*All of us must wait upon the law*." It needs must be, that abuses will arise; and if men will not bestow a little time, in order to assist in correcting those abuses, or to ascertain whether they exist or not, such men have no right to complain. The conduct of these petitioners has, in this respect, been most exemplary: they have always been ready; have stood for hours and hours in a passage waiting upon our call; have testified no impatience whatever; have given us not one moment of trouble, or caused one moment of delay; and have seemed to grudge no loss of their valuable time, which loss was necessary to the performance of their public duty.

It is impossible for me to say, when the committee will be able to make its report; but I should think, that it is likely, that the report, with the evidence, may be laid before the House by the 26. or 27. of this month. This is merely a *conjecture*, observe. It is impossible that I can know, or that any one of the committee can know, what the report will be, or precisely when it can

be made. This is my conjecture, and I beg the public to be assured, that I have perceived, neither in the committee, nor in the House, nor, indeed, in the Ministers themselves, any disposition whatever to prevent this inquiry being full and impartial, and leading to a just result.

I have received a petition from NEWCASTLE, and another from NOTTINGHAM; aye, and one from Edinburgh too, relative to this affair. There are now but two days in a week when petitions can be presented; and these days are the very days on which alone select committees can meet. So that I must either be *absent from the committee*, which I ought not to be, or I cannot present the petitions. This being the case, I, on the 17., committed the petitions, on this subject, to Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR, a gentleman on whom I could rely for doing the thing better than I could have done it myself; but, according to the rules of the House, his turn did not come; and, therefore, these petitions have not yet been presented.

I have also petitions, very numerous, signed, for the adjustment of the *legacy and probate duties*, the *whole extent* of the cruelties of which I have never known till now. This is a *great matter*: and one that *must be put to rights*, if this Government mean to go on at all with the approbation of the people. This one single matter is quite enough to engage the whole of the time of any one man, complicated as the question has been made, and cruel as the burden is, descending down even to the poor family, who have had left them by will, any sum exceeding five pounds, on which the tax, or money paid in some shape or other to the Government or its officers, is, in proportion, I believe, more than five hundred times as great as it is on a family who have had left them by will a *million* of money. This is a matter which I never can quit, while I have tongue and pen, and sanity wherewith to move either. The petitions on the subject I shall present as soon as I can; but I cannot say when I shall be able to present them. The petitioners may be assured, that I will

not neglect my duty, let who will be Ministers, and let who will be Members of Parliament.

At present, my time must be devoted to the committee of the police-office. I should mention, that I have a petition from GODALMING, in Surrey, upon the subject of short Parliaments, which I propose to present on the day, or the day before, Mr. TENNYSON'S motion is made for a repeal of the *Septennial Act*. I have several other petitions, which I will present as soon as possible. I have received from Lord MELBOURNE the following letter, in answer to the one which I did myself the honour to write to him, when I transmitted to his Lordship the address from the people of the sensible and spirited town of NOTTINGHAM, and that from my constituents of OLDHAM, both beseeching his Majesty to turn out his Ministers.

"Whitehall, 17. July, 1833.

"Sir,—I am directed by Viscount "Melbourne to inform you, that his "Lordship has not failed to lay before "the King, the two addresses which "accompanied your letter of the 12. instant, the one from the inhabitants of "the town of Nottingham and its vicinity, and the other from the Borough "of Oldham.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"SAMUEL PHILLIPS."

"William Cobbett, Esq., M. P.

"Bolt-court."

I have just received a letter from NORTH SHIELDS, of which the following is a copy:—

"North Shields, 16. July, 1833.

"DEAR SIR,—As chairman of a meeting "of the North Shields Political Union "and its friends, held in the market-place, in front of the Quay, yesterday "afternoon, at which between three and "four thousand persons were assembled "for the purpose of passing resolutions "condemnatory of the policy of the "Whig servants of the King, I have "great pleasure in informing you that "the predictions made by you in your "excellent letter in the *True Sun* of "Saturday last, were, as to our town,

"literally fulfilled. You say 'that there
 "is not a chance of stirring any score
 "men in the kingdom to utter even half
 "a sentence to prevent the driving out
 "of the Ministry and the dissolution of
 "the Parliament itself.' At the con-
 "clusion of the reading of the first re-
 "solution, condemning not only the
 "Whig Ministry, but the Whig Par-
 "liament, Mr. R——, who was,
 "during the excitement caused by the
 "Reform Bill, one of the most popular
 "men of our town, stepped forward
 "with an amendment expressing con-
 "fidence in the Ministers, which, on be-
 "ing put by me, only found, amongst
 "the mass assembled, a dozen hands
 "held up in its favour, whilst the reso-
 "lution, although expressed in the
 "strongest terms, was carried amidst
 "loud and deafening cheerings. After
 "the meeting had separated, myself
 "and a few friends, on reading your
 "letter in the *True Sun* (which we
 "had not previously seen), determined
 "on making you acquainted with how
 "fully, in one instance, your assertion
 "as above was borne out.

"Wishing you prolonged health and
 "strength to continue battling with the
 "enemies of your country,

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours very faithfully,

"JOHN TURNBULL."

"Mr. Wm. Cobbett, M. P."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

SIR,—The case is this: the Irish Church "*Reform*" Bill, as it is falsely called, is now before the Lords, after having been sent from the Commons by the Whig majority, against a minority, composed partly of Tories, and partly of Radicals, amongst whom I should certainly have been one, if I had been present at the division. Indeed, as I told Mr. O'CONNELL, when we voted for leave to bring in the bill, I should have voted against the passing of it, even without any of the alterations that have been made since, unless it contained some clearly defined principle; and, at

the same time, some provisions which would inevitably tend to mend the lot of the great mass of the *working people* of Ireland. The bill was nothing of this sort: it was founded on no principle, either ancient or modern, either in law or in equity; and, while it threw ten bishops overboard, without assigning any reason for not throwing ten more overboard, it, in fact, did nothing but transfer the property of the ten bishops to the rich landowners or the money-mongers, leaving the sub-tenants of the lands to be a great deal more hardly squeezed than they were before. This bill verified a prediction of mine, addressed to the parsons in 1817, when I told them that if they did not mind what they were about, the time was not distant when the money-mongers would throw them overboard, and take the spoil to themselves. I must again observe, that Mr. LALOR proposed a clause in this bill, to protect the sub-tenants of the bishops' lands, from being made worse off than they were before, in consequence of this bill; and that this clause was rejected with scorn; so that the bill was not intended to do any good to the main body of the people of Ireland; and yet the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day censures Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. HUME, Mr. TENNYSON, and others, for having voted against the passing of this bill.

Well, Sir, the bill is now in the House of Lords: its fate is to be determined on Wednesday night next; it is expected to be demolished; it is supposed that that demolition will demolish the Ministry, who have taken their resolution to stand or fall by this worthless bill. This is the state of the case; and the *Times* and *Chronicle* of to-day are setting up a howl upon the occasion, such as you have heard from a guilty cur, when he sees the broomstick raised over his head.

They tell us that Sir JOHN WROT-
 TESLEY has given notice of a motion to be made on Monday for the House to be called over on *Thursday*, when, according to these papers, the Commons are to "*assert their power*." And the *Times* tells us, that Sir JOHN is to make a motion on the *Thursday*, "*to pray his Ma-*

"jesty to provide the means of accomplishing a church reform, equal at least, to that rejected by the Lords"; and this, the *Chronicle* says, is to be "the first open rupture, the declared hostility, between the two Houses of Parliament." Then the *Chronicle* calls upon the Commons, "to play the men." It does not tell us precisely *how* they are to "play the men;" but it tells us, in general terms, that the Tories will be defeated.

This is the state in which this affair now is. And, it is as clear as daylight to me, that the now-despised names of *Whig* and of *Tory*, that these mere names, will now have not the weight of a feather with the people; and that it is the people who will, after all, decide who shall rule. It is curious to observe, that neither *Times* nor *Chronicle* now says one single word about an appeal to the people. It is the "*Commons of the Realm*" that they now talk about: it is the "House of Commons" that is now the breakwater between "the Tories and revolution:" it is "the power of the Commons' House of Parliament" that is now to be asserted. Not a word about the people, any more than if there were none. The *Chronicle* concludes with a pious prayer, that, as the question is not one of "*confidence in Ministers*," it "ardently hopes, that all party cabals and separate interests will be suspended, and that the first REFORMED House of Commons will not fail in its duty." Ah! CHRONNY! It is too late, my poor Old Granny: it is too late to whimper and to whine: this "*reformed*" House has lived too long, and done too many things that are never to be forgotten, to leave you a chance of stirring up any score men in the kingdom to utter, even half a sentence to prevent the driving out of the Ministry and the dissolution of the Parliament itself. In all the great towns, meetings have been held for the purpose of sending forward petitions or addresses to the King, for turning out the Ministers and dissolving the Parliament. I myself presented a petition, a little while ago, to the House of Commons, praying the House

to address his Majesty to turn out the Ministers; a petition full of sound sense and sound reasoning, and unanswered by any one that heard it read. I, yesterday, sent two addresses to Lord MELBOURNE, accompanied with a letter to his Lordship, of which the following is a copy:

Bolt-court, 12. July, 1833.

My Lord,—In the discharge of my duty as a Member of the House of Commons, I herewith send to your Lordship, as Secretary of State for the Home Department, two addresses to his Majesty, one from a numerous meeting of his loyal and dutiful subjects, the people of Nottingham; and the other from his subjects, equally loyal and dutiful, and still more numerous, of the borough of Oldham, in the county of Lancaster; both addresses praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss his present Ministers from his service.

When your Lordship shall have been pleased to submit these humble and dutiful addresses to his Majesty, and shall have taken his Majesty's pleasure thereon, I request your Lordship to have the goodness to favour me with any answer that his Majesty may be graciously pleased to give to them, in order that I may communicate the same to those persons who have done me the very great honour to make me the channel of this communication.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Melbourne.

So that Sir JOHN WROTTESLEY's motion may be made as soon as the honourable Baronet shall be pleased to make it. Why, Sir, even the Common Council of London dare not call a meeting for the purpose of upholding the present Ministry; and, as to a Common Hall, in the city, there would be a thousand to one to vote against any proposition, tending even by a side-wind, to insinuate confidence either in this Ministry or in this House of Commons.

The *Chronicle* would fain terrify us with the words "*Tory*" and "*revolution*;" but we ask, what worse can the Tories give us than that which we are receiving from the Whigs? We do not, because we dare not, characterize this House of Commons; nor do we venture to describe its conduct; but we do venture to say, that even this "*reformed constituency*," which they have given us, will not do us an injury in consequence of their having another choice to make. Indeed, we see a great advantage in the members being sent back to their several sets of constituents, while their conduct in the House is so fresh in every man's mind.

But, Sir, the main thing which I wish to observe upon is, the following passage in the *Chronicle*: "*The Tories might probably bid high for the Ultra-Radicals; but a repeal of the house and window and malt taxes would be only a temporary sop to CERBERUS. They could devise no substitute; and after dwelling a short period in a hornet's nest, they would more gladly quit office than they entered it. The evils, however, of their return to office would be incalculable; and its probable fatal results make the heart tremble.*" The heart of a *Whig place-hunter*, this writer means, to be sure; for, as to any body else, I see no reason for the trembling of hearts. But there are, it seems, "*Ultra-Radicals*," whom this impudent tax-hunter, and, probably, tax-eater, thus designates in the way of reproach; he tells us, that the Tories will probably humour them by taking off the malt and house and window taxes. And who are these *Ultra-Radicals*? Nothing short of the whole of the industrious part of the people, who have been praying and imploring in vain; who have been almost upon their knees before this "*reformed*" House of Commons, to get released from these intolerable burdens: I say the whole of the industrious part of the people, whom this insolent Whig-hireling has the base audacity to call CERBERUS; that is to say, the hungry and greedy dog that is stationed at the gate of the infernal re-

gions! But this has always been the practice of the Whigs: they have always treated the people with contumely when they themselves were in power. They fawned upon the people, only fourteen months since, when they wanted their aid to be kept in power. Then they sought the aid of the working people; then they approved of Political Unions; now we find them, or their immediate underlings, *sending spies into those Unions*; now the people are CERBERUS: in May last but one, the people were every thing that was good.

Oh, no! Sir! not a single voice amongst the industrious people will be heard against the turning out of this Ministry, or the dissolving of this Parliament. The people have no taste for paying *twenty millions of money* to prevail upon slave-holders to cease to "*violate the laws of God and man*;" the people have no taste for adding in this one year thirty or forty millions to the debt; for keeping up an army of more than a hundred thousand men, and for crouching down before Russia at the same time; the people have no fancy for these things; and, if it be "*probable*," that the Tories will take off the malt and house and window taxes, is it not beastly to suppose, that the people will stir hand or tongue to prevent that which makes the heart of the *Chronicle* tremble?

The last hope seems to be, that there must be *two hundred new members* to keep the Tories in power. I will pledge myself for the two hundred, if the Tories will pledge themselves to take off the malt and house and window taxes. At any rate, I will pledge myself that the change which makes the heart of the *Chronicle* tremble, will not produce any thing worse than that which I now behold.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Belt-court, July 13.

ON THE PRETTY PICKLE IN WHICH THE WHIGS ARE PLACED.

To the Editor of the True Sun.

Bolt court, 16. July, 1833.

SIR,—The *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day seem to be steeped up to the very ears in the same pickle. But before I notice them, let me state the case, which is as follows: On Friday last Sir JOHN WROTTESELEY gave notice, that he should, on Monday (last night), *move for the House to be called over on Thursday next*. On the Saturday, the *Globe* newspaper (demi-official) told its readers, that the House was to be got together in great force for the Thursday, in order to come to a resolution, that it was proper that the Ministers *should not adhere to their pledge relative to the Irish Church Bill*, which it was *then* expected the Lords would throw out on the Wednesday. This was something too monstrous to be believed, even of the Whigs; and yet what was the *muster* to take place for? It evidently was to do a something in opposition to what was supposed would be the proceedings of the Lords. Yesterday, in the forenoon, it was pretty well known; and it must be pretty well for me to have heard it, that the Lords did not intend to throw out the Bill on Wednesday night, but intended to go into a committee on it, and then to proceed with it according to their own fancy. This seems to have changed the way of thinking of the Ministers with regard to the movements in the other House. Sir JOHN WROTTESELEY made his motion, Sir ROBERT PEEL wished him to withdraw it, Lord EBRINGTON spoke against the withdrawing it, and there certainly would have been a great majority in favour of the motion; but, to the surprise, apparently, of every one, and certainly to my great surprise, Lord ALTHORP and Mr. STANLEY joined in the proposition to withdraw the motion; and, in case of not withdrawing, they declared their intention to vote against it. Sir J. WROTTESELEY expressed his readiness to withdraw the motion, if those who had spoken for it would give their

consent. They would not consent; a division took place; and let the public judge what a medley of motives must have been at work, when Mr. HARVEY and I sat voting with Lord ALTHORP and Sir ROBERT PEEL; and when Mr. O'CONNELL and Colonel EVANS were walking out of the House with Lord EBRINGTON and others of the staunchest of the Whigs.

This division, therefore, decided nothing, except this, that the Ministers, seeing a gleam of hope of softening the Lords, had not the pluck to come to an open division against them. Another thing was, however, settled; namely, that they were resolved to quit their places, if the Irish bill were thrown out or materially altered: so that, if they ever had entertained the base idea imputed to them by the *Globe*, they had, at any rate, recovered from that fit of monstrous degradation.

Now, then, with regard to this proceeding in the lower House: I voted against the motion, because its avowed object was, to assemble us together to be prepared to do a something, in order to keep in the Ministers, if the Lords should throw out the Church Bill. For, in the first place, I would do nothing to keep them in, but would be quite ready to obey my constituents in assisting to put them out; and, in the next place, I was not disposed to give my consent to this sort of menace thrown out against the House of Lords. The *Times* and the *Chronicle* talk about the Lords being opposed to the House of Commons *and to the people*, in the face of the notorious fact, that addresses and petitions are coming from all quarters, praying the KING to do that very thing which Lord EBRINGTON and Sir JOHN WROTTESELEY said that the Lords want to do! No, no! It is not against the *people* that the Lords are deciding, but for the *people*; and I gave my vote against this in accordance with the prayers of my constituents; and, most curious to relate, while I voted for putting the Ministers *out of place*, they voted along with me, in the hope of *keeping themselves in*! If there be a "*lower deep*" than this, it must be somewhere

under the bottom of the bottom. The *Chronicle* tells us, that the Lords oppose themselves to every measure that is for the good of the people. I have proved that the Local Courts Bill would have been to the great injury of the people; this Church Bill is also to the injury of the small renters and the working people of Ireland; that is to say, to the great mass of the people. What right, then, have the people to complain of the Lords? The Lords will save us I hope from the twenty millions to be squandered on the West Indians, and also from the legal-tender project, and that other silly and unmeaning thing about English tithes. And, am I to quarrel with the Lords for this? And should I be acting in accordance with my pledges to my constituents, if I were to array myself against the Lords because they endanger the places of these Ministers by rejecting their mischievous projects? Let the Factory Bill be passed by the Commons; let a bill be passed to repeal the malt and house and window taxes; let the Lords reject these bills; and then the people may think it their duty to side with the Whigs, in a constitutional manner, by address and petition, and thereby endeavour to keep the Ministers in their places. But, would not the people be little better, and very little better, than brutes, if they were to join in clamours against the Lords, because the proceedings of the Lords tend to the putting an end to a Ministry and a House of Commons *who rescinded on the Tuesday a vote for the repeal of the malt tax, which it had passed on the previous Friday*? Would they not be brutes, were they to do this thing? Aye, and in order to preserve in their places a Ministry, who, in the course of three years, have inflicted more punishment on the press, than all the Ministries put together, during thirty years before.

What the Lords may be pleased to do with regard to the Irish Church Bill, or any other of the projects, I do not know, and I shall make no endeavour to find out. But this I know, that they may do just what they please with regard to these projects for any power that the Minis-

ters have to prevent them; and I further know, that at this very moment, ninety-nine hundredths of the people approve of their conduct as far as they have gone. What! are the people to be called on to reproach the House of Lords, because they do not work for the keeping of a Whig Ministry in their places? Only imagine what our situation would be, if there were no House of Lords at this moment! Judge how we should feel ourselves, if we were at the sole mercy of the Whig majority in the Commons! And, mind, there is no difference between there being no *House of Lords*, and a House of Lords under the command of the House of Commons. What! are the House of Lords tyrants, because they reject bills sent to them by the Commons? Are the Senate of the Congress of America tyrants, because they very frequently reject the bills sent to them by the House of Representatives? And are the governors and president tyrants, because they very frequently put their *vetos* on bills sent them by both Houses? Of all the monsters in government, the greatest monster is that of a single numerous assembly having all real power exclusively in its own hands; and this monster we should have to live under, if the people of this country were now to lend an ear to those who are endeavouring to excite them to approve of projects to nullify the voice of the House of Lords. We should be absolutely without hope, if it were not for that House at this moment; and, let it be observed, that its destruction would be as effectual by sending a whole parcel to augment its numbers, as by a law to put the House down altogether; and, with this I conclude, that it is those very men, who are (in vain) endeavouring to instigate the people to call for this destruction; it is these very men who are accusing others of a design to produce a "*revolution*."

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

J E W S.

THESE descendants of the murderers of JESUS CHRIST seem to be bestirring themselves upon the Continent, as well as in England; but, they no where, except here, have the presumption to be put upon an *equality with Christians*. The following ordinance, just issued in PRUSSIA, will show what is going to be done with regard to them in the Grand Duchy of POSEN. The reader will see, that the King of PRUSSIA means, that the Jews shall WORK at something or another, like other people; and, if the King of PRUSSIA accomplish THAT, the King of PRUSSIA is really God's *vicegerent* on earth; for it will be a greater miracle than ever was wrought before: to make these devils work, and to cease to live by cheating, traffic, and usury, can be accomplished by no power but that which could raise men from the dead. It is to attempt to counteract the dispensations of Providence to put these fellows upon a level with Christians in any respect, except that of merely being allowed to live.

PRUSSIA.

Berlin, 7. July.

The latest number of the Bulletin of the Laws contains his Majesty's ordinance relative to the civil condition of the Jews in the Grand Duchy of Posen. It is of the following tenor:

We, Frederick William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c.

Having convinced ourself of the necessity of ameliorating as soon as possible the civil condition of the Jews in our Grand Duchy of Posen, and without waiting for the promulgation of a general law on the civil and political relations of the Jews, embracing all the provinces of our monarchy, and to remove the doubts which proceed from the state of the legislation on this subject; we therefore have resolved on the following provisional regulations for that purpose, which may be completed and altered conformably with the enactments of the general law to be hereafter promulgated.

Sect. 1. The Jewish inhabitants of

every place form, as hitherto, a religious community tolerated by the state, but which, with respect to what concerns its property, has the rights of a corporation. If the Jews of several places have hitherto been united in one synagogue, this union shall continue likewise with regard to the affairs of the corporation.

2. This corporate union extends only to the internal affairs of the synagogal communities; in other civil concerns no such union between the members of the Jewish communities subsists.

3. Every Jew residing in the district of a synagogue, belongs to a corporation.

4. The right to vote in these corporations on the affairs mentioned in sec. 3, belongs to every Jewish male of good character and of full age, who either possesses real property, or carries on trade on his own account, or otherwise lives independent, without the aid of others.

5. The members qualified to vote, shall, in the presence and under the superintendence of a commissioner of the Government, elect a number of representatives, and these again choose the administering officers, who are to be confirmed by the Government, and who exercise their office gratuitously.

6, 7, 8, relate to the number of the representatives and officers, their reciprocal rights, &c.

9. The Jewish corporations, especially the administering officers, are bound to take care that no child fit for school, from the age of seven years to that of fourteen complete, shall be without the necessary school education. They are to take care on their own responsibility that all children, boys as well as girls, of the above age, shall frequent the public schools; and they are further bound to provide wholly indigent children with the necessary clothing, the school-money, and the other requisites for their attendance in the schools, either from any special fund assigned for that purpose, or, if there is none such, from the property of the corporation.

10. By public schools are understood

the Christian schools as well as the Jewish schools, established with the permission of the state according to a prescribed plan, and provided with duly qualified Jewish teachers confirmed by the government. However, the private education of the children may be allowed to the parents as an exception, with the express consent of the Government.

11. It is reserved to every community to provide for the special religious instruction of the Jewish children; but only such persons shall be admitted as teachers of religion, who have been authorised by the state to practise as teachers.

12. The language to be used in giving instruction in the Jewish schools is the German.

13. After the Jewish boys have completed their school education, the administrative officers of the corporations are to take care (and for this they are made responsible) that every boy shall learn some useful trade, and shall qualify himself in the scientific institutions for a superior profession; and that none of them shall be employed as itinerant traders or artisans. They shall endeavour to accomplish this in concert with the parents or guardians; and if they fail in this, they are to apply to the counsellor of the circle, who shall call on the parents or guardians to destine the boys either to an art or science, or to agriculture, or to a useful handicraft, or to manufacture and to trade in some fixed place.

14. The military obligations of the Jews in the Grand Duchy of Posen will be regulated in the sequel as in the other provinces, till the Jews duly qualified may enter the army as volunteers. In this case the volunteer and his father are exempt from the payment of the recruit money, which will continue to be paid by those fathers whose sons do not enter the service.

15. The marriage of a Jew with a foreign woman is not to be allowed, unless the woman has a marriage portion of at least 500 dollars. Dispensations in certain urgent cases to be obtained from the high president of the province.

16. The local government are to take

care that the affairs of the corporations shall be regulated within six months from the publication of this ordinance.

17. The general requisites in naturalisation are—

(a) An unexceptionable character.

(b) The ability or the obligation to use the German language exclusively in all public concerns, testaments, accounts, &c. (The high president, on the application of the local government, may dispense with this requisite).—

(c) The adoption of a special family name.

18. These preliminaries being supposed, those shall be removed into the class of natural Jews who can prove—

(a) That they have constantly resided in the Grand Duchy of Posen ever since the year 1815, or that they have subsequently obtained the express permission of the government to settle in it.

(b) That they either have devoted themselves to some act or service and exercise so as to gain their livelihood by it; or possess and cultivate themselves a piece of land of sufficient extent to insure the support of themselves and families; or follow in a town some express-established business to a certain extent; or possess in a town real property of the value of at least 2,000 dollars; or by patriotic actions have deserved well of the state.

19. Those who furnish such proof are to receive letters of naturalisation from the government of the circle in which they reside.

20. Jews though naturalised may settle in the towns and country in the province, acquire real property of all kinds, and follow all allowed professions excepting the recruit money (§ 14); they are not bound to any distinct contributions to the public treasury in the chambers, but are bound to perform all the obligations incumbent on the Christians, towards the state and the commune in which they reside (except as in section 14, relative to the military service). With the exception of the special regulations established by the laws on account of the difference of religion, such as the taking of oaths, the presentation of bills of exchange on Sabbaths and

holidays, they are subject in all their civil and private relations to the same general laws as the Christian inhabitants.

The following sections to 24 relate to those Jewish inhabitants who are not yet qualified to obtain naturalisation.

25. All Jews not yet naturalised, but who are to be tolerated and furnished with certificates, are further subject to the following regulations:—

(a) They are not to be permitted to contract marriages till they have completed their 24th year, unless the chief president, in particular cases, grants a dispensation.

(b) They shall reside only in towns (with the exception stated under d), but not to be confined to what have been hitherto assigned as the Jewish quarters. They are not qualified to obtain the rights of citizens.

(c) They are excluded from trading with the privileges of merchants. They cannot keep public-houses, except with special permission. They are wholly prohibited from itinerant buying and selling. They are free to follow all other stationary trades under the general regulations.

(d) Such Jews are not allowed to reside in the country, unless they either acquire or rent a farm, and cultivate it themselves; or hire themselves to landowners as servants, or to conduct some particular branch, *e. g.*, as distillers or brewers. They are absolutely prohibited from keeping public-houses in the country.

(e) They are not allowed to have Christian apprentices, journeymen, or servants.

(f) These Jews are not allowed to make loans of money, unless certified by legal documents duly registered, on pain of being null and void.

(g) Claims for debts arising from the sale of intoxicating liquors have no legal validity.

26. To marry, they require a certificate, which they shall receive free of stamp-duty and other charges, when they show that they have either completed their 24th year, or have obtained a dispensation from the chief president;

where the bride is a foreigner, that she has a fortune of 500 rix-dollars, and that they have means, either by following a legal profession, or by the possession of sufficient property, to provide for the subsistence of a family.

27. In all other respects the non-naturalised Jews are to be treated in the same manner as the Christian subjects.

28. The tolerated Jews shall receive letters of naturalisation as soon as they prove their qualifications, according to 18 and 19. Foreign Jews may enter the province, either to travel through it, or to carry on legal mercantile business.

Our magistrates and subjects to conform to these regulations, till the promulgation of a final law, or other ordinances changing the above.

Berlin, June 1.

(L.S.) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

(Countersigned by all the members.)

Berlin, 9. July

ALTHORP'S PAPER PROJECT.

I BESEECH the readers of the *Register* to read the following LITTLE DEDICATION and INTRODUCTION. He will then see whether it is worth his while to read further, in order to convince him of the madness, as well as of something worse, of the paper-money project, which Lord ALTHORP has now proposed to this "reformed" House of Commons. I need say no more upon the subject, at present, than to desire him to read these papers.

THE CURSE OF PAPER-MONEY AND BANKING; or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and all the industrious classes of the community. By WM. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, 1833.—To which is prefixed, An Introduction, by WM. CORBETT, M. P. for Oldham.—Price 4s.

DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON,

Speaker of the House of Commons.

SIR,—To you, who were present when the famous Bullion Committee, consisting of Messrs. HORNER, HUSKISSON, CANNING, and others, in the year 1810, in the midst of war and of loans, recommended to the House to pass a law to compel the Bank to pay in gold at the end of two years from that time: to you, who, in 1811, were present when Mr. VANSITTART proposed to the House, and the House adopted, a solemn resolution, that a one-pound note and a shilling were equal in value to a guinea, and that the people regarded them as such, and who, in a few days afterwards, heard the same Mr. VANSITTART propose, and saw that same House pass, a law to *punish* men, if they *gave more* than a one-pound note and a shilling for a guinea; to you, who were present at all the renewings and postponings relative to the Bank-restriction, between the years 1814 and 1819; to you, who, in 1819, were in that same chair in which you now sit, when Mr. PEEL'S BILL, providing for a return to cash-payments in 1823, was passed, and when the assertion, "*that that bill would set the question at rest for ever,*" was received with a shout of triumph, which made the roof of the chapel of the *Jew-murdered* St. STEPHEN ring; to you, on whom was imposed the task of congratulating the Regent on this singular instance of the wisdom, the industry, the zeal, and the matchless public virtue of the House; to you, who, in less than thirty-six months from that day, saw that same House send up to that same Regent

(then become King) a bill to put a stop to the operation of the wondrous work of wisdom of 1819; to you, who, in 1824, heard Mr. ROBINSON, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, boast of the matchless prosperity produced by the paper-money wisdom of the House, and assert that the House stood in need of no reforming; to you, who, in July, 1825, heard the King declare to the two Houses, that "all the great interests of the country were in a *state of greater prosperity than at any former period*;" to you, who, in less than seven months from that day, saw a hundred banks blown up, and heard Mr. HUSKISSON declare, that, at one time, the country had been within forty-eight hours of barter; to you, who, in 1826, saw laws passed to suppress one-pound notes in England, and leave them in Ireland and Scotland, and who saw the House receive, and laugh at, a petition from me, foretelling the embarrassment, distress, ruin, and misery, which those measures would produce, if not accompanied by a vast reduction of taxation; to you, who, at this moment, *see* sitting, and have summoned witnesses to come before, committees to inquire into agricultural distress, commercial distress, manufacturing distress, and who have put the question, during this present session, on the receiving of thousands of petitions complaining of distress, and of misery approaching to starvation; to you, who have been a witness of all this, and whose hard lot it has been to behold more blundering and to hear more noise and more nonsense than any other man that ever lived, and who, as a suitable climax to the whole, have now had to put the question upon a proposition to make an everlastingly depreciated paper, to give the King a partner in his prerogative of

making money for his people, and to let loose upon that people, the ever-stretched and never-filled grasp of the usurer; to you, Sir, I take the liberty to dedicate this book, exhibiting the "CURSE OF PAPER-MONEY" in full glare, and calling upon every man of sense and every lover of his country, to do his best to strangle the monster, before it shall have produced in England those disgraceful and ruinous effects which it is here shown to have produced in America.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following history is the work of an apparently exceedingly dull and awkward man: the arrangement of the matter is as confused as it can well be made; the statement of facts is feeble, and there is as little of clearness as can well be imagined, in any thing coming from the pen of a being in its senses. There was a "FIRST PART," consisting of the moral and philosophical and economical lucubrations of the author; but I am very sure that, if my reader could see these, he would thank me for leaving them out, especially as the omission is attended with a deduction from the price of the book; to say the truth, Mr. Gouge (who ought to have had an *r* at the end of his name) will thank me, too, if he have common gratitude and a common degree of regard for his literary reputation; for, this first part really consists of nothing but matter which he has extracted from other writers, and which he has disfigured and disgraced by the uncouth and confused manner in which he has transferred them from other books to his own. For which reason, I suppose it was, that my correspondent at New York, in transmitting me the book, told me the author ought to be called "Gouger;" that is

to say, a fellow, who twists the hair on your temples round his middle-fingers, and, poking his thumb-nails under the inner corner of your eyes, turns your two organs of vision out upon your cheeks. The dishonesty and acts of violence committed by Mr. Gouge do really, in the literary way, come up to this act of foul-fighting, so much in practice in the southern part of the United States.

However, notwithstanding all this, Mr. Gouge has put together a collection of facts, respecting the iniquity and the mischiefs of paper-money and banking, quite enough to frighten any man, who knew America before that infernal system was in vogue, and who now beholds that which is about to be done in England. I, who knew America forty years ago, and who took little notice of what was passing when I was there in 1818 and 1819; who have, in fact, known nothing of it in this respect, and in any thing like detail, since the year 1799, am filled with astonishment as I read.

The history of Mr. Gouge begins with the old bank of the United States, which was established just after the establishment of the federal constitution; that is to say, about the year 1790; and it carries on the history of banking up to the present time. Mr. Gouge's reflections are of little or no value; but his facts are of the greatest possible importance. They consist of accounts of the effects produced by paper-money; of facts which must be notorious at Philadelphia, and above all things this collection is valuable, as it gives us extracts from public documents; it gives us the opinions of eminent men in the Congress and in the state legislatures; and, more valuable than all the rest, it gives us extracts from the reports of committees of the Senates and Houses of Representatives of the states; it gives an account of the representations coming from counties; of the ruin brought upon farmers and others by this monstrous system; it gives us an account of thousands and thousands of men thrown out of work by it; it shows us the desperate measures which

the different legislatures were compelled to resort to, in order to prevent the utter ruin of whole classes of the people; it shows us what a prodigious increase of crime, increase of pauperism; and what will make my readers jump from their seats, what numbers of **INCENDIARIES**, have been produced by this paper-money. In this respect, as a collection of facts, this work of Mr. Gouge is invaluable. I beg the reader to look at Chapter 7, and there to read extracts from a report from a committee of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania; and especially to look at an extract (contained in that report) from a petition of the inhabitants of Huntingdon county. I remember that county, when there was not a poor person in it! Only think, of farms being sold by the sheriff in execution, and not fetching as much money as to pay the fees of the law-officers!

In the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, and other states, the reader will find laws passed to suspend the payment of debts, and forbidding the issuing of executions in judgment for two years, unless the plaintiff will consent to receive payment in a depreciated paper. In other states he will find laws passed to prohibit the buying and selling of notes, and, in short, he will find, in this compilation and narrative, proof to satisfy him, that of all the instruments of mischief that the devil ever invented, nothing ever was equal to paper-money. The wisest men in America, the persons most famed for their skill, experience, and political integrity, have always been alarmed, and those of them living are now more alarmed than ever, at the power and the progress of the power of this "*aristocracy of money*." In a report of the committee of the legislature of New York in 1818, we find these memorable words:—

"Of all *aristocracies*, none more completely enslave a people than that of money; and in the opinion of your committee, no system was ever better devised so perfectly to enslave a community, as that of the present mode of conducting banking establishments. Like the Syren of the

fable, they entice to destroy. They hold the purse-strings of society; and by monopolising the whole of the circulating medium of the country, they form a precarious standard, by which all property in the country, houses, lands, debts, and credits, personal and real estate of all descriptions, are valued: thus rendering the whole community dependent on them; proscribing every man who dares to expose their unlawful practices: if he happens to be out of their reach, so as to require no favours from them, his friends are made the victims. So no one dares complain.

"The committee, on taking a general view of our State, and comparing those parts where banks have been for some time established, with those that have none, are astonished at the alarming disparity. They see, in the one case, the desolations they have made in societies that were before prosperous and happy; the ruin they have brought on an immense number of the most wealthy farmers, and they and their families suddenly hurled from wealth and independence into the abyss of ruin and despair.

"If the facts stated in the foregoing be true, and your committee have no doubt they are, together with others equally reprehensible and to be dreaded, such as that their influence too frequently, nay, often already begins to assume a species of dictation altogether alarming, and unless some judicious remedy is provided by legislative wisdom, we shall soon witness attempts to control all selections to offices in our counties, nay the elections to the very legislature. Senators and members of Assembly will be indebted to the banks for their seats in this capitol, and thus the wise end of our civil institutions will be prostrated in the dust of corporations of their own raising."

Such is a general description of the consequences of the use of paper-money. The particular effects are quite astounding, and will be almost incredible when the reader comes to them; particularly if that reader knew the country forty

years ago. He will know the street which they call *Market-street*, in PHILADELPHIA; he will remember the beautiful houses in that street. If he knew me there, as Mr. ALEXANDER BARRING did, he will know that I rented not a very capital house, and not quite in that great street of all, and that I paid *fourteen hundred dollars* a-year in hard silver, as rent for that house; that is to say *three hundred and fifteen pounds* sterling, taking the dollar at 4s. 6d. If the reader have not been there recently, I have to tell him, that, in the said *Market-street*, which is (I think) about a hundred and twenty feet wide, which is probably three miles long from the bank of the Delaware to the bank of the Schuylkill, which has in it a market-house half a mile long and the most beautiful in this whole world, which has sometimes five hundred wagons with five horses each standing along the middle of it; I have to tell the reader, that, in this *Market-street*, where very few houses used to let for less than a *thousand dollars a year each*; that, in this very street, in 1822, houses of *four stories*, with marble-steps and copper-spouts, were, in great numbers, SOLD FOR A DOLLAR A PIECE! Nay, my friend Mr. CROFT, at MANCHESTER, told me, that he was offered several houses in that street for one single bottle of wine.

This would seem to be romance; but the reader will observe, that these houses stood charged with a *ground rent*, or as they call it in Lancashire, a *chief rent*, which, probably, might amount to a fourth, or fifth part of the usual rental; and, so terrible had been the effects of the paper-money, that, at the time I am speaking of, the houses would not let for the ground-rent, nor anything like it. One of these houses had cost from ten to twenty thousand dollars in the building. Judge of the ruin of families occasioned by this change in the value of money; and, with this spectacle before you, resort to the use of paper-money, if you can. The inferior streets of this city had always been formed of houses erected principally by the savings of

mechanics and tradesmen of various descriptions, who built the houses charged with the ground-rent, and whose *all* consisted of these houses. Hundreds of old people, of widows, of fatherless children, who were wholly dependent upon this species of property, were reduced to utter ruin and beggary; and that city, which I knew with sixty thousand souls in it, without a single beggar, or a single person whom you could properly call a pauper, became a scene of beggary and of pauperism; having all the signs of misery, such as we behold in our great towns; and quite horrible to relate, *crime*, which was scarcely heard of at the time when I lived there, had so increased, that, there were three or four thousand commitments annually in PHILADELPHIA alone; while at one time, last winter, there were upwards of sixteen hundred poor persons in the poor-house, with many many more receiving out-door relief; and this Mr. GOUGE tells us, that, in some years, the expenditure on account of the poor of Philadelphia, now exceeds the expenditure on the same account at LIVERPOOL.

These are the effects of paper-money alone, without the aid of taxation. There required a country like this, an untaxed country, to show what paper-money can do; how effectually and how swiftly, it can destroy the happiness of a people. When I lived in PHILADELPHIA, it was extremely difficult to get any woman to work for you, either at the needle or at house work. The servant-maids would hire only by the week. In hard money, the latter used to get two dollars a week, besides their board and lodging, and a woman who was employed by the day, had a dollar a day and her board. There are now, Mr. GOUGE says, "some thousands of women, in PHILADELPHIA alone, who cannot earn, on an average, a dollar a week each," and he describes them as the victims of paper-money, which has drawn the wealth of the country into a few hands, and brought the middle class down to the lower. If this picture be shocking to my readers in general, what must it

be to me, who saw the country in a state so very different ! At any rate, the *feelosoofers* may take this as a proof that it is not the poor-laws that make misery ; and, let every Englishman well observe, that paper-money alone, and without the assistance of taxation, can produce these horrible revolutions in society.

But, is it really the paper-money that has done these things ? Is it really the paper-money ; or is it some other cause ? The brutal *MALTHUSIANS* will say, that these evils have been produced even in America, by the Act of the 43. of Elizabeth. Ah ! the following book will show, that it has been produced by paper-money, and by paper-money alone ; that it has been produced by four hundred banks ; by legal tenders ; by bank restrictions ; by chartered companies of paper-money makers. All these have arisen out of a *violation of the constitution* of the United States, precisely like that violation of our constitution which is now recommended to the House of Commons by Lord *ALTHORP*. The foundation of the ruin was, a charter granted by the Government of the United States to certain persons to establish a Bank, which was to be called the Bank of the United States, and which was established in the year 1790 ; and this *that Government had no right to do*. Before I proceed further, however, I must give a short account of the division of the country as to matters of Government ; for, without this, the reader will not clearly understand the contents of the following book, in which he will find the proceedings of different states, with regard to paper-money, differing very widely from the proceedings of other states : some with legal tender ; others with no legal tender ; some with paper depreciated down to the tenth of the value of silver ; others with scarcely any depreciation at all ; some with farmers stripped of their farms, and tradesmen even of their household goods, by the speculators in paper-money ; and others passing laws to compel the lenders to take in payment only a certain portion of the no-

minimal amount of debts due to them. For the reader to understand this matter clearly, he must see how the country is divided with regard to the powers of governing ; and this I will now endeavour to explain to him.

Each state has a government of its own, with a governor as chief magistrate, and two houses of legislature, called the Senate and House of Representatives. This Government suffers no interference in its municipal or political concerns : it does what it pleases with regard to the qualifications of electors, for instance ; with regard to punishments for different crimes ; with regard, in short, to all its internal affairs ; but the Government of the United States, which is sometimes called the General Government, or the Federal Government, has the sole power of making war, making peace, making treaties, punishing offences on the high seas, regulating every thing relative to external commerce, and the sole power also of *making money for the whole country*. The article of the constitution giving Congress this power is in these words : " The Congress shall have power to " coin money, to regulate the value " thereof and of foreign coin."

The separate states made a complete surrender of this description of power ; and these separate states were also forbidden to issue bills of credit, or paper-money ; that is to say, were forbidden to issue it as a Government paper. Now we come to the root of all this evil. At the end of the " rebel-war," as I call it, and of the " glorious revolutionary war," as it is called by Mr. *MACAULEY*, Lord *JOHN RUSSELL*, and Mr. *STANLEY*, there were great numbers of persons, principally soldiers who had served in the war, who received in payments for their services, *CERTIFICATES*, as they were called, guaranteeing to them the payment, in certain times more or less distant. The *certificates* became articles of traffic : the needy sold, and the rich bought ; so that from the hands of thousands they soon got into the hands of hundreds ; and these hundreds, with the aid of a Scotch projector of the name of *HAMILTON*, following the ex-

ample of his countryman LAW in France, and of his countryman BURNETT in England, hatched a Bank and a funding system; and the poor soldier who had sold his certificate for a dollar, soon saw his country paying an interest of six dollars a year to the speculator who had purchased it from him. Here was the foundation of that ruin which the reader of this book is going to behold: here is the foundation of that damned "ARISTOCRACY OF MONEY," against which all the legislative assemblies are now crying aloud; and to stand by the President while he puts down which, the young men of the country are now enrolling themselves in associations.

There was no such thing as effecting this job without a bank. Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. MADDISON, and many others, contended, that the Government of the United States was not empowered by the constitution to establish, or permit, such a thing as a bank: they said, that the Congress had the rightful power to coin money, and to fix its value, just upon the same principle that the King of England had; but that it had no power to make money other than by coining; that it had no power to tolerate the circulation of paper instead of money; but that, at any rate, it had no power to *delegate* the making of money of any sort to any body but itself. The argument was all on the democratic side; but HAMILTON, who was a very brave man, who had been WASHINGTON's aid-de-camp during the rebellion, was all powerful with WASHINGTON, the gratitude of the people, unhappily in this case, made WASHINGTON too powerful with them: the speculators prevailed, the constitution was violated, and the infernal system of funding and paper-money came and made good those words of old Lord CHATAM, with which this book commences: "Let the Americans adopt a funding system, and go into banking institutions, and their boasted independence will be a mere phantom." The reader will see what a struggle there was to get this thing accomplished; and he will also see that the insti-

tutions of America are now struggling as it were for their lives against this iniquitous system.

The federal government having broken the constitution, the state governments immediately began to break theirs. They were forbidden to coin money, and to issue paper-money themselves; but the federal government having found out, that they had the power of delegating the making of paper-money to a bank, the state governments lost no time in profiting from the example; and the book which I here present to the public, will show how they have gone on, in the several states, destroying the people, stripping farmers of their farms, merchants of their ships, tradesmen of their stocks and household goods, artisans of their houses, their workshops and their very tools; hundreds of thousands of working families of the means of getting bread. And, the reader will find this stated, not by the "race that write"; not by paragraph grinders and book-makers; but in the *reports of committees of legislative assemblies*. Let the reader look into this book, and see the report of a committee of the House of Representatives of the state of Pennsylvania. Let him, in that report, read the descriptions of the state of the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon; let him there read of property in immense quantities sold for less than was sufficient to pay the fees of the law-officers; and of wives and children becoming a burden on the township, to prevent them from suffering from the want of the mere necessities of life; let him read these things, and then let him receive from me the assurance, that I knew those two counties when such a thing as *want*, in the usual acceptation of the word, had never been heard of in them; and when no man had ever heard of a person being a burden upon a township, except, perchance, here and there a free negro. These are thy works, O hellish paper-money!

In other states, in order to prevent the paper-money people from taking away the whole of the farms and of all other property, laws have been passed, as the reader will see, to prevent property from

being sold for less than a certain amount to be fixed by appraisers. In another state he will find, that what were called "stop-laws," were passed, compelling the creditor to take the depreciated paper, or to wait for better times. In another state, he will find a law to protect the debtor against the mortgagee or other creditor for two years, or to take payment in the depreciated paper; and that it has been recently proposed to the legislature of the state of TENNESSEE to pass a law, "that no one shall be bound for the debt or default of another, by writing or otherwise"; that is to say, that no one should be bound as security for another, in any case, by word, bond, note, or indorsement, for any ordinary contract between man and man, such law being absolutely necessary to prevent wives and children from being brought to beggary by the art of the speculators practised on husbands and fathers; which, I think, caps the climax of the feats of the damnable paper-money. If these Americans had read my book, called "PAPER AGAINST GOLD," which I wrote twenty-three years ago, when I was in a felon's jail for two years, with a fine of a thousand pounds upon my head, and seven years bonds to be held in, for having expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local militiamen, in the heart of England, under a guard of German bayonets; if the Americans had read this book, they never would have been brought to the ruin in which the paper-money has plunged them.

I now leave the book to the perusal and serious attention of every man in England, and particularly to those of every young man; and, if it do not excite a general horror at the thought of establishing a legal tender-paper by violating the constitution of England and taking the King's great prerogative from him without his consent; if it have not this effect, then experience of evil is no longer of any use amongst mankind, no longer an inducement to seek for that which is good. The fate of the American political institutions; that is to say, the existence of the liberties of that country, depends upon the

result of the struggle now going on against the "aristocracy of money," which this monstrous system has created, assisted by a repeal of usury laws; both of which monsters, legal-tender, and freedom for usury, it is now proposed to us to establish in England.

WM. COBBETT.

Westminster, 14. July, 1833.

RAGE OF THE BROUGHAMS.

I HAVE received some printed copies of the following, which comes, the reader will see, from KENDAL, in Westmoreland, where, as he will see, I have, by my letters in the "*True Sun*" (which are in the present *Register*), shot into the "BIRD'S NEST," and brought out the kites, to endeavour, with beak and talons, to tear my eyes out. I shall insert this *Bird's-Nest* article, which has been published at KENDAL, and circulated over Westmoreland; and, when my readers have read my two letters in the "*True Sun*," they will know what the state of the perfidious Whigs is, up to this week.

LOCAL COURTS BILL.

To the Proprietors of the *Westmoreland Gazette* and to William Cobbett.

"Oh, generation of vipers, who 'hath warned ye to flee from the wrath 'to come?' What hath caused you, proprietors of the *Westmoreland Gazette*, to consider yourselves safe and secure under the immediate patronage and protection of William Cobbett? Shall I address you, gentlemen, in this language, or, rather, shall I not say unto you, 'How long, ye simple ones 'will ye love simplicity, and ye fools 'hate knowledge?' What! will it be believed that the proprietors of the *Gazette* have circulated a paper—a mere piece of buffoonery and humbug—under the signature of 'William Cobbett,' copied by them out of that unprincipled journal, the *True Sun*—that base and revolutionary publication of which Cobbett is a proprietor? Will this be believed by

"their partisans, or by the public?
 "Yea, and moreover, they have designated this publication, a *popular London journal*. They have permitted, and most likely ordered Tyras Redhead to appear in print under the signature, 'William Cobbett.' And who is Tyras Redhead? Why, the agent of the proprietors! And who are the proprietors? Rank Tories!—a part of the close corporation of Kendal! The old dispensation are proprietors—those individuals who pride themselves on not being *political*, in not busying themselves with *political* and *religious* controversies—those persons who deny that parties and politics form any part of their *immaculate* construction. What was Henry Hunt? A professed Radical! Yea, and I am proud to be called a Radical; yet, I rejoiced to see Hunt expelled from the legislative assembly. And why, because he was a worthless hireling, a time-serving demagogue. He truckled to the Tories—he sought to build himself a house upon that foundation which was tottering to the base—he sought to establish himself in the way of *getting money* amongst a class of oligarchical, factious, despotic tyrants, and on this account he was rejected by the honest men of Preston, and is now sent to *Coven-try*—by the political world. But what said the Tories of Kendal, when they had ascertained his fate? Why, that *they had requested* him to offer as a candidate for this borough! Then, I ask, what will become of William Cobbett, the '*time-server*,' at the next election for Oldham? Will the people have him again? No, no! He *now* says, 'I will not sweep away the House of Lords!' He says, 'I agree with my Lord Eldon!!' and this he repeats. But did he say so *before* he was member for Oldham? Not he, indeed!! If he had, he never would have been member for Oldham. He professed to be a reformer, in favour of liberal Government, and in fact an approver of democracy, and he has now the audacity to rejoice at the defeat of the

"*Local Courts Bill*, and to say that he would have voted against the Irish Church Bill if he had been in the House. Oh, the fool! We judge of men by their actions, and by the company they keep, and when they lift up their voices against every reform we call them Tories, when Cobbett says 'I agree with Lord Eldon,' with one breath, and with the next 'I want a democratical Government,' I say he is a —! Believe him not, electors of Oldham! cast him off!! he is a wolf in sheep's clothing!!!! But notwithstanding this, he seems to be the pet of the *Gazette proprietors*, part of whom are corporators of Kendal, Tories, and strenuous supporters of the Lowthers; aye, and William Cobbett is a Tory, he wants a place amongst them; and when the Tories have got into power again, when they have established a *standing army* to rule over us, and muzzled William Cobbett with a *pension*, then they will renew their system of plunder; and I fear if this should occur, a reformed Parliament cannot frustrate their evil designs. But will the Tories, will the corporation, will the *Gazette proprietors*, the tools of my Lord Lonsdale, dare to bring William Cobbett here, when he is rejected at Oldham? Is their adoption of his letter, a sign that he is to be adopted? No, no! they know the people of Kendal too well; they have already discarded one castaway, of a little more importance than William Cobbett, though equally a time-server, and they will as readily reject Cobbett or any other man selected by the bigoted, tyrannical crew. The people of Kendal are aware of the value and importance of the measure which has been rejected by the Tory aristocracy, every tradesman knows the difficulty of obtaining his money from obstinate and knavish debtors, and every tradesman feels the want of Lord Brougham's bill. And here let me recur to the language of Cobbett: he says, 'As things now stand, a cruel creditor cannot bring his action for

“ ‘such a sum’ (meaning a debt under 20l.) ‘without *losing more than the sum itself*, but this (the bill) would enable such creditor, by the use of cheap law, to strip the poor man of ‘his shirt,’ &c. Oh the vagabond! Then a man is to be at liberty to get into debt, but it seems to be a crime for a creditor to ask for his own again. This may be a creed suitable enough for Wm. Cobbett, but probably Sir Francis Burdett may have reason to complain of the system. Every honest man who purchases goods on credit, does so with the intention of paying for them, and if there was a law to enforce the payment (but now according to his own showing there is not) then poor families would live more regularly. We should have no drinking one week, and running into debt the next, to support a half-starving family. Besides all this, stupid William, thine is the method for making poor men. How many hundreds of unprincipled vagabonds, having the appearance of men of property, and actually being men of property, get into debt, and then avoid payment in consequence of the expense of law; thus not unfrequently ruining some honest tradesmen. Wm. Cobbett and the Tories may rail as they will, but the people of England are at any moment ready to fight side by side for Lord Brougham, in *whose glorious and effulgent rays* such simplicity and weakness such absolute imbecility as that displayed by Cobbett, and the simpletons who copied his double-faced demagogue-like epistle, must retire into the shade and be obscured in their own utter insignificance. And now, oh ye honest men of Kendal, permit me to request that you will contemplate the character of the greatest man in Europe—the Chancellor of England. Conceive that you hear him speaking to the House of Lords in the following proverbs:

“ ‘They would none of my counsel, they despised all my reproof—therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way and be filled with their own devices.’

“ ‘For the turning away of the simple shall *slay* them, and the prosperity of fools shall *destroy* them.’

“ ‘But whoso hearkeneth unto me shall dwell safely, and shall be quiet from fear of evil.’

“ ‘*Woe* to those factious, self-witted, unprincipled characters, who have dashed the cup from our lips and appointed us for a season; and *woe* to those who now rejoice in our temporary defeat.

“ A FRIEND TO THE PEOPLE.”

COTTAGE MANUFACTURES.

(From the *True Sun* of the 18. inst.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

SIR,—Amongst these the making of straw-bonnets and hats is one of the most useful and important. The material for this manufacture, prepared according to the directions given in *Cobbett's Cottage Economy*, is as superior in toughness and in beauty to straw cut when it is ripe, as silk is to cheap calico. We fear that for our friends in the southern counties our information comes rather too late: not a moment must be lost. The wheat is to be cut close to the ground about one week after the bloom has dropped, that is, just as the grain is beginning to be formed in the ear, and the lower part of the straw has begun to change its colour. It is then to be tied up in little sheaves with two pieces of string, one near the bulb, and the other about half-way up; this little bundle ought to be six inches through at the bulb, and no more; it ought not to be tied too tightly, lest the scalding should not be perfect. Place them in a large tub or vat, not in too large a quantity at a time, lest the water should get cooled; for upon the perfect scalding very much of the goodness of the material depends, and therefore the surest way to effect this is, after the bundles of straw have been carefully laid in the vat, and a few boards with bricks or weight of some kind laid upon them (for they would otherwise float to the surface), pour in as much scalding

water as will reach the whole of the straw ; having done so, let that run off immediately, turning in as much more as will cover the straw a foot above the upper sheaves. In this state they are to remain for a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, then take them out with a prong, and carry them carefully to the ground where they are to be bleached, which ought to be short grass. Here the sheaves are to be untied and the straw laid along in rows, as thin as they can be ; if it were possible, no straw ought to have another lying upon it or across it. It must lie twenty-four hours thus, and then be turned over ; each side ought to have twelve hours of clear sunshine ; if the sun be not very clear they must remain longer. After this they are again to be tied up in convenient bundles, and (being then roughly dry) be bound for use. For the rest we must refer our readers to the book already mentioned. The above is all that is necessary for the immediate acquisition of the material.

Country Editors will do a public service by copying this.—I am, Sir,

A FRIEND TO HOME MANUFACTURES.

July 16, 1833.

"BEST POSSIBLE" CHRONICLES OF CONSISTENCY.

(From Cobbett's Magazine.)

The *first* duty of one who has the press at his command, is, to act honestly himself ; his *next* duty is, to detect and expose dishonesty in others. The public writer who acts up to this, may indeed be called "*the best possible public instructor*," and be justly ranked amongst the benefactors of mankind. Those who have been constant and attentive readers of the daily press, will be inclined to agree, that the opposite of these have been its characteristics. This may, by some good-natured people, be called harsh censure ; but let such read the characters the papers give of each other ; let them weigh attentively the evidence they adduce of each other's villany when they fall out, as in the case of the

Times and the *Courier* some time ago, and they will, we are persuaded, immediately agree with us. These papers do, indeed, make common cause against any one that does not belong to their *body*, just as the two factions, whom they represent, make common cause against any one who may manifest a dislike to the system by which they all thrive. With them it is a sort of family quarrel : they call each other by the ugliest names, but wo to the unlucky wight who shall venture to tell each that his description of the other is a correct one !

But there is *one* paper which has, in some degree, maintained a character for honesty and consistency superior to that of its compeers. It has, indeed, been a little *crotchety* on some subjects ; as, the treatment of the poor, the currency, and the like ; but still many people have thought it honest : and its bold advocacy of the Reform Bill experienced very general approbation. No real reformer ever put confidence in the *Times* : its services were acknowledged when they happened to be exerted in the just cause, upon the same principle (as Major CARTWRIGHT used to say) that we reward, when they deserve it, the most abandoned characters when they fight our battles by sea or land. But the *CHRONICLE* has stood, in the estimation of the public, in a very different light ; and it may not be without use to show, by extracts from its own columns, how far it is entitled to the respect and confidence of the people. We shall begin with an extract from the *Chronicle* of the 10. July, 1829.

"We are not anxious that parliamentary reform should be *too much accelerated*. We mean, by parliamentary reform, not a mere transference of the franchise from one or two corrupt boroughs to Birmingham, Manchester, and a few more large towns, but such a reform as *would afford protection to the people*. The people of England have, of late years, made considerable advances in improvement ; and we do not doubt that the progress of improvement will here-

"after be greatly accelerated. The hope of England is the number of towns which facilitate the circulation of knowledge among the people. Each town is a centre from which the rays of knowledge spread in all directions. If the people of England are yet too generally *ill-educated and grossly ignorant and prejudiced*, it is to be recollected, that our *civilization is recent*, that our towns *are of yesterday's date*, and that the character of a people can only be changed with time. * * * * * If a parliamentary reform of a searching kind could be effected without violence, the ignorance of a very great proportion of the people (and after the late *beastly* exhibitions, no man would think of questioning it) might be productive of little injury; because, though a man may himself be unable to arrive at correct conclusions with respect to political questions, he may err less as to the men deserving of confidence. But a parliamentary reform in this country (*superseding as it would to a certainty, the House of Lords*, or reducing it to an echo of the democratic house; whereas the democratic house is at present the creature of the aristocratic) will *never be effected without commotion*: and we should exceedingly dread the *letting loose the population of England, in their present state of ignorance*."

Within a year and a half after this passage was published in the *Chronicle*, the "*ignorant*" and "*beastly*" people of England drove from his post of Prime Minister, the "foremost man of all this" aristocracy; not for calling them *ill-educated, grossly ignorant, beastly, and prejudiced*, as the *Chronicle* had done, but for merely proclaiming that no reform was necessary, and that none should take place while he held his position of Premier. And what did the *Chronicle* do upon this occasion? Did it commend the Duke for his manly declaration, and support him in his resistance to the demands of the people? No such thing! The *Chronicle* now became one of the loudest in the cry for

reform; and, as we shall presently see, held language that would not have been suffered with impunity in any paper not connected with one of the factions. When the people began to doubt the sincerity of the Whigs, and, in consequence of that doubting, to relax a little in their zeal, the *Chronicle* became alarmed, and thought it necessary to stimulate them to fresh exertions. "So far," said the *Chronicle* (1. May, 1832), "from dreading a disposition to incessant changes, we are rather inclined to *dread the apathy of the people*." No fear was now felt by the *Chronicle* of the consequences of "letting loose" the ignorant population. On the contrary, they were now become so enlightened, the towns had to spread their "rays of knowledge," that the "population" had become, in the opinion of the *Chronicle*, superior in knowledge and honesty to the higher orders themselves: for whilst the *Chronicle* urged the people to a direct interference in the affairs of Government, it represented (28. May, 1832) "the majority of the Peers as either the most contemptible of men in point of information, or the most worthless in point of principle." Yes! this is the *Chronicle's* description of that body, which the same paper, in July, 1829, wished to continue in the possession of an uncontrolled power over the lives and properties of the people of England, whom it exceedingly dreaded to set "loose in their present state of ignorance."

Now, however, the "ignorant" people had been "let loose," and it was found necessary to the accomplishment of the views of the Whigs to *set them on*, not only upon the Tories, but upon the system. "The Ministers," says the *Chronicle* (5. June, 1832), "have hitherto acted with supreme folly and blindness in not exposing fairly to the country the bed of roses to which they succeeded in every branch of our affairs, in every department of the administration." A few days after this (26. June, 1832), the *Chronicle* again burst out in the following strain:—"We wish Lord Grey had *taken stock* when he accepted office. He

"should have come down to the House of Peers with a plain *expose* of the state of the country, and of the Augean stable of corruption. He should have drawn out a Dr. and a Cr. account. There was the *debt*; the *Bank claims*; the *Colonial system*, worn out and decaying for want of bold repairs; *Municipal* institutions cankered with time and grown out of fashion; the *East India monopoly*; *Laws* in confused heaps; the *Penal Code* written in letters of blood; *Corporations* close, corrupt, and detested; the *Church* for centuries unreformed; *Trade* and *Commerce* awfully depressed, and burdened with an overwhelming taxation; the ancient and salutary amusements of the people terminated; *Swing* nightly illuminating the country; the people excited and raving at the refusal by WELINGTON and PEARL of all reform, great or small; the House of Peers swamped by a century of Tory creations; the House of Commons two-thirds returned by the most corrupt and unpopular means." This is the *Chronicle's* description of the concern which the Whigs were content to take and to carry on, not only without making "a plain *expose*" of its state, but without once alluding to that state in such a way as to give offence to their predecessors. This is the concern which the *Chronicle*, in 1829, dreaded to see the "ignorant and beastly people let loose" upon, lest they should break it up; and this is the concern which the *Chronicle* again became enamoured of, when it found its friends, the Whigs, firmly (as it thought) fixed in their places. The motive for these changes it is impossible to mistake. When the *Chronicle* was reproaching the Whigs for their "supreme folly and blindness," it was labouring under an apprehension as to the probable result of the then coming elections. The Whigs, by their yielding to the Tories, by clogging their bill with the hateful disfranchising clauses, had begun to grow unpopular; but the result of the elections re-assured the *Chronicle* of the permanence of its friends' power; and the *Chronicle* be-

came, to the disgust of the people, one of the foremost amongst the eulogists and upholders of the men whose "supreme folly and blindness" the *Chronicle* had so justly censured.

If the change of the *Chronicle* had been only from bad to good, it might have had credit for honesty of intention; its abuse of the people in 1829 might have been ascribed to ignorance of their real character; and, although no acknowledgment of error was made, the strenuous efforts of the *Chronicle* during the passing of the Reform Bill seemed to prove beyond doubt its sincerity in the cause of reform. But the "supreme" baseness of its recent conduct; its support of the Ministers in their refusal to give any practical relief to the people; in their refusal to reduce the taxes; in their measures of severity towards the people; and in their profuse expenditure of the people's money: all this must convince every man who is not "ill-educated, ignorant, and prejudiced"; in short, it must convince the nation, unless it be, as the *Times* calls it, "a stupid beast of a nation," that the pretended zeal of the *Chronicle* was nothing more than a part of that system of Whig trickery by which its patrons contrived to keep their places, and to procure the return of that House which is now acting as the scourge, instead of being the protector, of the people. *From this House, and from this Whig Ministry, GOOD LORDS, DELIVER US!*

PATRIOTISM; OR, OUR LOVE FOR AND DUTY TO OUR COUNTRY.

No. III.

(From Cobbett's Magazine.)

If patriotism consisted of nothing more than such simple requisites as have been specified in our preceding remarks under this title, the subject would be so easy for all men to understand and to agree upon, it would be open to so little dispute that we should have had no cause for making it a matter of further comment. But that *duty* which

we have proposed to discuss is by no means perfectly described by the bare rule, that *we ought to adhere to one country, and, if possible, to one country in preference to all others*. The most important portion of our undertaking remains to be performed. The substance of what we have already contended for is this:—that, in so far as nature is concerned, all men are patriots of necessity; and that, as respects civilized nations, policy requires in a patriot, that he should confine his views of *country* within some local bounds. Men's *feelings*, however, can be ascertained only by their *acts*; and, in pursuing this inquiry, it remains for us to answer the question: what is necessary in a man's conduct, as a subject or citizen of a civilized state, what part should he *act*, to prove him a *patriot*?

It is out of the benefits that we receive from our own country that our attachment to it arises. Those benefits are, as before observed, incalculable in number, and almost beyond all power of definition in the variety of their nature and the influence they have upon our condition. Besides our parentage, family relations, friendships and acquaintance, and those social customs which are in unison with our earliest and fixed habits; besides these, we have advantages in a civil birthright which are extended to us nowhere else; we have protection in the enjoyment of our property, and an assurance of personal security; we have even a provision for our wants, in case of necessity, made out of the substance of our neighbours; we have claims to offices or appointments of power and emolument; we have the means of acquiring titles and distinctions in society as the reward of superior ability and integrity, privileges and honours which it is the interest of nations and individuals to grant and to deserve, but which strangers are not suffered to possess. Many of these benefits, at the least, are indispensable to the happiness of civilized men; and though we may obtain some of them abroad, many of them we cannot, unless it be

by extraordinary accident; and all of them, or those the most valued, we can under no circumstances whatever.

The possession of our share of these is the benefit of *country*. By this benefit we become indebted: we receive an obligation, and that implies a *duty*. Society confers the obligation on us, and to it our duty is owing. Every man is bound to have regard for the good of those who are the source of good to himself, and on whose welfare his own welfare is depending.

For society to exist at all, there must be unity; for there to be unity, there must be obedience to some paramount authority; and, in order to maintain such an authority, society has need of what is called *government*. A government would be of no effect if it had no power to control and enforce. So that it is necessary to give it that power; and to that power each one of us must, for the sake of the whole, be content to submit himself. Society, through its government, has continual demands upon us. To refuse compliance with its demands would be to set the government at defiance; and to defy the government which society has set over us, is to commit the greatest of crimes against our fellow citizens or subjects, because it tends to dissolve that by which they are held united. The government being, then, properly the first authority in the country, the first duty of a *patriot* consists in his submission to the will of the government. The demands which a government is empowered to make upon us, though imperative, are not of an unreasonable, indefinite, or arbitrary kind; because they are made in accordance with express *laws*, which laws are sanctioned by society, and convey to the government the authority it asserts. In obedience to authority so established, it is right that we should not only abstain from what is injurious to the public, but that we should observe what may be of use to it, by deeds. We are called upon to employ our means in maintaining the social state of which we are ourselves a part; and while we are possessed of means available to such a purpose, it is just that we should so de-

vote them as far as we can afford. The support of the government itself, the paying for labour performed in the offices of state, the administration of justice, the providing for the destitute, the carrying on of wars, could not be effected without our contributing, out of our own pockets, to defray the expenses they occasion; nor could we deliberate in choosing councillors or officers, nor they deliberate or fulfil their offices for us, unless a part of the time and trouble of the choosers and the chosen were employed in the service of the public; nor could defence or attack be made on the part of a nation, without our being liable to be called out to exercise our knowledge and skill, without our talents and resolution being brought to aid, without our persons, even at the risk of our lives, being put into activity.

When we say *government*, we mean to include all that power, of whatever it may consist in general or detail, which is made by the will of society to be superior to the will of any minority of its members. We are supposing it, of course, to be a *good* government; a power not in opposition, but agreeable to, the wishes of the people; a power answering, in its operations, to the ends for which it became invested with its authority to act. But it does sometimes happen, that the part of the community which is delegated to execute the commands of *government* commits an abuse of its power, by overstepping its authority; and, whether those holding the power employ it properly or not, it must often happen that laws or public measures affecting the condition or prospects of the people become matters of question; and as upon the settlement of such matters more or less of advantage or mischief to all men must depend, and as they cannot be rightly settled without the concurrence of those who are to be affected, it is a part of the business of each individual to consider them. The necessities of one and all are concerned; private and public interests are depending together; and the well-being of every particular citizen or subject obliges him, to a certain extent,

to look to that of his fellow citizens or subjects. This brings us to *politics*, in the pursuit of which our business consists in promoting our country's good, and in averting its evils or supplying remedies to cure them.

Though there are some of us who never assume the name of "*politician*," and who do not pretend to be deeply acquainted with the *science of government* (as *politics* have been defined) yet we are all citizens or subjects, and belong to some *governed* community; we are all under the order of laws of one kind or another; and we have consequently all a political state of being. This state of being consists in the relative *interests* and *rights* of a nation and of the individuals of which it is composed. If the rights of men were unlimited by laws, every one would claim to have and to do whatever he pleased, according to his own ideas of his own interest. Civil society, however, has ordered it otherwise. But if society did not think of every one, it would not consult its own general advantage. The community being made up of a number of persons, the more the ordering of the whole is beneficial to every one of them, the better must be the condition of all when taken together. And this is universally allowed by the contentedness or discontentedness of nations; that in which the greatest number of persons are well off being considered as the most prosperous, and that in which there is most misery as the most unfortunate nation. The laws of every well-governed nation will, therefore, grant to every one belonging to it as many advantages as possible. They will allow every one to act as much after his own will and judgment, and to gain as much for his particular use, as can be suffered consistently with the safety of others. They will leave him as free as his dependence on the rest will possibly admit. They will confer upon him the benefits we have before mentioned, only balancing his interests and rights along with those of the community, in such a way that neither may suffer from too much being given, or from what is due being denied.

Too much would be given if every one of us were to be let to do as he happened to think best for himself; and if we did not submit to be called upon for anything towards maintaining the civil benefits we enjoy in common with our fellow-subjects or citizens, such a want of submission would throw all that belongs to us into jeopardy. So that the *duty* of a patriot is bound up with his own and his country's *interests* and *rights*; and a man would be wanting in that *duty* if he were not disposed to regard his wealth as in some measure belonging to his country, if he preferred his individual freedom to its security, if he were unwilling to give up a portion of his time and trouble to its need, if he did not lend his personal efficiency, though with danger to himself, when required so to do.

That the rights of the public are to be thought of before the rights of individuals, is a principle in the laws of England (*jura publica anteferenda esse privatis*). But this principle does not war against the just interests of persons; because it is only a part of a set of laws which most studiously respect our interests, both public and private, by defining our rights, and rendering them, as far as possible, secure. It does not set the inclinations of each one at naught; it merely says, that they shall be subordinate to those of all. For, so long as society ordains that a man shall enjoy the *benefits* before mentioned, it is, in fact, not less his duty than his right to *insist upon their preservation*. It is only upon the condition of having these secured to him, that he gives up his original title by the law of nature. And a man is unworthy of what he has a right to, if he will not maintain it: he is unworthy, if he suffer his limbs to be bound, without endeavouring to set himself free; if he receive a blow, without resenting it; if he be robbed, or sustain injury to his property, without seeking redress; if his privileges be wrested from him, without his demanding to have them restored; if he be persecuted by arbitrary power, without making a stand; if his mouth be gagged when he would fairly state his opinions,

and he do not do all he can to remove the obstacle to his speech. Society has given him his rights; and it is for the interest of all, as well as justice to the individual, that he should take care of them. He is required to do this, both for his own sake and for that of his country. Were he to neglect it, the sacrifice would not be confined to *him* alone: one part, at least, of the whole would have given way; one opening would be made to the lawless invader; society itself, as far as the instance of his wrong might chance to concern it, would be attacked and abandoned to destruction for want of a defence.

We were about to cite the cases of *HAMPDEN* and others, in proof of the necessity there is for all men who value their country as they ought, and who know what is wanted for its good, to make resistance against the attempts of unwarranted power in whatever form it may present itself. But our general views as to such emergencies are already stated; and the arguments which apply to every case of abuse of public authority are almost too plain to be made more so by illustration.

There is, however, one other thing to claim our attention before we quit the subject of Patriotism: a thing which, by reason, should ever be strictly in accordance with the *Interests* and *Rights* of which we have spoken; but which is, by perversity or by some worse cause, too often made directly to clash with them, and to render the *Duty* of men in [their public capacity a matter of invidious doubt. That thing is, the *Ambition* of a Patriot! and to it we shall return in our next.

FACTORY BILL.

At about one o'clock this morning, the House of Commons divided on the Factory Bill of Lord ASHLEY, and defeated his bill, in fact, by 238 votes against 93. The *MILL-OWNERS*, as they call them in Yorkshire and Lancashire, thus carried their point *so far*. I shall

give a more full account of the matter another time. It is now six o'clock, and I did not get to bed till half-after two; and this must be printed and published this afternoon. I think it right, to prevent misrepresentation, to report what I said upon the subject, especially as it was so very little. I attempted to speak four or five times during the evening; but did not get an opportunity. The debate was closing at half-after twelve; and the main argument of the opponents of Lord ASHLEY was, that if two hours labour from these children, under eighteen years of age, were taken off, the consequences, on a national scale, might be "truly dreadful"! It might, and would, destroy manufacturing capital; prevent us from carrying on competition with foreign manufacturers; reduce mills to a small part of their present value; and break up, as it were, the wealth and power of the country; render it comparatively feeble; and expose it to be an easy prey to foreign nations. What I said, was that which here follows, as near as I can recollect, word for word. "Sir, I will make but one single observation upon this subject; and that is this: that this 'reformed' House has, this night, made a discovery greater than all the discoveries that all former Houses of Commons have ever made, even if all their discoveries could have been put into one. Heretofore, we have sometimes been told that our ships, our mercantile traffic with foreign nations by the means of those ships, together with our body of rich merchants; we have sometimes been told that these form the source of our wealth, power, and security. At other times, the land has stepped forward, and bid us look to it, and its yeomanry, as the sure and solid foundation of our greatness and our safety. At other times, the Bank has pushed forward with her claims, and has told us, that great as the others were, they were nothing without 'PUBLIC CREDIT,' upon which, not only the prosperity and happiness, but the very independence of the country depended. But, Sir,

"we have this night discovered, that the shipping, the land, and the Bank and its credit, are all nothing worth compared with the labour of three hundred thousand little girls in Lancashire! Aye, when compared with only an eighth part of the labour of those three hundred thousand little girls, from whose labour, if we only deduct two hours a day, away goes the wealth, away goes the capital, away go the resources, the power, and the glory of England! With what pride and what pleasure, sir, will the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. P. Thomson), and the honourable member for MANCHESTER behind me, go northward with the news of this discovery, and communicate it to that large portion of the little girls whom they have the honour and the happiness to represent!"

Strange to say, our Chancellor of the Exchequer really appeared to be *angry* with me for this! For, having complimented the mill-owners on the "*strong minds*," of which they had given proof, he was "*free to confess*," that in the speech of the honourable member for Oldham he found a very "*striking contrast*" with the effusions of those strong minds!

BISHOP OF EXETER'S SPEECH.

LAST night (18. July) this Bishop made a speech, I believe, nearly five hours in length, against the Irish Church "*Reform*" Bill, as it has been ridiculously called. I will preserve the whole of this speech, first and last, in the *Register*, if I can, as a great curiosity; and I begin with it here.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

IRISH CHURCH TEMPORALITIES BILL.

The Bishop of EXETER said, that it was unnecessary for him to assure their lordships that he rose to address them with feelings of the greatest anxiety upon this subject. When he considered the great importance of the subject itself, and that it involved such serious

difficulties as now stated by the noble Lord who had just sat down, and yet when he heard that noble Lord state, notwithstanding all his solemn objections to the measure, that he would vote that the bill should be read a second time. When he found a noble and discriminating mind, like that of the noble Lord, forced to consent—from policy to consent—to the second reading of this bill, in the face and in spite of all the objections and principles which he had raised against the measure, he (the Bishop of Exeter) could not but feel the responsibility of the task which he had undertaken in venturing to offer his sentiments to their lordships upon this subject. Yet he was content to bear all that responsibility, and to lay aside all personal feelings, in order that he might do what he considered his duty to the Church of God. He believed that there was some part of this bill which he should be obliged to treat of with some degree of restraint. In another place a right had been asserted, which had always been firmly and prudently denied to them by that House, to consider and decide on the amount of any tax that might be laid on the country by Parliament. He lamented that that right had been asserted; on such an occasion as the present, because the tax to be laid on by the bill then before their lordships was laid upon a set of men who were not represented in the other House of Parliament—at least, not by any of their own order, and who were not, therefore, enabled to defend their rights. He thought, then, that the present bill ought to have been brought, in the first place, into the other House of Parliament, where those guardians of the church were, (Hear, hear), whose duty it was to watch over the rights and interests of the church, and who were always ready to do so. He was aware of the ground on which the other House claimed the right of instituting all bills which had connexion with the raising of money, and he, nor he should think any one, would wish to see it abandon that right. The other House claimed the right, because they were the representatives of the whole nation, and

because their constituents would have to bear the greatest part of every burden which might be laid upon the country. But in the present instance quite the contrary was the case. The constituents of the members of the other House of Parliament would have but a very small part to bear of the tax laid on by the bill (hear, hear); and he thought that the very principle on which they claimed that right was the principle on which they ought to have commenced the bill in their Lordships' House, in order to enable the representatives of the body of men on whom the tax was principally to be imposed, to consider and to consent to the measure, before it was submitted to the other House of Parliament. He thought that means could have been found, by which such a course could be pursued; for instance, by bringing the plan before their Lordships in a series of resolutions, instead of bringing in by bill, as had been done. If that course had been pursued, they should have had time and opportunity to consider the tax in all its bearings, and they should have been enabled to approach this great question with much less difficulty—with much less appearance of hardship to those on whom the tax was to be laid, and with much less chance of incurring a danger, which they were always anxious and always ought carefully to avoid—namely, the danger of a collision with the other House of Parliament. He was the more disposed to think that the bringing in of this measure by way of resolution than by bill would have been more advisable, as he thought they would by that course be more likely to come to a settlement which would be satisfactory to all parties. For, as the noble Earl had stated, that the great objects of the bill were, in the first place, the removal of a tax which had led more than any other to a spirit of insubordination among the people of Ireland, especially against the institutions of the Established Church; and, secondly, the improvement of the constitution of the church, or, rather, a better distribution of its revenues. Now as to the first of those propositions, it did not appear that there would be any parti-

cular difficulty; but by the second, the Government seemed to have intended a higher plan than was at first intended—namely, an improvement of the constitution of the church, or a better distribution of its revenues; and in order to accomplish that object, the noble Earl stated that they proposed, in the first place, the total and absolute abolition of Vestry Cess; in the second place, the augmentation of the smaller livings; and, in the third place, the building and repairing of churches. This was the way in which the noble Earl proposed to improve the constitution of the church and the distribution of its revenues. With regard to the plan proposed of abolishing the Vestry Cess, he would have to address their lordships at some length. And with regard to the other two parts of the proposed measure, he could say that no class of men could be more desirous to augment the smaller livings, and to build and repair churches, than the bishops. No men would more willingly forward any plan which might be proposed with an object of that kind in view; and he was sure, that in such a case, the bishops would throw all personal interests out of view, and would look to the necessity of the case, and would regard the pecuniary sacrifice which they might be called upon to make, merely as means placed in their hands to afford the nation the best opportunity of worshipping God, and of receiving the instructions of the gospel. (Hear, hear). It would be found that by the statement made by the noble Earl last night, no means were provided in the present measure for the accomplishment of these objects. From the figures stated by the noble Earl (and he hoped the noble Earl would correct him if he happened to make a mistake), he understood him to say, that the amount of the church cess to be abolished was 63,241*l.*, the augmentation of 465 livings, which was the number to be augmented, since it appeared that that was the number of less value than 200*l.* a year, and that the average number of raising them to that sum would be 46,500*l.* The building of churches he had stated at 20,000*l.* a

year, and the building of glebe-houses at 10,000*l.* a year. This made a total sum of 139,741*l.* But in that calculation the noble Earl had forgotten one item. He had forgotten no less a sum than 5,000*l.* a year, which was the charge for the commissioners. (Hear).

Earl GREY was understood to say, that that sum would be defrayed out of other sources.

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BELL, E., Cambridge, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

GUTHRIE, R., Cochrane-terrace, Portland-town, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

ARKELL, J., Stratford-upon-Avon, auctioneer.

CASE, J. R., Hunter-street, Brunswick-square, grocer.

FLUDE, T. S., Mincing-lane, wine-broker.

FORD, T., late of Canal-road Wharf, Kingsland-road, coal-merchant.

GIFFORD, J., Lopeu, Somersetshire, lime-burner.

HONE, R., Brighton, grocer.

KENDRICK, W. Birmingham, jeweller.

KENWORTHY, J. R., Liverpool, druggist.

LANGRIDGE, J., Salisbury, stay-maker.

LEDWARD, E., Liverpool, hat-manufacturer.

PAUL, J., Houndsditch, baker.

POTTER, W., Broad-street, Golden-square, grocer.

RADCLIFFE, S., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

RIGLEY, J. M., Pontefract, merchant.

TYLER, M., Lyncombe and Widcombe, Somersetshire, retail-brewer.

WATSON, R., Bury, Lancashire, cotton-manufacturer.

WILSON, J., and H. R. Wilson, St. Osyth, Essex, grocers.

{ TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

STEWART, J. C., late of Calcutta, but now of Torrington-square, merchant and agent.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

PARKER, J. T., Cambridge, broker, carpenter, and baker.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

ELLIS, D., now or late of Bourne, Stroud, Gloucestershire, boat-builder.
KNOWLSON, W., W. Skin, A. Baylis, and D. Allison, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, drapers and grocers.

(BANKRUPTS.)

AMOS, J. Birmingham, corn-factor.
BELLAMY, W., Sheffield, corn-factor and miller.
CROCKITT, E., Grane-yard, Sedgley, Staffordshire, pig-iron-maker.
HUSTABLE, J., Bristol, freestone-merchant.
JENNINGS, J. C., and **W. C. Jennings**, Bristol, corn and provision-merchants.
JONES, W. now or late of Bridgend, Glamorganshire, mason and builder.
PAYNE, T., late of Folkestone, Kent, inn-keeper.
POWELL, C., Birmingham, linen-draper.
SOLLOWAY, J., Powick, Worcestershire, horse-dealer.
STOKES, T., now or late of Cradley, Worcestershire, druggist and grocer.
TONGUE, M., Theatre Tavern, Lower Temple-street, Birmingham, retail brewer and grocer.
WRIGHT, U., Bury-street, St. James, Westminster, carpenter and joiner.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 15.—The supplies fresh up to this morning's market from the home counties were only moderate. The trade opened brisk for Wheat, and an advance of 2s. to 3s. per qr. was demanded for the better qualities of Corn. As, however, the prices of Flour remained undecided, millers refrained from purchasing, and the market closed dull, with an improvement of 1s. to 2s. per qr. for the better descriptions, as compared with this day se'nnight; and an extra fine Essex sample obtained 67s. St. Swithin, which is an ominous day in Mark-lane, has passed without rain, which some speculators will no doubt consider favourable, though we understand in the environs the Saint preserved his watery character. In bonded Corn there was a partial inquiry, but holders having advanced their demands, prevented actual business from transpiring.

Barley was in very short supply, and, owing to the scarcity of samples, grinding qualities are noted 1s per qr. higher.

In Malt no variation.

Oats experienced a fair demand, and the prices of this day se'nnight were supported.

Beans dull, and prices nominally unaltered.

Peas come very sparingly to hand, and the late rates fully supported, both of Boiling and Hog descriptions.

A few of the leading millers would not sell under 55s. per sack; but the principal one considered the top quotation 53s. and

a few did not advance their quotations. In this unsettled state of the trade the business transacting was limited.

Wheat	54s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	32s. to 34s.
— Boilers	38s. to 44s.
— Grey	33s. to 35s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	31s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new	—s. to 60s. per barrel
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	73s. to 74s.
— Limerick	73s. to 74s.
— Waterford	74s. to 75s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 15.

This day's supply of each kind of fat stock was, for the time of year, good, both as to numbers and quality. With prime small Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, trade was somewhat brisk; with Beef, the middling and inferior kinds of Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, as also with Pork, very dull, at Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; and the remainder about equal numbers of Scots, intermixed with a few Norfolk home-breds, Welsh runts, and Devons, with, perhaps, 100 Town's-end Cows, and about as many Herefords, the same number of Irish, a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c. The Scots, &c., chiefly from Norfolk, with a few of them from Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire; the Devons and Welsh runts, for the most part from Northamptonshire, our midland and western districts; the Sussex beasts, from Sussex, and the Town's-end Cows, chiefly from the London marshes.

About four-sixths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about one-seventh South Downs, and the remaining sixth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and old Leicesters, with a few old Lincolns, horned Norfolks and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About a moiety of the Lambs appeared to be South Downs, about a fourth new Leicesters, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Dorsets, and Kentish half-breds, with a few Kents, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 19.

The arrivals this week are fair. The market dull, at the prices of Mouday.

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3 per Cent.	} Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	} 88½	88	88½	89½	89	89

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First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 81.—No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 27TH, 1833.

[Price, 1s. 2d.]



COPY OF A LETTER TO LORD ALTHORP.

Westminster, 23. July, 1833.

MY LORD,

As author and bookseller, I do myself the honour to send your Lordship a book that I have just published, and to which I have prefixed an introduction, treating, both introduction and book, of the *terrible effects of paper-money in the United States of America*. As a member of the House of Commons, I take the liberty to request your Lordship to read this book, along with which I send you a specimen of that paper-money, in a bank-note for *twenty-five cents*, that is to say, *twenty-five English halfpence*, the like of which note are in full circulation in the great state of **SOUTH CAROLINA**; and which note being a very precious commodity, I request your Lordship to have the goodness to return to me when it shall suit your convenience. In addition, I think it right to inform your Lordship, that **SIR THOMAS BEEVOR**, who has just arrived from New York, assures me, that the current money, in that city, consists of *one-dollar notes*; and that it would be extremely difficult to get a five-dollar note exchanged into five silver dollars. My own transactions with New York enable me to state, that nineteen pounds five shillings of our present money are equal in value to a hundred dollars at New York; whereas, if all were in coin, a hundred dollars are equal in value to twenty-two pounds ten shillings.

I deem these things well worthy of your Lordship's attention, at this time,

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

and am sure, that you will ascribe this proceeding of mine to nothing other than a sense of my public duty.

I have the honour to be,
my Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

To the Right Hon.
Lord Viscount Althorp.

Oldham, 17. July, 1833.

AT A MEETING OF THE OLDHAM ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION HELD THIS DAY, IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED,

I. That this meeting cannot consent to the proposed enormous grant of twenty millions of the public money, in name of compensation to the owners of West Indian property.

II. That this meeting has heard with grief and astonishment, that in the bill for the abolition of colonial slavery, it is proposed to compel the slave to become an apprentice for twelve years, during which time he is not allowed the choice of his master, nor is he to be required for his labour, which is in fact only a state of modified slavery under another name, and which we have reason exceedingly to dread will cause insurrection and bloodshed in the colonies.

III. That by the plainest principles of religion and justice, the slave has an undoubted right to his freedom without delay and without price. This meeting, therefore, cannot consent to any plan for which he is made to pay either in whole or in part, the price of his emancipation.

IV. That to intrust to the colonial assemblies the power of legislating in any way, in reference to the labouring population, independently of the British Parliament, after the experience we have had of the iniquitous nature of their proceedings towards their bondmen, would indicate a degree of folly difficult to be characterized.

V. That an extract from the minutes of this meeting signed by the secretary, be transmitted to the members of the borough, and that the signatures of as many of their constituents who approve of these resolutions as the time will admit of, be also procured.

Extracted from the minutes by W. FULLARTON WALKER, Secretary.

We hereby express our cordial concurrence in the sentiments expressed in the foregoing resolutions, and request our representatives to give their most strenuous opposition to the bill for the abolition of slavery in its present shape.

Oldham, 18. July, 1833.

Thomas Swire
Edwin Jackson
John Earnshaw
John Bentley
William Wilson
Thomas Ramsden
William Oakes
Anthony Frith
William Knott
John Knight
Edward Brideoake
John Hewitt
Paul Wurburton
John Earnshaw, jun.
Alexander Taylor
Thomas Swire, jun.
John Halliwell
Samuel Hall
William Sharp O'Neil
William Wilkinson.

TO MR. W. FULLARTON WALKER.

Westminster, 24. July, 1833.

SIR,—I shall most assuredly act agreeably to the wishes of those who have subscribed the paper sent to me by you on the 18. instant. Indeed I had anticipated those wishes by voting against any and every grant of public money proposed to be made on this account; and, as to the apprenticeship part of the project, I deem it, besides its glaring injustice, to be little short of madness. I look upon the whole of this project as being neither more nor less than a crafty scheme for perpetuating the slavery of the blacks, and, at

the same time, getting money out of the sweat of the whites, to put into the pockets of the slave-owners.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Philadelphia, June 19, 1833.

TO WM. COBBETT, Esq, M. P.

SIR,—As the organs of the "Association of the Friends of Ireland in the City and County of Philadelphia," we have the honour of transmitting through you to the people of England and Scotland, the enclosed "Address to the People of Great Britain and Ireland."

In selecting you as the medium for communicating the indignant feelings awakened in this country by the base and recreant Whigs in the present reformed Parliament, we are influenced by the unrivalled intellect and unsurpassed honesty and perseverance with which you have advocated the great cause of liberty and justice.

While we thus lay before you, and through you, the people of Great Britain, the sentiments excited in this country by the despotism and deception of your Whig Ministry, permit us to offer our individual admiration of the power and effect with which you exposed their cruelty and injustice towards Ireland, and their treachery towards the people of England.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants.

JAMES HAGAN, M.D.,

WM. W. HALY,

Corresponding Secretaries of the Association of the Friends of Ireland in the City and County of Philadelphia.

MR. COBBETT'S ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,—I am exceedingly obliged to you for the great honour that you have done me in making me the channel of your very able and public-spirited address to the people of Great Britain, which address you have sent

to me, beautifully printed on elegant white satin, and which I shall preserve with the greatest care, and which I hope will, by every one who shall bear my name, be deemed more worthy of care and preservation than titles of nobility would be, or than decorations coming from all the despots on earth.

But, gentlemen, I am afraid that this address, coming from your climate, is rather TOO WARM for ours; at least, for the only channel of general communication which I have at my command. I am afraid that it would not only burn the *Register*, but *singe me*; for, you are to understand, that, though his Majesty is graciously pleased to allow us freedom of speech in the House of Commons, his Attorney-General may have his peculiar opinions relative to what any of us may say and publish, when "out of doors"; and, if those opinions should, unhappily, take an adverse turn with regard to this PHILADELPHIAN production, that which you have intended for my honour and renown, might, if a jury could be found to consent to the deed, very possibly lay me by the heels; and that would be an awkward position for a "honourable member" to be in.

However, that such an address should remain unpublished in England, is not probable. Some one with more courage, or, [at least, with less about him to offer temptations to an enforcement of those peculiar opinions which I have alluded to above, will, I dare say, communicate this address to the people of this country; and, in their name I can venture to assure you, that they now see, at last, the necessity of putting an end to all jealousies between England and Ireland, and of resolutely uniting against those who are the enemies of both. The people of England and Scotland, beginning at EDINBURGH and NEWCASTLE, did their duty well with regard to the horrible measure of coercion, which has very naturally filled you with indignation; and they will be repaid for all their efforts, by seeing that their conduct has been so justly appreciated in that country of real freedom in which you reside, and which, though

now beset by the monster of paper-money, will strangle the monster and resume its freedom, in spite of all its craft and all its execrable dealings.

Be assured, that I receive this testimony of your approbation with great satisfaction and pride, and that I will endeavour to deserve it by a zealous discharge of all the duties imposed on me by the situation in which I have been placed by the electors of Oldham.

I am, your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

POLICE COMMITTEE.

THIS committee closed its inquiries on Tuesday, the 23. instant; and the committee is to meet, in order to agree on the Report on Wednesday, the 31. of this month. When the report is agreed on, it, together with the evidence taken by the committee, will be carried and laid before the House. My readers will not be so unreasonable as to expect from me, the expression of any opinion with regard to what that report will be; and still less will they expect from me a statement of the evidence, either in substance or in detail. I must say, however, that the committee has done its duty with great diligence and care; and I must say, besides, that one job like this is quite enough for any man in any one session of Parliament. It is now three weeks since this committee was appointed; and if I were to be paid at the rate at which I should expect to pay a lawyer for a similar quantity of labour; that is to say, if I had to pay a lawyer for so much labour, I should think myself a lucky fellow, if he let me off for five hundred pounds. So that a member of parliamentship is no sinecure, at any rate. This is the first committee that I have been put upon. I see the greater part of my brother-members loaded with labour of this sort. Sometimes one man belongs to three or four committees, all of which are sitting at one and the same time; and they are compelled, of course, to omit attending

some of them ; or to step in and out and afford their help by spells. I have had but this one to attend to ; and, if I have found it quite work enough for me, what must be the wonderful capacity of those members who can perform their duty on four or five committees at the same time. I will say one thing for the Ministers ; and that is, that they have had great consideration for me, as to this matter. They have shown a desire *not to wear me out*. Just as we do with good old horses upon a farm : let them rest while the young ones are kept at work ; and only bring them out to help at seed time or harvest. This was harvest time : the weather fine ; the police-corn ripe ; so they brought me out and set me to help a little ; and, though slow in my movements, they will not find, I trust, when they see the produce of our labours, that I am of the "*old chaise-horse*" breed. Slow enough, to be sure ; but not jibbing from the collar ; not dancing a hornpipe with my ears down upon my poll, when the load began to pull back the traces. While I express my gratitude to them for having been thus indulgent to me, I beg my readers, and particularly my constituents, to be assured, that I have been anxious, on this occasion to show that I am worthy of the indulgence ; and that, if the House, that is to say, the Ministers, shall be pleased to continue to be thus sparing of me, I will, upon these extraordinary emergencies, not be sparing of my remaining strength.

I beg my readers to suspend their judgment as to the result of the labours of this committee. The *REPORT* and the evidence, when they have been laid before the House, will be *printed*, according to the usual practice. When printed by the order of the House, they may be reprinted by any body else. Until that is done, the public cannot know what has taken place before the committee ; and, then, every one may know, and every one be enabled to judge for himself. It is a very great matter : it is a matter that comes home to every man : it will attract the attention of every man, who is not a mere insensible worm in society ; and, there-

fore, it must become notorious, and familiar to the minds of us all.

My readers will recollect that this committee consists of the following members :

Mr. Tennyson
Mr. Lamb
Mr. Hawes
Mr. Estcourt
Sir Robert Peel
Lord Hothiam
Mr. Solicitor-General
Mr. Jervis
Mr. Harvey
Mr. Kennedy, member for *Ayr*.
Lord Ebrington
Lord Morpeth
Mr. Charles Buller
Mr. Grote
Mr. Alderman Wood
Mr. Clay
Colonel Evans
Sir Thomas Freemantle
Mr. Finch
Mr. Cobbett
Mr. Stewart Mackenzie
Mr. Phillpotts.

The order as printed in the votes of the House stands thus : " Select committee appointed to inquire into the matter of the petition of Frederick Young and others of Watworth and Camberwell, complaining that policemen are employed as spies, and praying that the people may not be taxed to maintain those spies."

THE FINISHER.

SHORT PARLIAMENTS.

ON Tuesday night Mr. TENNYSON made a motion for shortening the duration of Parliaments. After a long debate, the House divided, when there were 164 for the motion and 213 against it. Our constituents need not be told that my colleague and I were in the minority. The Ministers declared for Septennial Parliaments ; and this I call the *Finisher of the Whigs*. Any man, who, after this, believes them to be sincere in their professions relative to

reform, and to just and cheap Government, is a FOOL: and any man who affects to believe them such is a KNAVE. I remember that, many months ago, I said, in the House, that any man who believed them to be sincere in their professions, was a fool; and the honourable Member for ASHTON said, that, if that were true, he was a fool. He voted with us, I believe, in the minority; and what he thinks upon the subject now, I cannot tell. I shall preserve in the *Register* the whole of this debate as I find it reported in the *Morning Chronicle*, expressing my deep regret that Mr. O'CONNELL's excellent speech should have been omitted. I looked for it in the *Times* newspaper also, and found it was not there. I regret very much that anything should have occurred to produce this effect; and I do hope that the like will not occur again, and that the public will not have injustice done it on account of the disagreement and anger between individuals. I shall say nothing further upon this debate, because I shall insert it in this present *Register*. The people will be at no loss to form a correct opinion upon the subject. They will know well now, that there is no hope without a further reform of the Parliament.

SLAVERY.

I MEAN slavery in the West Indies; and not that in England, Scotland, and Ireland. By-the-by, I wonder whether spies are sent amongst the blacks. There was a debate upon this subject on Wednesday night, when Mr. BAXTON made a motion for *mitigating* the slavery in future. I did not think it worth while to quit my police-business, in order to be present upon this occasion. If I had been, I should have gone away and not voted at all, being resolved to vote for no measure of abolition, that shall not *at once and absolutely set the slaves free*; being also resolved to vote for no measure that shall give the slave-owners one single farthing of the money of the people of this

kingdom; and being perfectly convinced, that the measure proposed, if it could possibly be carried into effect, would make the lot of the slaves worse than it is now.

A NEW FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English. — Part II. English and French. By WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.—Price 10s.

INTRODUCTION.

To be attentively read before you begin to use the book.

IN this DICTIONARY, as in all the other books which have come forth from under my hands, I have endeavoured to make the matter as clear as possible, that being, in my opinion, the first quality in literary works of all sorts, seeing that it is of no use to write, unless that which you write be understood; and seeing that the less trouble the reader has to get at your meaning, the more likely he is to get at it, and, of course, the more likely he is to profit from your labours.

I have not made a book for literary men, for persons curious with regard to the origin of words, or with regard to great niceties in the use of them; but, for persons who want to get at a competent knowledge of the meaning of words, and of that word, in one of these languages, which amounts to the same meaning in the other language; and this end I have endeavoured to enable the reader to accomplish with as little trouble as possible; avoiding all those superfluities which only serve to waste time and to arrest the attention of the reader on matters foreign to the pursuit in which he is, at the moment, engaged.

A Dictionary abounding with etymological curiosities, with examples of the uses of words, with quotations from authors, and with minute peculiarities as to idioms, is, indeed, not only a curious, but an *amusing* book: but, it

is not an *amusing* book that we want here; it is a book of *use*, and, if it contain any thing to divert us from that use, it does us harm; it wastes our time, and withdraws our minds from the object immediately before us. This has happened to me a thousand times, I dare say. Having looked for my word, I have found such a fund of amusement growing out of it, that, if I were translating, for instance, I have not only wasted my time, but have returned to my idling work, if not with absolute reluctance, at least with a want of the full force of those ideas with which I had quitted it. If my reference to the Dictionary had given me only the word I wanted and its full meaning, or meanings, without any amusement, my time would have been saved, and the spirit of my labours would have been unabated. It is this experience that has been my guide in regard to the compilation of this book. As in my English Grammar and in my French and English Grammar, so in this Dictionary, I have endeavoured to prevent others from experiencing the loss of time and the inconveniences that I myself have had to encounter and overcome. And, were it only for the following circumstance, I should think that I had succeeded: no people have to resort to Dictionaries so often as PRINTERS; and to no people can accuracy combined with saving of time, be of more importance; and my printers tell me, that this is "the most HANDY Dictionary that they have ever seen;" a character of it which I should prefer before an eulogium from all the reviewers in the world united.

There are two descriptions of persons who stand in need of a Dictionary; namely, those who have *learned grammar thoroughly*, and those *who have not*. To the former the TABLES prefixed to the Dictionary, will not be necessary; but, to the latter, especially when they have to *write*, or to *speak*, in either of the languages, these TABLES are absolutely necessary; and, if they be diligently attended to, they will, of themselves, very soon enable any learner of common capacity to overcome some of the greatest of those difficulties which

English people meet with in the learning of French; as will clearly appear, when I have described the contents and the uses of these TABLES, which are six in number, as follow:

TABLE I. contains an explanation of all the ABBREVIATIONS used in both PARTS of the Dictionary, ranged in *alphabetical order*; so that, if the reader meet with an abbreviation, the meaning of which he does not understand, he has only to turn to this *Table*, where he will find the explanation in the alphabetical place of the abbreviation itself, and directly opposite that abbreviation. For instance; in the Dictionary, after the word *absent*, you find *adj.*; and, opposite the abbreviation, *adj.*, in the TABLE, you find *adjective*; so that, you thus know, that *absent* is an *adjective*. So on with regard to the other abbreviations; and, with regard to the whole of them, a very short time, with due attention, will make you so familiar, that you will have no further need of referring to the TABLE.

TABLE II. relates to the PLURALS of FRENCH NOUNS. It is preceded by the RULES (*three* in number) for forming the plural numbers of FRENCH NOUNS. As to the GENDERS of FRENCH NOUNS, those are fully indicated in the Dictionary itself. This TABLE relates solely to the forming of the PLURAL NUMBER. First come the THREE RULES; and then follows an *Alphabetical List* of such nouns as depart from those rules. Let us take, for instance, the noun *trou*, which, according to the SECOND RULE, would, in the plural, be *troux*; but, it is not so; it is *trous*, adding an *s*, like nouns coming under the FIRST RULE. The Dictionary gives you the word in the singular number only; the SECOND RULE shows you, that the word *trou*, being a noun ending with *ou*, would form its plural by adding an *s*, and not an *x* to the singular; but, if you look into the List that follows in this TABLE, you will see that *trou*, though it does end in *ou*, takes an *s* and not an *x*. There are, as you will see, but *twenty-six* of these irregular nouns; so that, with due attention to the Table, you will have the whole of them

familiar to your memory in a very short time; for, the List being *alphabetical*, you will always find your word in a moment. Let us now follow the process all the way through. You are writing French, and, wanting to use the French word for *HOLE*, you look into the English part, you find the French word to be *TROU*; but, presently, you want to write about two or more *HOLES*, and how are you to know how to form the plural of *TROU*? Why, first look at the *RULE*, and that will tell you, that it must become *TROUX*, because it ends with *ou*; but, before you write, look at the *LIST* of exceptions; and there you will find that it must be *TROUS*. On following this practice for a little while, you will find that the whole matter will be safely lodged in your mind.

TABLE III. relates to the *NUMBER* and the *GENDER* of *FRENCH ADJECTIVES*. English adjectives never change their endings for the purpose of denoting either the number or the gender of the nouns to which they belong. Far different is it with regard to the French adjectives: they have changes in their endings for the purpose of denoting both *number* and *gender*; that is to say, the noun demands an adjective agreeing with it in number and in gender; and the adjective must vary to accommodate itself to the number and gender of its noun: thus, as to number; *un bâton BLANC* (a white stick), *deux bâtons BLANCS* (two white sticks). Then, as to the gender; *une main BLANCHE* (a white hand); *deux mains BLANCHES* (two white hands). It is, therefore, a very important part of our affair, to learn the rules for changing the endings of the adjectives for those purposes. The changes for the purpose of denoting the *number* are not, as will be seen, numerous, and do not give rise to rules of any difficulty; but, as this *TABLE* and its *LIST* will show, the *gender* of adjectives is a thing of very great importance, and must be strictly attended to. In other Dictionaries of the two languages, this object is attempted to be provided for by *abbreviations* placed against the adjectives themselves in their places in

the Dictionary: but this has always appeared to me to be very clumsy work, causing a great waste of time; and, indeed, nine times out of ten, doing nothing but puzzle the learner, and tend to disgust him with his undertaking. Let us take an example. You want to use a French adjective to express the meaning of the English adjective, *MALICIOUS*; and the English part of Boyer's Dictionary (and of other Dictionaries) tells you that the French word is *MALIN*. Then, in looking at the French part, to see how this word changes to denote the feminine gender, you find "*MAL-IN, IGNE*." Now, though I know that the *IN* is to be added to the *MAL* to make the *masculine*, and that *IGNE* is to be added to the *MAL* to make the *feminine*, how are you to know it? Again, you want a French adjective to answer to our adjective *RED*, and you find it thus in the French part of Boyer's Dictionary:—*ROU-X, SSE*. What is a learner to make of this? Then take our adjective *SWEET*; and you find in the French of Boyer, "*DOU-X, CE*." He who *already understands* the language knows, that in these cases the *x* is to be added to the *ROU* and the *DOU* to make the *masculine*; and that, to make the *feminine*, the *sse* is to be added to the *ROU*, and *ce* is to be added to the *DOU*; but, how are these things to be known to him, child or man, who is *learning* the language? One more instance. Take the adjective *RELIGIOUS*; and in Boyer's and other Dictionaries you find it thus, "*RELIGIEU-X, SE*." Here, again, I know, that, to form the *masculine*, I must take in the *x*; and that, to form the *feminine*, I must exclude the *x*, and take in the *se*. But how is a learner of language to know this; and how is it possible that it should not do that learner harm rather than good? I have, therefore, in my Dictionary, given only the *bare word*; that is to say, the word as it is found and referred to in the English part; and, of course, in the French part, the above three words stand thus:

MALIN, adj. malicious, malignant, mischievous.

ROUX, adj. red-haired, reddish.

DOUX, adj. sweet, mild, gentle, &c.

RELIGIEUX, adj. religious, pious, devout, &c.

42 Part II

And now we are to see the use of my TABLE. You find the word *MALIN*, for instance; you find it to be an *adjective*; you want to know how it forms its *plural* or its *feminine gender*, or both; you turn to the LIST in TABLE III., and there you find that, as to the *plural*, the word follows the FIRST RULE, and merely takes an *s* in addition; and that it is, in the *feminine*, *MALIGNE*. You proceed in the same manner with regard to *ROUX* and *DOUX*. But, when you come to *RELIGIEUX*, you do not find it in the LIST. It, therefore, follows the RULE: that rule is the SIXTH; and, as the word ends in *EUX*, you will see that the rule tells you, that, to form the feminine, you must change the *EUX* into *EUSE*.

And thus you proceed with regard to all other ADJECTIVES; and, you will find, that, at the end of a month of diligent application, you will never again want to look at either RULES or LIST: and I am, from my own experience, convinced, that the method which I have here provided for the acquiring of this important part of the desired knowledge, will *very greatly shorten* the work of learning French; that it will save to parents many of those pounds which are expended in the teaching of their children that language, and, which is of still more consequence, tend to save them from that cruel mortification which arises from the children *not learning* the language after all.

TABLE IV. relates to the forming of the PLURALS of ENGLISH NOUNS. The RULES and the List of IRREGULARS are taken from [my own ENGLISH GRAMMAR; and they are so plain and so easily understood, that the French child or grown person must be dull or dilatory indeed, ever to commit a mistake as to this matter, after a month of application; though mistakes enough, with regard to it, are often committed by English men, and by some men too who come from the Universities; and, if even they were just to look over this part of my Grammar, it would not do them any harm.

TABLE V. relates to ENGLISH ADJECTIVES; that is to say, to the changes in their endings for the purpose of de-

noting the degrees of comparison; for they vary not to denote either NUMBER or GENDER. This matter (coming also from my English Grammar) the learner will find so plainly stated as to make this part of his task a thing not to cost him above sixty hours in the whole.

TABLE VI. ENGLISH VERBS. This TABLE contains the rules for changing the endings of our VERBS, and also a complete LIST of our IRREGULAR VERBS. The matter is taken from my *English Grammar*; and I venture to say, that any foreigner of ordinary capacity will master the whole thing in the space of ten days; and, great is the shame, that we so often see English men, and gentlemen, too, who write as if they had never seen, or heard, any thing about the matter; a matter so easily understood, and so essential to guard them against committing vulgar and really disgraceful errors.

Such are the uses of these TABLES, which, I verily believe, will do more, if properly attended to, in teaching French to ENGLISH people and English to FRENCH people, than all that is to be found in all the other INTRODUCTIONS to DICTIONARIES that are in existence. The recurrence to these TABLES, which will, at first, be necessarily very frequent, will daily become less and less necessary; and, at the end of a very short time, the reader will have the whole matter in his mind, will trouble himself no more about the TABLES, and will find, that he has made a considerable progress in the learning of the language. In conclusion let the learner be duly warned against the danger of supposing that a foreign language is to be learned without labour; that it is a thing to be overcome by saucy looks or loud talk. It is a valuable thing: not only a great intellectual accomplishment and ornament; but a really *valuable acquisition*. Not so valuable as that obtained by a seven years' apprenticeship to a shoemaker, tailor, or carpenter; but, still, a thing of real value as a means of obtaining an honest livelihood. But, then, the language must be really learned; not learned a little bit. If "a little learn-

ing be a dangerous thing," in other cases, it is still more dangerous in this case: to have a mere *smattering* of French in the one case, or of English in the other case, is not only useless, but a great deal worse; giving nothing but conceit, false pretensions, exciting the contempt of observers, producing mortification in friends, and inflicting cruel disappointment on parents. To young English people I particularly address myself; and exhort them, if they undertake the task of learning French, to labour at it assiduously, to attend well to what I have said in my introduction to my FRENCH GRAMMAR; to recollect that every hour of labour which they now bestow, will be productive of fruit to be enjoyed to the last hour of their lives; to bear in mind, that, if they once acquire the habit of labour now, that habit will stick by them; and, above all things, to bear in mind, that if they let slip this season for labour, it will never return.

With this advice to those who are to use the book, I send the book itself to the press, out of that very room in which Dr. JOHNSON compiled his Dictionary; not, however, without observing, that, in the *French assistance* which I have had in this compilation, and which assistance has been very great, I have, I believe, had as sound judgment and as great learning as were possible to be found either in England or in France.

WM. COBBETT.

Westminster, 24. July, 1832.

REFORM.

ANNIVERSARY DINNER OF THE CARTWRIGHT CLUB.

(From the True Sun of 22. July.)

The anniversary dinner of this institution was given on Saturday evening, at the Eyre Arms, St. John's Wood. There were over one hundred and fifty members present.

Mr. O'Connell, M. P., in the chair.

After the cloth was removed, the following grace was said by the Rev. Dr. Wade:—"O God, for this thy food make us thankful; and may it give us strength to pursue our radical course with renewed vigour."

The CHAIRMAN in proposing the first toast, "The people, the only legitimate source of power," said that the club would be unworthy the name of the great and good man whose efforts they were met there to commemorate and honour, if they postponed the toast, "The people,"—to any other toast whatever. (Cheers). The people had now escaped from the saugs of the oligarchy, principally through the example he had set them in his life and in his writings; and though perhaps all he had desired was not yet effected, there could be no doubt but it would follow, sooner or later, according as the energies of the nation were directed to those objects. When he (Mr. O'C.) looked back upon the history of the English people—a people celebrated for one quality above all others—common sense—when he reflected upon the position in which, despite of all their common sense, designing and dangerous men had succeeded in placing them, he only wondered, not that reform were not accomplished sooner, but that they could, even for a moment, have submitted to the degradation they lay quietly under. Not that they did not earlier file away the rivets of their chains, but that they did not rise at once like a giant and burst them over the heads of their few and feeble oppressors. (Cheers). There was a time, and that not long since, when the constituency of England had no representatives, and the members of the legislature no constituents. (Cheers). Now, indeed, it was not so, for there was no representative without some constituents—one of the blessings of reform. But why did he talk of the blessings of reform? what particular or practical good did the people derive from it yet? It was all very fine to talk about liberty and law, reform and retrenchment, in the evening, but of what value were these fine speeches to the country when the result of it might be proved by vulgar arithmetic the next morning to be a majority for Ministers on whatever question they choose to command it? (Cheers). And that was the reformed House—and in that manner was it ruled by a Whig administration. (Cheers). The paltry Tories, they who kept the country so long in chains, were now so chicken-hearted, that they were afraid to turn out the Whigs, though the power were even put in their hands. They knew their fate if they dared assume office: the public had been deceived by the specious profession of individuals at the late general elections, and had in consequence paralysed to a considerable extent their own exertions and judgments; therefore, the curse of Whig domination rested heavily on the country still. (Cheers). But what was the first act of the treacherous representatives of the people in a reformed Parliament? It was to assist this wretched Government in crushing constitutional liberty in Ireland, and substituting military license in its stead. (Cheers). The Whigs and the reform Parliament might by possibility forgive themselves, and forgive one another for this nefarious

nious act—(laughter)—but as long as the breath of life animated him, he would not forgive the injuries they inflicted on his country. (Cheers). Well, three months of the session they wasted in cogitation, and the result was the Irish Coercion Bill—(groans)—and ere three months more would have elapsed, the same meed of justice would have been applied to England, only that they were afraid of the Tories ousting them from their places. (Cheers). They had, in fact, now that the end of the session was at hand, done nothing of good for the country during all its protracted sitting: but they had filled her cup of evil to the very brim. Where was the vote by ballot?—the short Parliaments?—the extended franchise? Not even dreamed of: or if dreamed of, scared designedly away. Had not the Ministers—for they and the reformed Parliament were one and the same,—indivisible, had not they in place of doing any of these, endeavoured to destroy the little of those fractions of good, which the wisdom of our ancestors handed down to us, and which even the Tories, when most drunken with their wickedness, had not dared to desecrate? Had they not done every thing in their power, by the late atrocious measure, to destroy the trial by jury? (great cheers). The case which all knew he alluded to, the Coldbath-fields affair, they had thrown into the Court of King's Bench, though in that very room he (Mr. O'Connell) had pledged his professional reputation, while the matter was pending, that the jury, on the showing of the reported evidence, could find no other verdict. And then the newspapers took it up, and argued against the people, by whom they existed, and supported the atrocities of the police, and the insane and wicked measures of the Government, against their benefactors, because they were in the pay of that Government. But why did he talk of newspapers; it was all vain for the public to expect from newspapers, as they were then constituted and managed, any thing like honesty. No! they could have nothing but the distillation of individual malignity, and the concentration of private hate, through those foul mediums. Honesty! the public need not expect honesty, until, by the reduction of the present enormous taxes upon the dissemination of cheap knowledge, the iniquitous monopolies which existed were utterly annihilated. What did the newspapers do but evil? People might talk of them as they liked; but he maintained that, constituted and managed as they were, they did nothing but evil. He would give an instance; for the last three or four weeks, matters the most important to the interest of millions of British subjects were daily under discussion in the House of Commons. The affairs of India were the principal topic—and the fate of that important portion of the British empire the subject of these debates; yet, during all that time, the audacious and miscreant press scarce communicated any thing of all

that was said—hardly a single effort of the many that were made to obtain for the oppressed Hindoos that liberty which was enjoyed at home to the public; and thus the people of England were suffered to remain in ignorance of the acts of their honest representatives, and the countless millions of Indian people had not an opportunity of knowing who in the British House of Commons they should consider their friends or their foes. Such atrocious proceedings on the part of the newspaper press, were unparalleled. It was all in vain to think that they would grow better. Never would the people know the real opinion of their representatives—never would they be fairly informed of those things which conduced to their best interests, until they had a free, an honest, and an independent press; and that they could never have until they had a cheap one. (Cheers). The *Times*, the mighty *Times*, had had during all that period the worst reports of these proceedings; the very worst, because they were designedly bad. The *Chronicle*, once the friend of the people—now how fallen!—had them equally bad, because with the same intentions. But both were in the hands of Ministers, and that fully explained the matter. For it had been well and wisely remarked in France, that the worst enemies of the people were those renegade newspapers which had fallen into the hands of the Government, or the power of certain individuals, members of the legislature. Complaints were making daily and hourly by members of Parliament of the infamous reports of their sentiments which appeared in the Morning Papers—private complaints he admitted. Perhaps they had their own reasons for not making them public, but he had none. He knew well that there was no enemy more feared by a public man than a newspaper: but he was not afraid of them at all; he defied their utmost power and ingenuity, and he would maintain, as he had already done, that it was useless for the public to expect an honest press until they had a cheap one. (Cheers). The hon. Gentleman then went on to advise the country to attack and defeat their old foes, the Tories, and their new foes, the Whigs in particular, as well as general objects—to meet them in the select vestries, and in the open vestries, to defy them in parochial and private meetings, as well as in open and public ones. (Cheers). He was of the *movement* party (great cheering); of that party he should ever continue. The people should watch the conduct of their representatives. (Cheers). He hoped, before long, to see the time when the votes of members of that House would be registered. By leaguely together heart and hand in the holy cause of freedom, by perseverance and determination, by honesty and independence, the people would, ere long, obtain to the full what the illustrious and venerable man, whose virtues they were there to honour, had sought and struggled for all his life; and had only lived long enough not to obtain. (Cheers).

He would, and as he had begun, by proposing—"The people!—the only source of legitimate power," (Great cheers). The chairman, in proposing the second toast, "Our Saxon Institutions; they were founded on natural rights, and ought to be restored to us," took occasion to enter into a minute detail of the representative system as formally practised among the Saxons possessors of England. The earl was elected for his county, the sheriff for his bailiwick, and even the constable for his parish. Then those in office were selected for their good qualities—those of temper and forbearance being the most recommendatory—now they were nominated by the Government for qualities the very reverse; those who could use the bludgeon best being preferred to posts of honour on all occasions. (Cheers). The courts of justice then were solemn and sacred places—now they were bad-joke shops and dens of corruption. Then the people were watched and warded by one another in rotation—now they were laid at the feet of a French *gendarmier*. He thought the worst thing that had ever occurred for England was the establishment of the half-soldier, or part-citizen police, with which the metropolis was cursed, and the country was about to be covered. (Cheers). He had some experience of the police in Ireland, and he would assert that since their establishment in that country more blood had been shed by them than had been shed by the executioner in the course of the law. (Cheers). But in Ireland it was death to resist the police; for there they were all armed to the teeth, with musket and bayonet, sword and pistol. In England it was not yet quite so bad; but it would have been so before that, had the police not made such bad use of their bludgeons. (Cheers). He firmly believed, but for the result of the recent transaction in which they were involved with such credit to themselves and those under whose orders they were, that in less than a year every man of them would have had his cutlass and pistols, if not his musket and bayonet. (Cheers). They should be all got rid of, and others on a better system substituted in their place. (Great cheering). He concluded by proposing the toast. (Drank with great cheering). The chairman said, as there was a sort of slang every where, and St. Stephen's had its full share of it as well as any other place, and as his friend beside him (Mr. Cobbett) was there designated as the hon. member for Oldham, he would take the liberty of proposing his health.

Mr. COBBETT deemed it a singular honour to be selected as the person to offer this toast—*The Memory of John Cartwright*. They were there met, not like the Pittites to celebrate the memory of a man, who, after professing reform for many years, became an apostate, and a persecutor of those who professed the same principles which he had himself so long pretended to approve of. They were not met to celebrate the memory of a man, who, during those persecutions of his

former partisans, caused the *Holborn Cyprian* to be suspended, and the dungeons to be opened to receive those martyrs, who were faithful to the cause which he had deserted. (Hear). They were not met to celebrate the memory of the man who burdened his country with a debt of 800,000,000. (Hear). They were not met to celebrate the memory of a man who brought things to that state, which made it necessary to keep a standing army of 100,000 men in time of peace (hear), and who was the first to introduce the system of *gendarmerie*, which the gentleman in the chair had so well described. In a word, they were not met, like Pittites, to celebrate the memory of the cruel enemy of the people. Nor, like the Foxites (a laugh), to celebrate the memory of a gambler and a prodigate, and one who had been, almost from his birth, a sinecurist; who turned his coat every possible way in the course of his life; who raised still higher the taxes which Pitt left after him; and who had the audacity to say, in the House of Commons, that if the people could not pay their taxes, and afford to live in the drawing-room, they ought to go to the second floor; and if they could not live on the second floor, they must go to the garret. (Hear, hear, hear). No; they were met to celebrate the memory of a man who became a reformer in his early youth, when an officer in the navy, and showed himself all through his life an honest reformer; a man who gave up his commission, and all chances of promotion (and good chances of promotion he had too, for he was young, and brave, and skilful), rather than draw his sword against men who were fighting for their rights and liberties. (Cheers). They were met to celebrate a man who was as virtuous in his private life as he was brave and skilful in his profession; and patriotic in his public conduct. He would tell the meeting an anecdote of Major Cartwright, which ought not to be forgotten. When an express from Paris was brought to Mr. Wharton, the American minister was in London to negotiate the exchange of prisoners during the war, Major Cartwright was in the room with that gentleman. As soon as Mr. Wharton read the dispatch, he put his back to the door, and said, "Now, Cartwright, you may make an immense fortune;" on this he put the dispatch into Major Cartwright's hands; but did the latter take advantage of the information to go and gamble in the funds? No, he did not; and people ought to know the character of the man whose principles they followed. (Hear, hear). Mr. Wharton told Major Cartwright that the information would not be in the possession of this Government for twenty-four hours, and he pointed out the way in which the information might be turned to account by Major Cartwright. But that excellent man refused to take advantage of it, because whatever he should gain must be lost by somebody else. The way in which he (Mr. Cobbett) learned the anecdote was almost as curious as the anecdote itself. In a conversation with

Mr. Wharton, in Philadelphia, many years afterwards, he happened to say something in the way of blame of public men in England; upon which Mr. Wharton said, that there was one man in England for whose sake alone England ought to be saved, and that was John Cartwright. (Cheers). He (Mr. Cobbett) had never heard of Major Cartwright before. Now everybody knew that Major Cartwright was not very rich; and that was not the only sacrifice he made throughout for the sake of principle. There was another act of his, which every man who followed his doctrines ought to know:—His brother lost all his property in a speculation in machinery; he relieved that brother from his embarrassments. (Cheers). Such was the man whose memory they were met to honour. (Vehement cheering). He hoped the day was not distant when the Legislature would fix a mark of honour upon the memory of that man. If any proof were wanting of the want of feeling and spirit on the part of the Whigs, it was that they had sat so long where they were, without any man of them daring to propose a monument to Major Cartwright. (Hear). It was to him they owed their present places. If he had not exerted himself as he had, the reform which the people had obtained, and such as it was, would not have been granted. Certainly they had not got all that Major Cartwright desired; but even that they would not have got but for Major Cartwright's labours, to which his blameless life gave greater value. Having said so much of the man, he would say a little of his principles, which had still to be carried out in practice much farther than the Whigs had carried them. The people had never said that what they got by the Reform Bill was all that was their due; but they had been willing to try if it would produce something like an approach to happiness and liberty. But he would ask, had it done what was expected from it? (Cheers, and cries of No, no). They had given it six months' trial; and of these three were too long. (Cheers and laughter). Three months were passed in contriving how they could put red coats upon the bench and in the jury box, and to give the people of Ireland soldiers and courts-martial, instead of judges and juries. (Cheers). That was quite trial enough to satisfy him. (Much cheering). As to the ballot, it was only a regulation in the mode of taking votes at an election, it was not a principle; but though it was only a regulation, it was one which was necessary in these times for the protection of the voters. (Hear, hear). As to universal suffrage, the enemies of the people said it was madness to talk of it. They asked, "Would you give a vote to a man who has no property?" But he would ask them had not the poorest man a property in his own labour? Why, the other night in the House of Commons, the Ministers and the aristocracy threw out a clause in the Factories Bill, of which the object was only to allow the pretty little girls of Lancashire to go home from their work, (hear,

hear), and why? because if those little girls laboured two hours a day less than they now laboured, the manufacturers, which were the great source of wealth and property to this country, would be all annihilated, our commerce would be ruined, the capital of the country would be transported to foreign regions, and the wooden walls of old England would rot, if only the pretty little girls of Lancashire worked two hours a day less than at present. (Vehement cheering). He did not know but it was argued that the King would be tumbled from his throne if the labour of these little girls were abridged only two hours a day. (Cheers and laughter). Well, then, if the labour even of these little girls were of so much importance—and he took it on the showing of the aristocracy themselves (although to be sure the hypocrites lied most damnably), (cheers), should it still be said that labour was not property? (Cheers). What an insult it was, then, for those very people who argued that way, to say that a man should have no vote unless he had land or a house! Why almost all the pensioners and half-pay officers rented houses above 10*l.* a year, and therefore they were to have votes; but the artisans who earned the money which paid their pensions, and half-pay, and the rent of their 10*l.* houses, had no vote, and were told that they had no stake in the country, forsooth. (Hear, hear, and cheers). There was something so audacious in that, that he wondered that the working man could hear it without smiting to the earth the insolent tax-eater who told him he had no right to vote. (Cheers). But the conclusion to which his (Mr. C.'s) mind and that of every reasonable man came to, was, that every labouring man had a right to vote for the election of those who were to make laws for his life and liberty. (Hear, hear). He should be very willing to forego this right if it could be shown that there would be any danger in the exercise of it, because he was in all things much more for practice than for theory. Let the opponents, then, of universal suffrage show that it would work badly. He contended that the thing was right in principle—it was for those who condemned it to show that it would be bad in practice. (Hear, hear). Well; we had at present a Parliament, a reformed Parliament, sitting six months, three of which were passed in making a Coercion Bill for Ireland; but it had not taken off any taxes. (Hear). Those who rented shops and houses were told that, for their interests, it was enough that they themselves should have votes. But he could tell them that it was not enough for them. The House of Commons was now the representative of what were called the middle classes; and if the house and window taxes had not been taken off, it was the fault of the middle classes. If the reformed House of Commons had been elected by universal suffrage, it would have employed itself upon the repeal of those taxes, rather than upon the repeal of the *Habeas Corpus* in Ireland. (Loud Cheers).

Shopkeepers and tradesmen were within the grasp of the aristocracy, and were far less independent than the labouring classes, whose supposed dependence was made the pretext for excluding them from the suffrage which was at present exercised by those really dependent classes. (Hear, hear, hear). The property of the labourer was real and unalienable, and carried it about him wherever he went. If one would not give him the value of it another would. He need care for no man. He could not be ruined by the withdrawal of any one man's custom. (Cheers). If the middle classes therefore wanted protection they must appeal to those below, not to those above them. (Cheers for some minutes). But some people told us that the country would be in everlasting confusion, if elections for Parliament were to take place every year. On the contrary, he believed that the elections would be much more peaceable, and that the business of Parliament itself would be much less interrupted. In the present session there had been already upwards of ten thousand petitions presented, complaining of public grievances; whereas, during the whole time that he had lived in the United States of America he never knew or heard of more than two petitions being presented to Congress for the redress of public grievances. (Hear, hear). If the representatives came back every year to their constituents there would be no necessity for all those petitions. To be sure, the people in the United States were not burdened like asses with taxation. (Laughter and cheers). What great trouble would it be to him to go once a year to Oldham? and he the other day asked a young nobleman who was alarmed at the thought of a dissolution of Parliament, "Why are you afraid to go to your constituents? Surely you have done all they wanted in the way of reducing the taxes? (Cheers and laughter). You have only to go back to be kissed by the girls, and to be hugged about by their mothers; but when I go to Oldham, I shall only be shaken heartily by the bauds of honest labouring men." (Cheers). The hon. Gentleman then commented at very great length upon the many and enormous cruelties of the game laws and the legacy duties, and in the course of his remarks was frequently and most enthusiastically cheered. He concluded, by proposing as a toast,—"The memory of that virtuous reformer, John Cartwright, the able, firm, consistent, and persevering advocate of universal suffrage, equal representation, vote by ballot, and annual Parliaments."

Mr. RUTT, as the co-peer of Major Cartwright, his most intimate friend, and one of the oldest reformers in England, returned thanks for the honour done that great and good man. He then entered into a review of some passages of the public life of that honoured individual, from the commencement of their acquaintance at the quintuple alliance of the five counties about Middlesex, during the existence of the Society of the Friends of the

People, of which celebrated body they were both members, until his death; and eulogized him as the glory and pride of England, and the perfection of a truly honest man in public and private.

This toast was drunk in solemn silence.

Major REVELL felt the same pleasure in addressing such a body of real reformers as was then present, as a man who pants with thirst in a burning desert, at finding a fount of clear water. The end of all reform was good government; and never would the people of England enjoy it, until they had the virtue to demand a cheap one. Besides, they could never have an effective one otherwise; for the power of a government was always in an inverse ratio to its cheapness. He then went on to trace the present weakness and wickedness of the British Government to the exorbitant sums paid their princes: and for that purpose instanced the prodigate accumulation and expenditure of the public money by the Kings of England, of the House of Hanover, especially particularizing George II. He concluded by proposing "The great cause, good and cheap government." Drank with great enthusiasm. The Chairman then proposed "The health of the Member for Middlesex."

JOSEPH HUME, Esq., M.P., on rising to propose the next toast, said he was happy to meet on that occasion so large an assemblage collected to celebrate the memory of Major Cartwright. Few persons but knew his great and uncompromising efforts to uphold the real and just rights of the people. (Applause). The present was the third anniversary since the erection of the testimonial in memory of that sincere and upright asserter of the rights of the people, and he (Mr. Hume) could find no language that could better portray that great patriot's merit, than that inscribed on the testimonial. He would, with the permission of the company, read it. (The hon. Member here read the inscription). On another part of the monument was inscribed what he (Mr. Hume) was still more anxious to read, as a gentleman (Mr. Hoffman) a citizen of the United States of America, was on his left. On being offered a commission at the commencement of the American war, what was the answer of that great patriot?—"I will never draw my sword against the liberties of the people." (Cheers). It must be gratifying to his friend Mr. Hoffman, to know that Major Cartwright disdained to draw his sword against those liberties sought to be established by his countrymen, disregarding those prospects of which persons acquainted with military life could form the best estimate. Major Cartwright sought a nobler field for enterprise, which was his devotion to the cause of liberty. (Cheers). All who knew him were aware he was steadfast and undeviating in his principles, and he (Mr. H.) was proud to acknowledge he was one of those persons present at the erection of that testimonial which would proclaim in after ages the fame of him who in life was never known to deviate from principle,

the matter whether he was addressing himself to the peer or to the peasant. (Applause). It was his maxim that man was entitled to certain privileges, and he had a right to enjoy them. He (Mr. Hume) could not look back to meetings that had taken place without mentioning one which was held in the year 1778, where Major Cartwright fearlessly avowed those principles in the county court, which he never ceased to uphold up to the year 1824, when he ceased his earthly career. Major Cartwright's object was cheap government, equal laws, and universal suffrage, instead of adopting those mean and contemptible measures of coercion carried on by the Ministers of the present day. Major Cartwright was the enemy of all monopoly; no taxation without representation was his maxim, and to those principles he devoted his valuable life; and much and sincerely was it to be regretted he was not spared so that he might have witnessed the events of the two preceding years; but he foretold that the people of England would yet see the time when the friends of liberty and good government could no longer be deprived of their rights. It was absurd to think that the expensive establishments now kept up could much longer continue, and he (Mr. Hume) considered it of the utmost importance for the people to look to the best means of abating those evils which had so long oppressed them. Too long had they permitted others to rule and misgovern their institutions, but such had been the result for many years, and when they suffered such treatment, bound as they were by the neck to the yoke, it was in vain to expect those in power to relax the reins without an effort on the part of the people to seek that redress, which he (Mr. Hume) was rejoiced there was some prospect of attaining, namely, that every man who contributed to the support of the state should have the choice of his representative. (Applause). It was only by an abuse of system that the present evils grew up, but by many and frequent meetings like the one he had the honour to address, with the assistance of active men, the people could best follow up the great objects all had in view, namely, obtaining cheap and good government. (Applause). It was not to be attained by reducing men in the subordinate offices, for when they saw around them expensive establishments kept up, officers paid double salaries, the amount of placemen and unmerited pensioners, it was high time for the people to look at the best means for their speedy removal. It was by adopting what the last speaker (Major Revell) had said, a reduction of placemen, unmerited pensions, and our war establishment, as the only substantial relief tending to lighten the burden that so heavily presses on the people. Allusion had been made to America. He (Mr. Hume) only wished we would follow the example. (Cheers, and loud clapping of hands). In his seat in Parliament he (Mr. Hume) had often, nay never

lost an opportunity of drawing the comparison to prove the necessity of universal suffrage and the vote by ballot; and contended, that, whilst they were bound to give allegiance, they had a right to demand protection. (Applause). The principle of property has not been permitted; namely, giving to every man who contributed to the support of the state, the right of choosing his representative. They had had examples of the baleful effects of the militia laws, which demanded a man's service without giving him the rights of a freeman; but the time would come when it was to be hoped no man would be called on to serve without having a voice in the choice of his representative guardian. The hon. Member related the story of the man and his ass, valued at five pounds, having the right to vote and not the man of property. In continuation he observed—in the United States we are told they have no aristocracy, no established church, no bishops, and little or no taxation; here we have all those evils, as well as placemen and pensioners, with a host of innumerable grievances into the bargain; whereas many persons residing on the other side of the Atlantic scarcely knew what taxes meant. (Laughter). Their national debt was paid. Contentment and happiness diffused itself amongst all classes, and every man enjoyed his right to vote. (Hear, hear, hear). In this country it was very different; but the people had now taken up a position from which they could not retrograde. Movement was their rule—(applause)—stop they could not—(cheers)—and but follow the American example by obtaining universal suffrage and vote by ballot, and let those who make the laws be held responsible as the best protection to the people, which is not the case at present. The measures that have taken place in the present Parliament are beyond parallel: one measure, the Coercion Bill. (Cheers). The people were taunted by the puny remarks about attacking the institutions, and yet here was a sweeping measure aimed at the first right of an Englishman—trial by jury. (Cheers). If there were any gentlemen present, and he (Mr. Hume) saw many around him, who attended to the statements of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. O'Connell) in his powerful arguments, detailing the baleful effects that would result from that bill, proving that the innocent would suffer, yet no sooner did it become the law of the land, than its vile effects were proved; for in less than forty-eight hours after, a proclamation was issued against the city of Kilkenny, with its 5,000 inhabitants, against not one single soul of whom was there a charge of crime to be attached; and all this in defiance of an oft-repeated assurance given by the framers of that obnoxious measure, that it never was contemplated to put the act in force against any county; nay, part of a parish that was not proved to be in a state of insurrection. Too long had this country been divided between two factions, the Whigs and the Tories. The attachment to the party who

were now in power, and so shamefully betrayed the people, was instigated by a feeling of gratitude, and not from principle; but responsibility would prevent a recurrence. Short Parliaments were the best, and as on the 23. July the question of triennial Parliaments would come on for discussion in the House of Commons, it would be seen who were true to their principles. (Cheers). After the next election, if those who had the franchise did not act honestly, he (Mr. Hume) wished to God that the burdens of the country might rest upon them. He hoped and trusted short Parliaments would do away with many of the abuses now carrying on. He would instance the attempt now making to reduce the number of clergymen in Ireland, a country composed mostly of Catholics, and yet the whole House of Commons was last night occupied in discussing the right of sending two additional bishops to India (which was carried); so that it was deemed proper to reduce the number of bishops in a Christian country, because it was hard to make Christians of another denomination contribute to their support, yet at the same time send two additional bishops to be supported by pagans! (Applause). The truth was, that the church is the incubus, and unless it was removed, the country would never prosper. (Cheers). He (Mr. Hume) would call upon the people, if they wished to act like men, to arouse from their lethargy, but if they were so crest-fallen, as to permit such proceedings to go on; men, he would say, who, to the number of 30,000, rose against a Wellington, and drove him from the Government—they deserved to be no better than slaves. He hoped and trusted no Englishman would allow any delegate to take away his vested rights; and, if so, would they permit their Irish brethren to be deprived of their equal rights with Englishmen, namely, trial by jury? The hon. Member concluded, amid loud cheers, by proposing "Trial by Jury."—Drank with three times three."

Dr. CARPUE, before the toast should be drunk, would take the opportunity of expressing his indignation at the way in which the Irish people had been treated by the reformed Parliament and the Whig Ministry. He, therefore, as a mark of sympathy with them, would propose that the toast should be drunk with three times three. It was so drunk accordingly.

Mr. HOFFMAN, an American barrister, being called on by the chair, said he had only been a short time in Britain, and was greatly delighted with the beauty of their country. He would, with all his heart, urge them to press on after sound principles, and when he looked upon their glorious land, an Eden in this world, with its happy temperature and beautiful climate, he must desire its prosperity. They had much to boast of in their laws and system of jurisprudence, and though he admitted they did require reformation, he must admit them in the main to be highly admirable.

He was happy to hear the name of Major Cartwright praised. It was one known and respected in the land he came from, as one of the first to acknowledge the rights of that land. In America, too, they had their parties—Federalist, Republican, and Democrat, corresponding to the Tory, Whig, and Radical of England. With his opinions the meeting had nothing to do, but he could tell them that the Democratic party was the triumphant one. (Loud cheers). He would trouble them with one observation, and hoped he might not be misunderstood. It was that they should go on progressively, and in natural sequence. Nature herself imposed this law of sequence, and where it was attempted to be counteracted, the effort failed.

Mr. MURPHY proposed the next toast—"The labouring man." He cautioned the people against the Whigs, and advised the keeping a registry of the votes of the representatives as a check over their proceedings. He himself adopted the plan, and when one of the members for Marylebone, who had hitherto been negligent, heard of the journal, he began to attend more closely to his business.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that the next toast on the list should be proposed by the honourable, honest, and patriotic member for Falkirk.

Mr. GILLON, M. P., in proposing "The Rose, the Shamrock, and the Thistle; may they form the emblem of Liberty for ages to come," said he felt grateful, a Radical from the north as he was, to be permitted to mingle his sentiments with those of the honest reformers around him. (Cheers). He then proceeded to state the benefits derived by Scotland from even the shadow of reform which had been bestowed by the Government, and grasped by the people. Heretofore Scotland had no representation at all; now the representation was vested, partially though, he would admit, in the people. He then reviewed in retrospect the acts of the present Parliament, the Irish Coercion Bill, the perpetuation of naval and military flogging, the continuation of ecclesiastical domination in Ireland and India, and the confirmation of the Bank and East India monopolies. Things could not remain as they were. The present Parliament could not again be returned. He then argued that it would be desirable to infuse into the Upper House some portion of the representative principle, and at the same time remove the bishops, that they may have more leisure for their spiritual vocations; but all should be done in a constitutional manner as to defy the thwartings of the sternest despotism.

Mr. ROGERS proposed, "Our ancient mode of defence—Arms in the hands of Freemen." He was pleased with the caution of their friend from the other side of the Atlantic; but that gentleman did not know the circumstances of this country. He recently left the land of cheap government and free institutions. When a short time here, he would

perceive from the power opposed to them, they could not go slow. Those by whom they were ill-governed were powerful and strenuous, and they should be met with vigour and quickness. The liberty of a people did not rise so much from their institutions as from themselves. Every man was bound to carry arms, and the law by which they were bound is not yet repealed. The sheriff was bound to call twice a year, and not only see that they had arms, but also see that these arms were in order; and until this practice was renewed there was no hope for freedom. He hoped the day was near at hand when Englishmen would not remain longer unarmed.

Mr. NICHOLSON proposed, "The press, untaxed and unshackled." The press, he said, was generally England's greatest curse. The press was (A voice, "The London Press")—there were one or two exceptions, but it was as a drop of water to the ocean. There was no press for good—it was all for evil. The *Times* and *Chronicle* were worked by the understrappers of the Whigs, and paid like labourers. (Cheers). The Tory press was influenced in the same way by the Conservatives. Many important matters did not appear in the daily papers. Could the Irish Coercion Bill have passed—would twenty millions be granted to the slave-owners, if a free press watched over the interests of the country? No, the country would be moved in every part. If the present Parliament met again—and he hoped in God it never would—their first attention should be turned to this. Brougham must be a slaty-faced fellow if he walked through the streets; he was for cheap schoolmasters and for making knowledge cheap; but if the Whigs had not broken their pledges on that head, the House of Lords would not keep them down, if it were twice as big.

Dr. GILCHRIST proposed, "The Cartwright Club."

Mr. CORBETT gave, "The health of the Chairman," and recommended union between the two countries.

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks, and hoped that since he had a seat in the House of Commons, he had displayed no distinction between English and Irish rights. Gratitude bound him to many of the English and Scotch members, and he should be insensible to the cause of liberty, if he did not acknowledge the aid he received from them.

The CHAIRMAN then left the chair, and the company departed about half-past ten o'clock. It is but justice to the stewards, the committee, and the landlord, to state, that nothing on their parts was left undone to conduce to the comfort and enjoyment of all present.

duration of Parliaments, which debate, I request my readers to go through with attention and to preserve with care. I should not omit to notice here, that Mr. SHREIL made a speech, in answer to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, one of the best, if not the very best, that I ever heard in my life. Full of point, pat to the purpose, the argument close, and the conclusion everywhere coming like the hammer upon the nail, driving it in up to the head. He shattered the noble Lord's oration all to pieces; and Mr. STANLEY endeavoured in vain to gather up the parts.

Mr. TENNYSON rose to move for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the duration of Parliaments. In doing so, he said he was aware of the great difficulty he imposed on himself. He could not but feel he had undertaken an arduous task, in rising to attempt to persuade the House to come to a conclusion that must have considerable effect on the legislation and political affairs of the country. He owed some explanation to the House why he took the liberty of originating such a motion. It would be recollected, that when the noble Lord opposite brought forward the Reform Bill in 1831, he stated it was not the intention of his Majesty's Government to originate any motion on the subject. He alluded to the questions of vote by ballot, and of shortening Parliaments, and stated, that having considered those subjects, Government had come to that resolution, therefore he (the noble Lord) would leave it to some other hon. Member to bring the question forward, should it be thought expedient to do so. The noble Lord added, that should any member think fit to bring it forward, he should be ready to deliver his opinion upon it, and he (Mr. Tennyson) was certainly very anxious to hear what those opinions were. (Hear, hear). It would be found, by referring to what the noble Lord said on that occasion, that he did not shut the door against the repeal of septennial parliaments. (Hear). On the contrary, he said that he thought it a subject well deserving attention, and that the only difficulty was, what ought to be substituted in place of them. It was most desirable that the House should not regard this as a party question, but as a question of strict constitutional importance (hear, hear); and he (Mr. T.) entreated the House and his Majesty's Government to come to the consideration of the subject with that calmness which ought to regulate the conduct of the House in the disposal of every important question. He was not influenced either by popular feeling in favour of his proposition, or by the prejudices which existed in many quarters against it. He would not look

DEBATE

On Tuesday, the 23. instant, on Mr. Tennyson's motion for shortening the

either to the right or to the left, but would do what appeared to him to be right. It was well known, that since the passing of the Septennial Act, in 1716, a general corruption had taken place, both within the walls of that House, and among the people generally. And he would venture to say, that it was now the general, if not the universal conviction among all classes, that the term of seven years was too long for the duration of a Parliament. In the course of the 117 years which had elapsed since the passing of the Septennial Act, there had been twenty-two Parliaments; being an average or duration of rather more than five years each. Fifteen, however, of those Parliaments had occupied ninety-one years, thus averaging above six years each. Before the time of Henry VIII., Parliaments seldom lasted for more than one year; and after that period, with a few exceptions of long Parliaments, which exceptions had occasioned the Triennial Bill of 1694, Parliaments had been of short duration. He was by no means disposed to contend that the liberties of the people of England were altogether dependent on the duration of Parliaments. But he was prepared to maintain that the people of this country had a right to a good Government; and that if the Septennial Act was injurious to good government, it ought to be repealed. During a period of six years (which he took as the fair duration of a Parliament under the Septennial Act), the whole circumstances of the country would be found to undergo an extensive alteration, so that any understanding which might have existed at the commencement of that term between a representative and his constituents would become perfectly useless. A shorter term, therefore, ought to be fixed, in order that the representative might be sooner sent back to ascertain the wishes of his constituents, and to answer to them for his conduct. His great quarrel with the Septennial Act was, that being passed for a particular purpose, it was extended to all future Parliaments. It was the opinion of the late Mr. Fox, and of the present Lord Chancellor (in which opinion he completely concurred), that the circumstances of the time had rendered the Septennial act necessary. There had just been a rebellion, and the parties to that rebellion were watching to see how, by money or otherwise, they could so operate upon an approaching election as to forward their object. That was the reason stated by the Duke of Devonshire, in the House of Lords, when he introduced the bill. The preamble of the bill distinctly referred to the circumstances which had rendered it necessary. (The hon. gentleman here read a passage from the preamble in question). He admitted the difficulty of fixing upon the term of duration which would be most advisable. It appeared to him, however, to be a principle that Parliament should be short enough to permit the representatives to recollect the wants, wishes, and necessities of their constituents, and the professions which

they had themselves made; and also to recollect that they must soon render up an account of their conduct. At the same time he admitted that it was an equally important principle that the term should be long enough to enable the members of the House to pursue a steady and consistent course. But still not so long as to extend the period beyond which it would be morally and physically impossible for the constituents of that House to foresee what might be the state of public affairs before its termination. There was on the Records, of Parliament a most extraordinary protest, that of thirty noble peers, in 1716, against the Septennial Act, which powerfully depicted all the evils which that act tended to inflict on the country. (The hon. gentleman here read the protest in question; which predicted the increase of corruption that the act produced). After the experience of three Septennial Parliaments, in 1731 a motion was made in that House for the repeal of the act; and one of the most interesting debates followed that ever took place within the walls of Parliament. The result was that the motion was negatived by a majority of only 63. (The hon. member here read an extract from the speech of the seceder, describing the mischiefs which had resulted from the Septennial Act).—Subsequently there were numerous motions for annual Parliaments, down to the motion on that subject of an hon. baronet in 1818. At length the corruption both of the House and of the people became so extreme, that some attempt at remedy could no longer be delayed; and happily under the auspices of the noble lord opposite, that great object was accomplished to the public satisfaction and joy. But the work was only half done. In the declaration of the Friends of the People in 1792, signed by Mr. Grey (and it had not the slightest intention to state this invidiously), and other distinguished individuals of that period, it was declared that that association had been formed for the purpose of promoting the two following constitutional objects:—First, to restore the freedom of election, and a more equal representation of the people; secondly, to secure to the people a more frequent exercise of the right of electing their representatives. A petition to that effect was presented from the same body in 1792, to the House of Commons. Let the suffrage be most extensive, and the exercise of it most pure, yet such was the frailty of human nature, that, when a man found himself seated in that House for seven years, his sense of responsibility became considerably weakened, and he was left accessible to all the various attacks of corruption. It was in consequence of its being apparent that long Parliaments were bad Parliaments, and that short Parliaments were good Parliaments, that the Triennial bill was passed in 1693. From the passing of the Septennial Act the public debt had been increased from 50 to 800 millions. In the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, which speedily followed, was laid the foundation of that debasement and

corruption which had ever since disgraced the House. He would not pursue the inquiry through the subsequent periods, being unwilling to offend any party or any individual; but it was well known that both the great political parties in the state had availed themselves of the corruption which he had described, and had governed by what was called Parliamentary influence. The Septennial Act held out temptations to corruption which few men could withstand. Even the interest of the Monarch suffered by it. The prerogatives of the Crown would be safer with short Parliaments than with long ones; for long Parliaments were calculated to produce disunion between the sovereign and his people. This was especially pointed out in the Triennial Act, drawn up by Lord Somers and other great men. (The right hon. gentleman here read the Preamble to the Triennial Act).—He now came to consider what would be the most advisable duration of Parliaments. Some thought five, others four years. His hon. friend, the member for Middlesex, who would second his motion, thought that three years would be the best term. For himself, he could only say, that he should be happy to receive any suggestions on that point. If he were left to his own judgment, he should certainly concur with what appeared to be the general sense of the people; and he adverted particularly to the petition which had that day been presented by a worthy alderman, in favour of triennial Parliaments. But he kept his judgment open to conviction on that subject. The bill for which he should move was simply to shorten the duration of Parliaments. It would consist of two parts; the one repealing the Septennial Act—the other assigning the term to which the existence of Parliaments should henceforward be restricted; the blank for which term, however, would be left to be filled up in the committee on the bill. If they wished to admit the people to a fair and full participation in the Government, they would at once accede to his proposition. If they desired to give a full effect to the great principles of the Reform Bill, they would support him on that occasion. Satisfied was he, that if in this and some other points the Government would only, considerately and wisely, yield to the people, there was no country under the face of the sun where greater sacrifices for the national honour and the national weal, not only as regarded property, but as regarded life itself, would be more cheerfully made. Most heartily did he agree in the observation which had been made on a previous occasion by the noble lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that there was in England a sound and strong feeling of attachment to the law and the constitution. No man during the last twelve months could boast more intercourse, and, consequently, more experience, amongst his countrymen than he could—an intercourse metropolitan as well as rural—agricultural as well as commercial; and he felt satisfied that there was amongst

them not merely a strong but an irrevocable attachment to a monarchical form of government (hear, hear, hear), and a disposition to pay to the ancient aristocracy of the country every deference and respect, so long as they showed themselves anxious to uphold the just rights and the acknowledged privileges of the people. (Cheers). There were, however, some points still left which the people were most anxious to achieve, and this was one; for it went to restore one of those clear and much-prized rights which the wisdom and firmness of their forefathers had left to them. (Hear, hear). It had been sought for under the old Parliament, and if it failed of a favourable consideration in this, disappointment would be deep and universal indeed. The right hon. gentleman concluded (amidst cheers) by proposing his motion.

Mr. HUME, in rising to second the motion, said that the noble lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, in proposing the Reform Bill, had stated that the object of the Ministry was to give to the people a due check and control over the conduct of their representatives. But he stated that they did consider it necessary at that time to connect with it two other measures—the Vote by Ballot, and Triennial Parliaments; and he (Mr. Hume) thought they had acted wisely in not encumbering the essential measure with others of less immediate importance, for, as it had turned out, they had found difficulty enough in what they had undertaken. Having, however, now thoroughly succeeded, they had an excellent opportunity of completing a measure, which, in its perfect state, could not fail to be most grateful and most acceptable to the people. He considered the House should look at the question in one light only—as a means to good government. (Hear, hear). They all well knew, from experience, how prone human nature was to err, and that a trust extending over a period of seven years was seldom duly respected. He was sorry the right hon. Gentleman had left the period for the future duration of Parliament an open question, and had no hesitation in expressing his own preference for a term of three years. Looking to the opinions of the people, which, he contended, as representatives, they were all bound to do, he felt that the change to triennial Parliaments would be completely in accordance with their wishes. He had ever been of opinion that change was never desirable unless real advantages could be plainly foreseen from it; and those advantages were, in the present case, most clear and apparent. If they looked to the period when the Septennial Act was passed, they would find that the people were strongly adverse to it, and that feeling had not in the slightest degree diminished, but rather increased, from that day to the present. The necessary consequence of the people often coming in contact with their representatives, would be, that the public work would be better performed, and the national interests more thoughtfully attended to. But the

present system left the people, in fact, entirely at the mercy of Ministers; and the institutions which were originally good, having been thus vitiated by it, were an evil rather than a blessing to the community. Thus it was we had fallen into difficulties; difficulties which we never even should have dreamed of, if the representatives had been more immediately under the control of the people. They were warranted by the present state of public feeling, in now calling for the further portion of reform. The noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had promised that the Government would not rule by patronage, but according to the wishes of the people. The noble Lord's principle was, that the House of Commons should really represent the people; but he (Mr. Hume) denied that they did so now, or that they were likely to do so if they were not more frequently called to account, and a speedier reckoning determined on. They ought to be more responsible than they were; they ought to be more frequently challenged; their conduct ought to be more strictly investigated, and therefore it was that he seconded the motion of his right hon. Friend the Member for Lambeth.

Lord ALTHORP said, it was certainly true, that his noble Friend (Lord John Russell), in introducing the subject of a reform in Parliament, had entirely separated it from the question of duration; and, therefore, he was not about to argue as if any gentleman, by what took place at the period he referred to, was pledged or precluded from discussing, fully and freely, the motion then before the House. Nor did he intend, though it was his duty to state his own views, to call for the opinion of the House directly upon the subject, but rather to beg their attention simply to this question—Was it desirable to enter on the consideration of such a subject; one which he might term a second edition of the Reform Bill, on the 23. of July? (Cheers). This he really thought would be a sufficient reason for every gentleman, whatever his opinions, reserving himself at the present time. For no one, whatever his opinions or wishes might be, could be sanguine enough to hope to have such a measure as this carried without experiencing a great and determined opposition; such a one, indeed, as would preclude the chance, under the best auspices, of its being passed in the present session. Therefore he thought it would be a great inconvenience to all parties to enter upon such a discussion at that period of time. He had said, and he thought it his duty to state it, for he had no wish to conceal his opinions, that he supported a proposition for shortening the duration of Parliaments, and that support he should now give if the Parliament was at this time in the same state in which it was when he made the declaration. He thought at that time that the influence of the people in that House was below what it ought to be. That, too, was the ground on which he had supported Parliamentary reform. He thought then, and he

thought still, that the proper constitution of that House required that it should truly represent the feelings of its constituents; and when the circumstances of the House were such that a large proportion of the members represented only themselves, it was proper that by the shortened duration of Parliament, the constituency should exercise a greater influence over them than they did. But at the present moment, from all he knew of the feelings of members of that House, and all he knew from his own feelings, from having represented large bodies of constituents for many years, he was convinced that such members did feel most sensibly the influence of their constituents. He appealed to any gentleman in that situation, to say if it was not so (hear, hear) on this very evening, and upon this very question? The right hon. Gentleman had taken a most extraordinary mode of getting at the average duration of Parliaments. He had taken all the long Parliaments, and leaving out all the short ones (hear, hear), because there was something peculiar in the reasons for their dissolution, he found that the average was between five and six years. If he had taken all the Parliaments together, he would have found the average to be between three and four years. He was ready to admit that the Parliament then did not then represent the feelings of the people as it ought. He knew that the hon. Member for Middlesex said it did not do so now. (Hear). He believed that gentlemen on that side were much given to think that the opinions they entertained were exclusively the opinions of the people. (Hear, hear). He did not think they were quite right in that belief (hear, hear), and on such a subject it would suffice to ascertain whether the people were on the whole satisfied with the conduct of Parliament. Now he believed that the conduct of Parliament had been satisfactory to the people, notwithstanding it had not in every instance come up to the unlimited expectations of the first reformed House of Commons. Indeed, the expectations thus formed, were, in many cases, such as circumstances rendered it impossible to gratify. (Hear, hear). He did not think that the shortening the duration of Parliament, as recommended by the hon. Member for Middlesex, and the right hon. Gentleman, would not, if adopted, be advantageous to the people. It was perfectly true, that great reliance ought to be placed on the honest feelings of the people, when they had time to consider any subject; yet there were periods at which they were carried away by particular feelings, and in which, if they were mistaken in them, the duration of Parliament, if much shortened, would give them a frequent and inconvenient opportunity of indulging, perhaps to their subsequent regret. He did not think that the effect of the alteration from seven to five years, would produce any great effect any way, and that such a change would in fact be a change for change sake. On these grounds he should object to the motion. He did not think that the proposed

change would have the effect that was anticipated, of diminishing the expense of the elections, or lessening the spirit of the contest. The election of 1818, though, according to every human probability, the life of George the Third could not last through the whole seven years, was as expensive and as hotly contested as any other. The same was the case with the election of 1831, although it was known that the Parliament would not last more than a few months; but he should not insist on that instance, because there were very particular circumstances attending that election. The period of three years would be too short—it would derange the fixed and steady march of public affairs. For that reason he was not an advocate of the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman. He should not, however, call on the House to come to a decision to-night, but only to reserve it till a future time. They might postpone it to another session of Parliament, when they would have more time and better opportunity to consider it. If the measure were brought forward in the ensuing session, and then agreed to, it would have the same effect as if agreed to now. If the motion was pressed at the present moment, it would lead to no satisfactory result, and for these various reasons he should now move the previous question.

Mr. COBBETT did not agree with the noble Lord as to the propriety of delay. If it was necessary that the thing should be done, the sooner it was done the better; and he thought there were good reasons why it should be done now. The country was not too much satisfied either with that House or with his Majesty's Ministers. If this motion were carried, it might go far to restore the confidence of the people in that House, and, if possible, reconcile the people to his Majesty's Ministers. The noble Lord said that his opinion had once been in favour of shortening the duration of Parliament, but that the Reform Bill had altered the case. Why should that alter the case? In the petition of Lord Grey, in 1793, after proposing more reforms than had now been granted, Lord Grey said that even those reforms would not do without shortening the duration of Parliaments, and quoted the preamble of the Triennial Bill in favour of the argument. Again, in 1796, Lord Grey made a motion for parliamentary reform, and proposed such a reform as had now been granted; but he did not neglect at the same time to insist on the shorter duration of Parliaments. When the present reform act was brought in, the question was left open. Why should it not now be determined? Did they recollect that, but a few weeks ago, the noble Lord, the member for Devonshire, told them that he was restrained from introducing measures that he considered essential to the welfare of the people and to their happiness from a fear of a collision with the Lords. He (Mr. Cobbett) had never said anything so bad of the Lords as that. (A laugh). But they need not dread any collision in this matter,

for here the people and the Lords were on one side and that House on the other. Let that House but carry up to the Lords such a bill as that now proposed, and he would venture to say there would be no collision (hear, and a laugh); there would be a bidding between the two Houses to see which should be forwarder. (Laughter). There were two points on which he did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman. The first was, that the right hon. Gentleman would be contented with triennial Parliaments. He should not be contented with anything less than returning to the old English custom of having a Parliament in every year. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies seemed to think that an argument against granting the change to Parliaments of three years. (Mr. Stanley nodded assent). He could not help it: he thought it better to say what he meant. (Hear, hear). He was sure they should not get that change now; but he knew that "bread thrown upon the waters would return after many days" (hear, hear); and he thought that, if the people wished to have it, the sooner they made a demand for it the better. He agreed with the noble Lord that seven years were just as good as five; if they went beyond three years they went much too far, and he thought they were going too far if they went beyond one year. He differed from the right honourable Gentleman as to the origin of the Septennial Bill. The right honourable Gentleman said that it was brought in with a view to take care of the liberties of the people—that they were afraid of another rebellion—that they were afraid of giving Popery a handle, to put an end to the glorious revolution then lately effected. It was no such thing; it was done with a view to keep the plunder they had got—the plunder of the church; they were afraid that plunder would be taken away from them, for it was too near the time when they got it for them to feel safe in possession of the plunder. He should not characterize the acts that had been done in that House; he was afraid to do so while he was within its walls and under its roof. The most infamous thing—the base apostacy itself—changing three times from Catholic to Protestant, was not equal to the turpitude of this bill. The law was positive that the members should only sit there for three years, and yet they had dared to give themselves authority to sit for four years longer. The present Parliament might, with the same justice, enact that they would sit for seven years, or for the natural life of any member amongst them. The Parliaments had been usurpers from that day to this, and they, as inheritors of that usurpation, were usurpers themselves. He would not give much for the lawyer who could not prove, as clear as day-light, that the laws they passed under that usurped power, were not as void as those of Cromwell and the long Parliament. (Laughter). To say that they should get this motion, was what he did not believe, but he should vote in favour of it.

He would rather have the motion carried farther, but even though it went no farther, it should have his support.

Sir EDWARD CODRINGTON said that he should support the motion. He was well satisfied to get rid of the seven years upon any reason whatever. When they came to consider, the other part of the motion—namely, the time at which they intended to fix the duration of Parliaments—he should prefer five years; first, because he thought that the sense of the country was in favour of that motion; and next, because that motion was more likely than any other to be carried. As to the proposition for annual Parliaments, he was convinced that the majority of the people were against such a change; and that throughout the country the hon. member opposite would find himself in a minority on that point. He trusted that the first part of this motion would be carried, and when it was, and when the bill was introduced upon it, and they came to consider the time at which the duration of Parliament should be fixed, he should propose his clause for five years.

Sir S. WHALLEY should vote for the motion as essential to render the Reform Bill complete. That the Septennial Act should be repealed he thought nobody could entertain any doubt; and the next question therefore for them to determine was, what was the period to which Parliament should in future be allowed to extend. He could not agree with the hon. and gallant Member who had just taken his seat as to the sense of the country being in favour of the term of five years; but upon the subject of annual Parliaments, he thought there was some misapprehension arising necessarily from the doubtful light thrown upon this matter by the old records. He did not know that it was certainly established that there were annual Parliaments in the present sense of that expression, but he believed that according to the ancient practice, Parliaments were elected for each particular occasion; and as it not unfrequently happened, a Parliament sat only one year, when it was dissolved, and on the next occasion another Parliament was summoned, sat, and was dissolved, in the same manner. That frequent Parliaments were necessary no one who had read the history of his country, and had become acquainted with their profligacy in past times, could doubt. He need not, however, speak of their profligacy in past times, for it was but recently that they had seen a Parliament—this very Parliament—lavishly voting away millions of the public money. They had voted it away as lavishly as a ruined debtor who was in despair as to his ability to pay. The hon. Member here quoted the opinions of several writers who had declared the Septennial Act a breach of trust, and then went into a historical detail of the various changes introduced by statute into the duration and mode of convening Parliaments in this kingdom. He afterwards observed, that when the Triennial Bill was introduced, it had

been passed *pari passu* with the bills for granting the supplies for that year, a circumstance which warranted him in saying that it was a compact between the people and the court party, by means of which they settled their long-existing differences as to the duration of Parliament. But even that bill itself admitted the necessity and expediency of short Parliaments, the people having found that for their advantage not only should Parliaments sit often, but new Parliaments should frequently be convened. The preamble stated that “the frequent meeting of the new Parliaments (it was that to which he wished to “call their attention) tended much to promote “harmony between the King and the people.” The hon. Member then quoted the sentiments of Sir W. Wyndham, who argued in favour of short Parliaments, in order that the sentiments of the people might prevail, fools to be turned out, and knaves banged. He (Sir S. Whalley) further contended, that the present dynasty being seated firmly on the throne, a more favourable opportunity could not be afforded for the change proposed in the motion. He agreed that annual elections would be so frequent as to teach the constituency of the country to regard them with apathy; but thought triennial Parliaments the precise medium that ought to be adopted. Adverting to the late election and its result, supposing the system of direct pledges to be bad, he presumed that no man would insist that the electors ought to make no inquiry into the character and sentiments of the candidates; but the great topics of Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform having been settled, the only question now was, as to the extent of the measures, financial or remedial, that should be adopted. He did not well see where the line of inquiry, on the part of the constituency, was to be drawn. Any member, after his election, might find good and conscientious reasons for changing his opinions; and in such a case the electors ought to have a speedy opportunity, if they thought fit, of changing their representatives. The hon. Member referred to the late discussions on the assessed taxes, contending strongly that the great majority of the constituency in the metropolitan districts, and in Southwark, were in favour of the immediate repeal of them, yet half the representatives had voted one way, and half another; and, according to the mode of reasoning once resorted to on the Catholic claims, this would show that the inhabitants of London and its vicinity had no opinion at all upon the subject. If the people found the House of Commons turn a deaf ear to their complaints, a result might soon arrive which all would deplore. No doubt the people at large were greatly disappointed in the results of the late reform of the House of Commons; it had frittered away the confidence of the people, and showed that it more respected party feelings than national interests; and nothing could so much tend to restore confidence as the adoption of the resolution,

which would show that the members were ready to give an account of the talent committed to their charge. It would show Europe that the Commons of England sought only to promote national happiness, to advance the cause of civilization, and to render this country not only the emporium of universal commerce but the temple of universal liberty.

Mr. JAMES KENNEDY could not concur in the observation of the noble Lord (Akhrop), that there was nothing particularly pressing in the existing state of affairs to call upon the House to agree to this resolution. He thought it of the highest importance, because upon that single question every other depended, and no possible omen could be worse than the rejection of the proposition. He knew that the House and Government had fallen considerably in the estimation of the people, and when he recently appealed a second time to his constituents, he was returned solely on the ground that he had uniformly voted in the minority. The people began to feel that the present were no better than the former Ministers, and that the Tories might as well have remained in power; if so, the Reform Bill was nothing but robbery and delusion—robbery of those who had converted a trust into a property, and delusion of those who wished to bring the trust back to its original purpose. (Cheers). As to the expense of elections, the last had scarcely cost even the whole country as much as former elections had cost sometimes at a single place. Considering how little had been done in the present session, in the reduction of taxation and diminution of expenditure—how little had been done for the poor, and how much time had been spent upon one or two measures that did not redound to the credit of the Government, he was most anxious that the resolution for shortening the duration of Parliaments should be carried. It had been said that there had been too much talking, and too little done; but he thought the Irish members ought to have taken shame to themselves had they not, in every stage, resisted the Coercion Bill. Looking back to the unsatisfactory nature of the proceedings of the House, it was some consolation to reflect that a few years were nothing in the history of a people, and that sooner or later the point now disputed must be carried. This might be called the first Parliament under the Reform Bill—but not the first reformed Parliament; and it might remain to the next to do that duty which the present refused to discharge. One thing the Whigs of the present day could not do;—they could not, like their predecessors, prolong the existence of this Parliament; and the time must arrive when a new appeal would be made to the people, who would take a warning for the future, from the past. (Cheers).

Lord J. RUSSELL would not attempt to answer the hon. Gentleman who spoke last, whose opinion of the present Administration, whatever it might be, had been but recently adopted. (Hear). Whatever, too, he might think of the character of a Whig Ministry, it

was perhaps, as good as that which the hon. Gentleman himself possessed in this House. (Hear). The right hon. Member had called upon him (Lord J. Russell) to state his opinions on this question, but he owned that he was put to considerable difficulty on account of the vagueness of the proposition. If it had been for any fixed period—if it had declared that new Parliaments should be called every year, every three years, or every five years, he should have known how to meet, and how to deal with it; but when he was required to give a decision upon the motion in blank, and when no period of duration was named, it seemed hardly fair to expect that any man should arrive at a conclusive judgment. It was like sending Parliament on an expedition with sealed orders, not to be opened until it reached a certain latitude and longitude. (Hear). The right hon. Member for Lambeth had not stated his preference for any particular period—but at least in this the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Cobbett) had excelled him, for he had avowed plainly that he was for annual Parliaments. He (Lord J. R.) avowed as plainly that he was as much opposed to annual Parliaments as the hon. Member for Oldham could be in favour of them. (Hear). He was convinced that they could not coexist with the monarchy, and holding that annual Parliaments could only prevail in a republic, he should resist to the utmost any attempt to introduce them. What had been the suggestions of other speakers? The hon. Member for Marylebone had asserted that originally Parliaments were merely annual. This was a historical mistake, for it was now admitted that although they usually existed only for one year, they had been sometimes prorogued and lasted longer. The authors of the Triennial Bill had not so stated, for they declared only that frequent Parliaments would be for the advantage of the Commonwealth. Next the hon. Gentleman had heaped abuse upon the authors of the Septennial Bill, as the worst Ministers this country had ever known. That was to him (Lord J. R.) a novelty, for the first Ministry of George I. consisted of all the most distinguished Whigs of the glorious reign of Queen Anne, and the King, on coming to the throne, had purposely selected them, because they would most conciliate the people whom he was called upon to govern. If, therefore, what the hon. Gentleman had advanced was a historical truth, it was to him (Lord J. R.) a historical novelty. But the hon. Member had added, that he had authority for this opinion, and his first authority was Archdeacon Cox, a learned man, who had certainly published many works, but who was not generally looked up to as an authority on such matters. Neither was Belsham a great authority; and Dr. Smollett, upon whom he had also relied, found fault with the Septennial Act for what many would think its merit, viz., that it was the very act which maintained the House of Hanover on the throne. In fact, his Jacobite

stanzas were worth all his history put together; but the present Ministers and their friends were no Jacobites, and they did not regret that the House of Hanover had been continued in possession of the crown of these realms. His authorities, therefore, were of little weight or value. Next he had complained that the Parliament which passed the Septennial Act had been guilty of a gross abuse of authority in continuing its own existence for three years. No doubt that might be a question, but a question which he (Lord J. Russell) should have decided in their favour: it was an extraordinary act of authority, but it was resorted to for the purpose of maintaining the Protestant succession and the liberties of the country. But whether the Parliament could or could not strictly lengthen its own existence from 1718 to 1721, there was not the slightest doubt that it had full power to fix the period of duration for future Parliaments. Although the right hon. Member had not favoured the House with his opinion as to the precise number of years for which a Parliament ought to last, he (Lord John Russell) had no hesitation in stating the grounds on which he thought that rather a long duration ought to be preferred. By the constitution of this country, the House of Commons held the public purse in its hands, and, consequently, the power of giving supplies from it; it had, therefore, for a time, the whole power of the kingdom. What power had the Crown opposed to that? The power of dissolution. If the Crown dissolved a House of Commons, one of precisely the same opinions as that dismissed might be returned by the people. When such was the case, there remained no farther check, and the House of Commons remained supreme. The people, therefore, by re-electing the same or similar members, enjoyed, in fact, the supreme direction of the state. This enormous power ought to be met by some counterbalance on the part of the Crown. If Parliaments were made of three years' duration, it would, in fact, be only of two years' duration, and the Crown would thus be deprived of the power of choosing the time when a dissolution should take place. The dissolution must occur within short periods, and the result was not the consistent deliberate opinion of the people, which in this country, as in every other, ought to be supreme, but the chance of misapprehension, of error, of delusion, and the constitution was placed in a state of jeopardy, which, perhaps, would leave it without any poise to preserve its equilibrium. That was the constitutional reason why the Crown ought to be able to counterbalance the immense power of the democracy, by choosing the time most convenient for a dissolution. If the duration of Parliament were fixed at seven or even at four years, the Crown would still have the power of choosing; but reduce it to two years, and it was deprived of the power altogether. He was speaking in the sense in which every

lover of the constitution ought to speak—every man who wished to preserve the constitution in King, Lords, and Commons, and who did not desire that one should completely destroy and overwhelm the others. The King was a trustee for the people—the House of Lords was a trustee for the people—the House of Commons was the immediate representative of the people, and they ought to conduct the Government of the country in harmony together. It was the result of many years' consideration of the subject, and on this opinion, from which he had never varied, that the alteration to triennial Parliaments would be the total destruction of our mixed constitution. (Cheers). With regard to a proposition for making the duration of Parliament five instead of seven years, he admitted that there might be some, though not great, advantages in the change. He spoke of it as an abstract question—as if he were about to frame a new constitution; but he doubted much whether any expected advantage to be derived from the change would compensate for the positive disadvantage of making the alteration. He could not omit to mention, that the hon. member for Oldham, who quoted him, had entirely misrepresented what he really said. He (Lord John Russell) apprehended he took his report from the daily journals, and he begged, whether in his speeches or in his publications, that whenever he quoted him or any other member, he would take the pains first to ascertain the words really employed. Having the means of attending personally, the hon. Member need not adopt the statements in the daily journals, as if they were the exact terms used on the occasion. (The noble Lord here dropped his voice, and in rather a conversational tone explained the nature of the misrepresentation: the difference, as far as we could collect it, was, that instead of saying certain measures were "essential," he had qualified it by employing also the word "useful." He apprehended that the distinction had escaped those who had given his speech in the daily journals). He had never been an advocate for triennial Parliaments, and had always contended that such an alteration would make the members dependent not upon the settled opinion of the people; that settled opinion he believed to be an enlightened and a wise opinion; but otherwise, the votes and the acts of the House would be subject to the evils of a misrepresentation, misapprehension, and false colouring, and there were at no time wanting those who were interested in misrepresentation. Such a House of Commons could not coexist with the monarchy. In the United States, indeed, it was provided that no public man should hold office for more than four years, for in a republic it was a principle to distrust public men. That was not the principle of the British constitution; and so he was bound to maintain that constitution, he was bound to resist the change in triennial Parliaments. In so saying, he begged to add, in accordance with his

noble Friend, that as to any proposition next year, he would next year discuss it.

Mr. JAMES KENNEDY explained. The noble Lord had accused him of having adopted certain opinions lately. All he could say in answer was, that ever since the honourable and learned member for Dublin brought forward his amendment to the address to the throne, he (Mr. J. Kennedy) had voted in the minority.

Mr. SHEIL could not help thinking the commencement of the speech of the noble Lord at variance with its conclusion—so much so, that the last part seemed a complete abrogation of the first. The noble Lord had complained that the proposition was not definite, and yet he had treated it throughout as if the fit period for the duration of Parliament had been most clearly defined. (Cheers). After that he had proceeded to state the great constitutional grounds on which he supported the present period, maintaining that short Parliaments were inconsistent with the existence of the monarchy. Surely the noble Lord could not have forgotten, however, that by a long Parliament the monarchy was overthrown. (Hear). Triennial Parliaments were established in 1694, and septennial Parliaments were substituted in 1716, and during the whole of that period could it be shown that the throne had been endangered—that any attempt was made to establish a democracy? (Cheers). There were, indeed, disputes about the succession to the throne, but not any that threatened its stability. But the noble Lord was apprehensive of the consequences of a dissolution when the public mind was in a state of excitement. Did not the country owe the Reform Bill to a dissolution in the midst of popular excitement? (Much cheering). Did the noble Lord mean to say that the intervention of the public upon that occasion was of no use? (Hear). If so, against the Noble Lord's argument he (Mr. Sheil) set the noble Lord's acts, and begged to remind him that it was the people who made "the whisper of a faction" ineffectual. (Hear, hear). If, however, the Whigs were consistent, he asked leave to recall the recollection of the noble Lord to what passed in 1793, when Earl Grey presented the petition of the Friends of the People, in favour of parliamentary reform. That petition prayed that the duration of Parliament should be abridged—quite as indefinite as the motion of to-night. Lord Grey, on that occasion, stated, that when the question of reform was once settled, he would discuss the question of duration. (Hear, hear). He conceived that until Parliament was reformed it would be vain to debate whether it was fit that the duration should be shortened. The reason was obvious; dissolve an unreformed Parliament, and the members were sent again to the aristocratical nominee; dissolve a reformed Parliament, and an appeal was made to the people. The change sought by the motion did not depend upon theory; it was built upon the practice of the best and noblest

periods of British history. (Cheers). It rested upon the foundation on which the Triennial Bill was constructed. It rested upon the Bill of Rights. The Duke of Shrewsbury brought in the Triennial Bill, in 1692: it was passed by the House of Commons, and by the Peers, who were met by the Royal *veto*. The people, however, had set their hearts upon it: the wishes of the people prevailed, and two years afterwards it was made law. (Cheers). It had its origin in the pure and well-stored mind of the great Lord Somers, and it declared that frequent Parliaments were found to produce good-will with the people. The noble Lord was opposed to that opinion; he thought that frequent Parliaments produced the ill-will of the people; he stood as more than the antithesis of Lord Somers. (Cheers). He said, that whereas frequent Parliaments were found to excite discord between the Government and the people.

Lord ALTHORP asked the preamble of what act the honourable and learned Member was quoting.

Mr. SHEIL said, that he used the words of 6 Will. and Mary, ch. 2. The position of the noble Lord was, that the wise and good men at the time of the revolution were under a mistake—a delusion. If they put this Parliament to the test, what had it done? It had discussed the East India Bill; it had passed a few measures of no consequence; and had begun inquiries into many subjects of the greatest importance; but it had done nothing.

Lord HOWICK said, he expected nothing but embarrassment in discussing so intricate a subject. The question was one of fearful importance (a laugh); but he thought the objections were not of much consequence.

Mr. EWING observed that there was a sort of restless and irritable feeling in the public mind which prevented the deliberate consideration of the subject at the present moment.

General PALMER said that no member of the House could feel more strongly, or acknowledge with more sincerity, than himself, the obligation of the country to his Majesty's Ministers, for their great measure of reform. But it was obvious, at the time the struggle for that measure was going on, that the true essence and real value of it was the recognition that reform was not revolution; that it was within the constitution; that time could not sanctify wrong; and that it was consistent with the powers of the Legislature to rectify abuse, and restore the right, although the right had been long lost sight of. It was this healing and saving principle in the constitution that made the Reform Bill valuable; that obtained for it many of its supporters in that House, and the general voice of the people without. It was, nevertheless, seen that the details of the bill were far from being perfect, and putting its opponents out of the question, it had not satisfied its friends; being considered by some too democratic, and by others too aristocratic, and there was still the

same honest difference of opinion. It was, therefore, clear, that the measure was defective, and, to speak the truth, it was a mass of expedients, unconnected in themselves and unsupported by any general principle. The true principle on which representation ought to be founded, and which, as he had stated on the Reform Bill, must eventually be adopted, was contribution; for without repeating his arguments, he must repeat his assertion—that every contributor to the taxes, however humble his station, ought to have a vote in the election of the person intrusted with the serious and important duty of imposing burdens on his fellow-subjects; and not only should he have a vote, but be enabled to give that vote according to the dictates of his own understanding, uninfluenced by favour, and unassailed by corruption. To effect that object he had voted for the ballot, although in justice to its opponents he admitted the honest prejudices of real reformers against it, and that the majority of its friends considered the ballot an evil only to be resorted to as the remedy for a greater evil, but for which it was not the true remedy. The true remedy for the evil, which, in his humble opinion could not wait for the ballot and triennial Parliaments to cure it, was a total change in the system of taxation—by the repeal of all taxes affecting all articles used or consumed by the productive industry of the country, and substituting in their place a tax on property alone—for in this case property alone would be entitled to a vote in the elections of members to that House, and industry being thus relieved from the burdens that oppressed her, would no longer seek to interfere in them; but so long as that House persisted, and most unwisely, as he thought, in the present system of revenue, the voice of industry must be heard, and heard she would and ought to be, uninfluenced by favour, and undeterred by fear. For these reasons, and to compel the Government to a property tax, which in relieving the labouring classes from taxation, would be the only honest means of preventing universal suffrage, he had voted for the ballot, and must now vote for the present question; but holding as he did in his hand, and he believed it to be in the hands of every hon. member, a recent publication of Mr. Heathfield's, whose previous works on the subject had fully convinced his mind that it was not only just, practicable, and easy to relieve the nation from the burden of the public debt without destroying any of the great interests of the country, but that property of every description, by the adoption of Mr. Heathfield's plan, would be greatly benefited, and industry entirely relieved, he most humbly, but earnestly, appealed to the aristocracy, comprising the great majority in that House, who, notwithstanding all the fears and predictions of the consequences of the Reform Bill by its opponents in the late Parliament, were still the representatives of the people, that, in justice to their mutual interests—which hung upon each other, and must stand

or fall together—they would read Mr. Heathfield's publication; which, in his humble judgment contained more truth and information as to the real cause and only remedy for the evils of the country than all that had yet been said upon the subject; and to which he entreated the attention of every hon. member, in the firm belief that, under all the circumstances of the country at the present moment, arising out of the long want of reform in Parliament and the reform that was come at last, nothing short of the adoption of Mr. Heathfield's plan could save the constitution. Adverting to the circumstances which had caused the present Government to decline in popularity, he (General Palmer) observed that nothing had been so unfortunate as the appointment of a right hon. Baronet to the situation of Secretary at War. Accustomed to that right hon. Baronet's ultra-radical speeches, the people naturally expected extensive measures of reform from his Majesty's Government after the right honourable Baronet had joined them. But what was the result? The right honourable Baronet, on taking office, forgot not only his own principles, but even those of the Whigs; and in the case of the Bath election. (Hear, hear, and a laugh). In justice to himself, he begged shortly to state the circumstances of that election.

Mr. Secretary STANLEY spoke to order. When his right hon. Friend the late Secretary at War was in that House, and when notice was given of a motion respecting an alleged unconstitutional interference in the election at Bath, his right hon. Friend declared himself ready to meet any charge which might be brought on that subject. An hon. Gentleman opposite, who had presented a petition complaining of the circumstances, was, he (Mr. Stanley) believed, satisfied that there was no foundation for the charge; and after his right hon. Friend had declared his readiness to meet the charge it was withdrawn. Under these circumstances, he put it to the gallant General whether, his right hon. Friend not being now in the House, and the subject of the Bath election being quite irrelevant to the question under discussion, it would not be more in conformity with what he was sure would be the gallant General's deliberate determination on such a subject, not to proceed. (Hear, hear, hear).

General PALMER said, that after what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, he certainly would not proceed, although, if he were to go on, he thought he could show that the case in question was not so irrelevant to the subject under discussion as the right hon. Gentleman supposed. There was another very important question on which he wished to say a few words; he alluded to the measure respecting the Irish Church. (No, no).

Mr. ROBINSON observed that the noble Lord objected to vote on the ground that he did not feel called upon at present to give an opinion on the subject, but that he might do so hereafter. Now he begged to ask the noble Lord,

If the motion were rejected that night, whether the rejection would not have a most baleful effect with respect to his Majesty's Government on the constitution of another Parliament? The noble Paymaster of the Forces opposed the motion on another ground. That noble Lord opposed it on the ground that its adoption would be tantamount to a subversion of the constitution. He (Mr. Robinson) had never heard a speech in that House so contrary to all the previously expressed opinions of the speaker, as the speech which had that night been delivered by the noble Paymaster of the Forces. Did the noble Lord recollect that when it was urged by the enemies of the reform measure that it was an innovation upon the constitution, he and his colleagues had maintained that it was a restoration of the constitution, and not an innovation upon it? So it was with respect to triennial Parliaments. Their adoption would be a restoration of the constitution, and not an innovation upon it. All that the hon. Member of the proposition contended for was, that the House should pronounce an opinion that septennial Parliaments were too long; leaving the question of the preferable duration to be afterwards determined. In the present state of the country, when he believed that there was no set of men prepared to take the reins of Government if his Majesty's present Ministers were to quit office, he was sorry to see them pursue a course of conduct which, coupled with the declaration made by the noble Paymaster of the Forces, he was sure would greatly depreciate them in the eyes of the country. He had not heard a single sound objection to shortening the duration of Parliaments. As to the term to which they ought to be limited, he was for making it three years, because that was a restoration of the constitution, and, therefore, less liable perhaps to objection than any other term. But let not the House, let not his Majesty's Ministers deceive themselves. The opinion of the country on the proceedings of that night would be, not that the question was whether Parliaments should be triennial or of any other diminished length, but that the course pursued by the noble Lord, coupled with the speech of the noble Paymaster of the Forces, was a declaration by his Majesty's Government in favour of Septennial Parliaments.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL explained. He did not believe that he had ever used the words "tantamount to the subversion of the constitution." What he had said was, that if triennial Parliaments were established by law, they would, in his opinion be found incompatible with the maintenance of our fixed constitution. He had made no declaration in favour of septennial Parliaments. His opinion upon the abstract question was, that five would be a better term than seven; but as by the present law the duration of Parliament was seven years, and as there did not appear to be any great wish to diminish the term to five, or any great benefit to be expected from

such a step, he saw no reason for making the change.

MR. GASKELL contended, that it was a matter of indifference at the present moment, whether, at the time the Septennial Act was passed, it was a justifiable measure. No doubt they were better judges of the question at that time than the people of the present day could be. The question was, whether the Septennial Act worked well now? The hon. Member and his friends had made out no case that it did not do so. As to some of the evils complained of in the present constitution of Parliament, he feared they were out of the reach of legislative enactment; but whatever those evils might be, he believed they would be increased to a tenfold degree in triennial Parliaments. Amongst the greatest of the evils which would attend triennial Parliaments, was, that they would deeply affect the course of their proceedings, and prevent that mature consideration which subjects of great importance demanded. As Sir Robert Walpole had observed, "Infinitely greater good could be done in short Parliaments than in long Parliaments, and infinitely greater evil in long Parliaments than in short Parliaments." The House would do well, therefore, to pause before they touched a system which combined what could be combined of good, and excluded what could be excluded of evil. It was especially expedient to pause at a moment like the present, when there were so many omens of the consequences to be apprehended from great and precipitate changes. If such measures as that now proposed were to be pressed upon them, he trusted to God that they would be met by firmness and wisdom. They had surely had enough of encroachment on the constitution; and if they surrendered the Septennial Act, they would abandon the only remaining barrier against the uncontrolled fury of democracy. It was in vain to expect that they could satisfy the wishes of those who proved by their conduct that they were insatiable. By an unwise acquiescence, they would not only whet the appetite for change, but they would lose their popularity, and be rendered unable fearlessly to meet the result.

Colonel EVANS entered into a comparison of the measures pursued by triennial, and the measures pursued by septennial Parliaments, and maintained that the former had been much more advantageous to the country. The arguments of the noble Paymaster of the Forces were as much in favour of Parliaments for ten or twenty years as for septennial Parliaments. And yet that noble Lord had stated that he should feel less difficulty in acceding to the proposition of the honourable Member for Oldham, for annual Parliaments, than in according to the proposition of his honourable Friend.

MR. HAWKINS expressed his surprise at the declaration of the noble Lord, that it would be better to postpone the decision of the question until the next session; and maintained

that the present was the moment at which it ought to be determined. It ought to be determined before they went back to their constituents, which might shortly happen; that they might know for what period they were again to require their confidence. He entirely dissented from the opinions of the noble Paymaster of the Forces; for he thought that the carrying of the Reform Bill had rendered the present proposition more than ever necessary. Honourable Members complained of the practice of requiring pledges. What measure could be more likely to increase the demand for pledges than the continuance of septennial Parliaments? If constituents had little confidence in their representatives, what measure could be more likely to increase that confidence than to shorten the duration of Parliaments? One word respecting the term to which it was advisable the duration of a Parliament should be restricted. He would say at once, three years. He was an advocate for triennial Parliaments, not because they were formerly in conformity to the law; but because he thought, that, upon the whole, they would be the most beneficial for the public. Four years might, perhaps, not be too long; and, on the other hand, in the present state of public opinion, he should entertain no apprehensions if the term were limited to two years; nay, he should not dread a revolution even if it were limited to one year. But on a view of all the circumstances of the case, he thought the term of three years was the best that could be adopted. He was indeed surprised at the arguments that short Parliaments were inimical to the true interests of the kingdom when the great stalking horse of those who opposed them was, that we had them practically already. (Cheers). Supposing, for argument sake, that a Parliament never sat for more than three years, would the result be the same as if it sat by law only during that period? It would be totally different. They would, at least, lose the advantage which might otherwise be counted on, of superseding the necessity of pledges. (Hear, hear). There would be another difference. Under the present system, the Crown always appeared against the people. The time for a dissolution was never chosen so as to favour the people, but so as to be convenient and agreeable to the Crown. (Hear). Whenever Ministers thought they had got the people at a disadvantage, then came a dissolution. (Hear, hear). When, he would ask, was the Parliament ever dissolved because it suited the convenience of the people? (Cheers). He should certainly give the motion his support, as being, next to the parent, the most urgent of all reforms that could be brought under the consideration of that House. (Cheers).

Lord SANBORN considered that the supporters of the motion were bound to show some particular reason for viewing, at the present time, with greater jealousy the conduct of that House. Was it when a greater weight had been given to the popular feeling that such an

increased jealousy and distrust was to be indulged in? (Cheers). According to his view, they would better discharge their parts, as wise men, in seeing the effect of the great change they had already effected, than in proposing fresh alterations. What was it that had brought that House into so much discredit with the country? Simply, that they had wasted their time (cheers)—exerted their energies to no good end. (Hear, hear). Instead of attending to practical legislation (hear, hear), they had squandered hours on hours in debating about abstract principles. (Loud cheers). He had told his constituents on the hustings, that after adjusting the machine they should note its operations, and not try new experiments on its construction. (Hear, hear). He had promised them not to embark in new experiments, but attend honestly and sincerely to the consideration of great practical questions, and the promotion of great practical improvements—and that promise he would not depart from. (Cheers).

Dr. LUSHINGTON said, that the first two or three years of its existence, every Parliament furnished instances of the greatest and most degrading corruption; and by way of demonstrating the baseness of its members, he would only ask the House to look at their conduct during the period he referred to, and see how in the latter part of the session, the very slaves of Ministers could turn themselves into givers of notices for constitutional reform, and for a time desert the treasury benches. (Hear, hear). To put the present question in a right point of view, he would ask if any man would, without check, and without control, confide even to the chosen friend of his bosom, the comfort, respectability, and substance of his family for such a period as seven years. (Hear, hear). If, then, they would not do it in private life, why should they be required to do it in public—where so many interests were wrapped up? He could not deny the awkwardness of the time at which the motion was brought forward; but he had at least the choice of two evils, and he should select the lesser by voting with the right hon. Member for Lambeth, because he believed his proposition had the sanction of all past experience. He cared not what they called it, either in theory or in practice; but what he should ever maintain was, that the people of this country were entitled to the blessings and protection of the best constitution which human wisdom could devise. (Hear, hear).

Mr. STANLEY said he was more disposed than other honourable members to give the right honourable Member for Lambeth credit for his exertions, and to congratulate him on the scientific mode in which he had managed, at such a juncture, to bring forward the present motion. (Laughter, and hear, hear). The right hon. Gentleman, he had no doubt, had more important views than they could pierce through for bringing forward an impracticable question. (Hear, hear). He had no hesitation, however, in saying, that he should give his

vote against the shortening the duration of Parliaments. He had, on the hustings at Lancaster, made a statement, from which he was not disposed to depart, that the Government having carried a large, sweeping, and extensive reform, they were justified in looking upon it as final; and that whenever the subject of the ballot, or triennial Parliaments, might be brought forward, he should assuredly vote against them. He knew not what were the indications they had; for he saw none of the extreme unpopularity of that House, or that Government. What test was there which could be applied to their conduct, and which, being applied, would show that they had neglected their duty—that they had shrunk from their responsibility—that they had violated their pledges—that they had failed to fulfil the expectations they had raised? He knew not where to find those tests, nor where to look for the proof that this question was one on which the public mind was bent with any degree of earnestness. On the low ground of gaining popularity—on the miserable pretext of a man more easily winning an election; on these alone he saw no proof that the change now proposed was one which was desired by the people at large. When too he looked at the number of petitions that had been presented on this subject, he saw no ground for entertaining the belief that such was the opinion of the people. If the desire for this change was general—if it proceeded in a strong and steady current, as public opinion had proceeded on other great questions, they would have seen their table covered with petitions, pressing upon them this wish, and demanding attention to the rights of the people. But how was the fact? He did not know how many petitions had been presented on one great question that really had interested the public mind; he meant upon the subject of negro slavery. On that question the number of signatures was one million four hundred thousand. (Hear, hear, hear). But when he looked at this supposed important question, he found that up to the 6. of July nineteen petitions in all had been presented (hear, hear, hear); and this, he believed, was all up to the present time, unless the hon. Gentleman had presented one or two since that increased the number. Upon such facts as these, had the honourable Member a right to assume that it would be unpopular to say that no ground had been made out at this moment for shortening the duration of Parliaments? He did not believe that it would be unpopular. We did not live in a country in which one branch of the legislature monopolised all the importance and all the powers of the Government of the state. That it was a most important branch of the Government he was most ready to admit—that the people ought to have a fair influence over their representatives in that House he was also ready to admit. But the question now was, whether this was the time, and whether it was absolutely certain that it was necessary for the best interests of the

country that they should place the members composing that House under the immediate control of those persons from whom, in such an event, they would come, not as representatives, but as delegates. (Hear, hear). Was this a time when the popular institutions of the country were in danger—when the voice of public opinion was weak—when the influence of the Crown was overwhelming, and when, in consequence of all these things, it was necessary that an additional weight should be thrown into the scale, to make up the balance of the constitution. (Hear, hear). Had they not altered the balance of the constitution. (Hear, hear). Yes, they had altered it—altered it, as he believed beneficially; and was it not safe and wise and prudent that they should wait to see what was the effect of these alterations, and whether any additional weight was still required to be thrown into the scale of popular influence. (Hear, hear). His noble Friend, the Paymaster of the Forces, had said, and in his opinion most truly, that triennial Parliaments would be most unsafe at the present time, and under the present order of things. He was surprised at the answer given to that observation by the hon. Member for Tipperary, who had asked this question—What was it that destroyed the power of the Crown in former times? and he had answered by saying, that that power was destroyed, not by a short, but by a long Parliament. He repeated, that he could not but feel surprise at this answer, and must wonder how that hon. and learned Member could have given utterance to such a quibble on words—to such a miserable perversion of terms—in thus speaking of any event with the history of which it was impossible he should not be well acquainted. (Hear, hear). Other hon. Members had gone into the merits of the Septennial Act, but it seemed to him that that was not the question which they had now to discuss, for the onus of proof was not on them to show that seven years was the best term that could be adopted for the duration of Parliaments; but the other side were bound to show, that this motion was in accordance with popular demand, and that its adoption would be beneficial to public interests, and that injury would result from not adopting it. (Hear, hear). As to the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman near him, he must say, that he was somewhat surprised at it. There was not one argument in the speech of that hon. and learned Member that did not more apply to annual than to triennial Parliaments. The hon. and learned Gentleman had asked them whether, if any of them had to employ the services of a trustee, they would not wish to possess a control over him. His answer to that question was, that that would much depend upon the character of the trustee. At all events he should not wish to remove his trustee every week or every fortnight (hear, hear), to leave the successor to take up the unfinished designs of his predecessor, and to be obliged to resign the com-

pletion of them again to a person who had not before considered the subject on which he was to act, or, at least, not having been acquainted with the beginning of that work which it thus became his task to finish. (Hear, hear). The hon. and learned Member had observed upon the effect of approaching elections, in the conduct of members. Surely it was not meant to be made a subject of complaint, that the members of this Parliament had not had industry enough. If there was any complaint to be made, it was that they had been too ready to introduce popular topics of discussion, often to the hinderance of the public business. (Hear, hear). He did not complain of this, but he thought that the last charge to be made against the members of this Parliament was a want of industry. Indeed it was quite enough to afford labour, not merely to one but to two Governments. There were twenty-four notices on the paper of the day. (Hear, hear). He had had occasion the other day to look into the order book, and he had then taken the trouble to see how many different bills were then in different stages of progress through that House, and he found, in addition to the twenty-four notices for each day, which was now frequently the case, no less than fifty-six bills, some of which had not even proceeded further than a second reading. Now fifty-six bills for the end of the session, and twenty-four notices, day by day, so long as the session might last, were no contemptible proof of the zeal with which members desired to exert themselves for the advantage of their constituents. He had never seen a Parliament which had met with a more honest and determined decision to do its duty—to labour, without regard to time, in the discharge of the trust it had undertaken. He had never seen a Parliament that had listened more attentively to the arguments brought forward on any question, and the general bearings of it. (No, no, from a part of the opposition; hear, hear, from the body of the House). He hoped and believed that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tennyson, it was understood) had no reason to complain on that point. He stood there to vindicate that Parliament from unjust aspersions—he thought it had done all that could be expected from a Parliament to obtain the confidence of the people. (Hear, hear). If they did not mean that the Crown should be a cipher, they would not wish to place that House in such a situation, that not its general conduct but some individual vote should be made the test of its fitness as a representative body. They would, on the contrary, allow the public mind time to cool and deliberate; they would not keep it in a continual fever of excitement—they would not seek to deprive the Crown of that legitimate influence which it did, and should, and must exercise, by the power of selecting the time when the members of that House should be sent to their constituents. The honourable and learned Member for Tipperary had quoted the preamble to the Sep-

ennial Act, but he had omitted to quote just that part of it which, speaking of triennial Parliaments, declared them to have been the cause of heats and contentions which that act had been passed to cure. It was his (Mr. Stanley's) wish, and such had been the object of the Reform Bill, to substitute for the unsteady, unstable influence now exercised over members by their constituents at the approach of an election, that steady and stable influence which they must exercise if they had fairly and freely the means of sending into Parliament men of tried character, whom they knew and respected, whose principles coincided with their own, and who were sent in to act in conformity with those general principles, but, on particular occasions, to be guided by their own judgments. Having given to the people this steady control, he thought they ought to wait till they had time to see how the Reform Bill acted, and whether the people to whom this power was now given ought to have the means bestowed on them of making the House of Commons an assembly of delegates, and to do away with the authority of the Crown, which was essential to the balance of the constitution. (Hear, hear). The question lay in a narrow compass. It was not a choice between seven, five, four, or three years, although the motion had been ingeniously contrived, so as to make the supporters of all those separate questions vote for it; but it was, in fact, a question of annual Parliaments, for the hon. Member for Oldham had honestly and frankly admitted that he should vote for this motion, as he hoped it would lead to his favourite plan of annual Parliaments, without which he should not be contented. (Hear, hear, hear). He (Mr. Stanley) not meaning to say that seven years was the best time that could be fixed on, although he was prepared to have given the motion a direct negative; yet, as he thought his noble Friend had exercised a sound judgment in moving the present question, he should have great pleasure in supporting that amendment. (Hear, hear).

Mr. O'CONNELL declared himself prepared to support the motion.

Major BEAUCLERK supported the motion as the only foundation upon which would arise all those benefits which the people had a right to expect. He denied that the House deserved the eulogium which has been passed upon it by the right hon. Gentleman, for listening to the wants of the people, however well it might be disposed to listen to its own praises. ("Question, question"). The hon. Member then, amidst great interruption, denounced the House and the Ministers, as having sacrificed all claims to the confidence of the country, and falsified all the pledges they had ever given. A bad cause never made a good advocate; and he was sure that the House, which was so accustomed to the brilliant orations of the right honourable Secretary for the Colonies, must have been deeply sensible of the badness of the cause he had

been pleading that night, when they saw that he was unable to gain a cheer from those who usually supported him. (Hear, and laughter). He pitied the right hon. gentleman (laughter), and he was sure that he must have felt how completely he had failed in his answer to the motion. (Question).

Mr. CISHOME said, that he had been all through the debate decided upon voting against the motion, but the speech of the right hon. Gentleman had nearly changed his determination. If he should vote with the right hon. Gentleman, it was not because he adopted his high-flown monarchical principles, but because he thought it would be for the good of the people and for the convenience of the House that the present duration of Parliaments should remain.

Sir R. FERGOUSON should vote for the motion to preserve his consistency, but would state his opinion that it had been brought forward as a clap-trap, to catch an ephemeral popularity, and with no expectation that it could lead to any result in the present state of the session.

Mr. TENNYSON replied.

A division took place, when the numbers were—

For the Resolution.....	164
For the Amendment	213

Majority..... 49

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

WINSTANLEY, J. I., Holborn-hill, hosier.

BANKRUPTS.

HILLIER, R., Newport, Monmouthshire, provision-merchant.

HUXTABLE, J., (and not Hustable, as before advertised), Bristol, freestone-merchant.

MARTIN, M., Newbury, Berkshire, currier.

POUT, F., Surrey-street, Strand, attorney-at-law.

STOCKTON, S., Long-yard, Lamb's Conduit-street, wine-cooper.

STREET, S., Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, grocer.

WILLIAMS, R. N., Bristol, coal-merchant.

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

TERRY, W. and J., Bath, hardwareman.

BANKRUPTS.

BRECKNELL, J., Blackbrook-park, Monmouthshire, miller.

BROWN, W., Wilmington, Kent, cattle-dealer.

CLARK, G. E., Bath, linen-draper.

HALLE, H., Doncaster, grocer.

HART, J., Liverpool, tailor.

HUNT, J. T., Princes-street, Lambeth, boot-merchant.

JONES, J. and G., Tywyn and Llandegawing, Carnarvonshire, cattle-dealers.

LEGH, H., Shrewsbury, butcher.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 22.—We have to-day been liberally supplied with Wheat from the home counties. The millers, owing to the unsettled state of the Flour trade and approach of harvest, refrain from purchasing more than is absolutely requisite to meet the immediate local consumption, and though a selected parcel obtained as much as 72s. yet the generality of the runs of Wheat must be noted 1s. to 2s. per qr. cheaper than this day se'nnight, and the secondary and inferior parcels very difficult to quit at this reduction, many of the Essex and Kent samples were left unsold at the close of the market. Foreign free Wheats were also lower, and for bonded descriptions, we heard of little inquiry and no actual sales.

Barley was in moderate supply, grinding qualities met a fair demand at last week's currency.

Malt continued to meet a limited purchase, and the rates unaltered.

The supply of Oats was more than equal to the demand. The trade ruled heavy, and Monday's prices were with difficulty supported.

Beans commanded a slow sale, on barely so good terms as last Monday.

Boiling Peas, owing to the short supply, supported their quotation; but blue and other descriptions were 1s. cheaper. The new blue offering were of good quality.

The principal town millers maintain 55s. as the top price of Flour, while the west country and other factors sell at 52s. and 53s. This discrepancy is excessively injurious to the trade, and it would be highly desirable that the transactions in so important an article were based on a firmer and more decided foundation.

Wheat	58s. to 66s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	24s. to 27s.
— fine	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White	31s. to 34s.
— Boilers	38s. to 44s.
— Grey	33s. to 35s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	31s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 21s.
Flour, per cask	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new

— Mena, new

Butter, Belfast	....—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	.....—s. to —s.
— Cork	.....72s. to 73s.
— Limerick	..72s. to 73s.
— Waterford	..70s. to 73s.
— Dublin	....—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, July 22.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather limited, and, for the most part, of indifferent quality: the supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, for the time of year, moderately good. Prime Beef, on account of its being scarce, sold with some degree of briskness, at an advance of 2d. to 4d. per stone; but with middling and inferior Beef, as also Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, trade was dull, at Friday's quotations.

Nearly, or quite, a moiety of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; and the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh runts, Scots, intermixed with a few Norfolk home-breds, and Irish Beasts, with perhaps, about 100 Herefords, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.—The Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, principally from Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, and our western and midland districts; the Scots, &c. from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; and the Town's-end Cows, &c. from the London marshes. There was no Bullock drove, from the South side of the Thames, in the market.

About three-fourths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, polled Norfolks, and Kents, or Kentish half-breds, with a few old Lincolns, horned Norfolks and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About a moiety of the Lambs were South Downs, and the remainder about equal numbers of Dorsets and new Leicesters, with a few Kentish half-breds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 26.

The arrivals this week are large. The market dull, and prices rather lower.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	Fri. 89	Sat. 89½	Mon. 88½	Tues. 88½	Wed. 89	Thur. 89
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"THE COLLISION."

THIS over, for the present, at any rate; and the Whites seem to be "*comfortable again*." The *Times* says, that the Tories asked, "*WHAT'S NEXT?*" And, that, then, they *stopped short!* The answer was, I suppose, a "*radical Ministry*"; and, if by any chance, they cast an eye at ME, I take the opportunity of this present writing to declare, that I, rather than undertake to carry on, or to assist in carrying on, or be thought to wish to see carried on, this system, or any system demanding taxes to a greater amount than sixteen millions a year in gold; rather than any of these, I would be, during the remainder of my life, an *actual operative* in emptying the receptacles of filth in this *Wan*; or, still more hateful to my thoughts, I would be a hirer, an employer, a payer of, and an associate and consultant with, a race of most damnable villains called SPIES. So that neither Whites nor Tories need think of me, at any rate, when they are asking "*what's next?*" I think, however, that both of them must now begin to see, that the present system cannot go on much longer. The next session of Parliament must bring some changes of considerable magnitude. We have made none yet; but all feel, that the changes must come. The negro affair is a *revolution complete* in the West Indies, made to humour mistaken compassion, and to gratify ambitious hypocrisy. The "*law reforms*" are more scheming, wild, as the winds; the "*church reforms*," as far as proposed, are *revolutionary without benefit or satisfaction to the people*; that relief from their burdens, which was, in fact, the only thing for which they wanted reform at all, they have found none of; daily and hourly still more and more of the fruits of their labour are taken from them; and they see not the smallest prospect of any relief in which they are to share.

In such a state of things, it signifies not who are the men who exercise the powers of the state; there can be no willing obedience to the law; it must

be a *government of force*; and we well know what must be the end of such a government. And, let not those who have the power in their hands imagine, that they have seen, even in this House of Commons, all that they are to see. The members have scarcely had time for a *moment's reflection*; they have been bewildered and buried in the multiplicity and the magnitude of the matters heaped upon their attention; they have been influenced by fears, coming constantly in conflict with their judgment; they have, according to their general character, which is also in accordance with the character of the people whom they represent, been held, a great many of them, in restraint by the cautiousness arising from their *want of experience*; and this has, in numerous instances, been the case with myself. But, when we have had *six months* for a review of what has been done: when we have had time to examine all the acts, reports, estimates, returns, and accounts, that have been laid before us; when we have had time to form our judgment on all these, and become familiar with their contents; when we have had time for this, it will be hard indeed, if there be not a score or two of us, ready to place before the eyes of the House and of the country, a true and full statement of the wrongs done to our constituents, and to point out the remedies which ought to be applied. In the teeth of such a statement, there is no Government that can get along; it may struggle for awhile in opposition; but, it must finally give way, and the system must be changed. The sinews of it are the taxes; and, while small diminutions of these are unfelt in the way of relief to the people, they are felt very sensibly by the Government, whose strength arises from the power of bestowing that of which it is thus compelled to relinquish the exaction; and, thus, the longer the change is postponed, the greater the discontent of the people, and the smaller the power of the Government to make head against that discontent.

But, what do I mean by a *change of the system*? I am accused of wanting

to "destroy the institutions of the country." Never was there anything so flagrantly false. I find fault with nothing which is not a glaring innovation on those institutions, which always have been, and always are, a subject of my praise, and, as an Englishman, a subject of my boast. I want to restore those institutions, which have either been suppressed, or left us only in name. And I know that this restoration is practicable without doing injustice to any man: I know, too, that it will take place; and the only question in my mind is, whether it will be accomplished by peaceable, or by violent means: my wishes as well as my endeavours have always been directed to the former species of means; and, if the latter be finally resorted to by the people, while I say, God forbid they should be provoked so to resort, I must declare beforehand, that they will have as good a right as Langton and the Barons had, in the reign of JOHN, to inscribe on their banners, "WE WILL NOT SUFFER THE LAWS OF ENGLAND TO BE CHANGED."

What! Is a national debt, which dooms the child in the cradle to work all its life to pay a debt contracted in the time of its grandfather, an institution of the country? Is the seizure of men's goods and the imprisoning and punishing of their bodies without trial by jury, an institution of the country? Is the transportation of men for seven years for being in pursuit of those wild animal, which the law of nature and the common law declare to be the property of all mankind, an institution of the country? Is the employing of SPIES an institution of that country, the common law of which makes over-dropping, though merely for the purpose of scandal, an indictable crime? These are amongst the things that I find fault with, and that I would abate; and I defy any man to point out one "institution of the country" for the destruction of which I have ever expressed a desire; or to effect which destruction I have ever laboured.

8. However, one single straw I care not for anything that has been, or can be, said about my motives: the working

people of England were, when I was born, well fed, well clad, and had each his barrel of beer in his house; and, let what may be the accompanying consequence, if they be not thus again before I die, every one shall say, that the fault has not been that of

WM. COBBETT.

"THE CRISIS."

To the Editor of the True Sun.

Bell-court, 26. July, 1833.

SIR,—This; the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day tells us, this "has at length arrived," alluding to the defeat which the Ministers, last night, experienced in the House of Lords; and it tells us, in the conclusion of its article, that "the House of Lords have proclaimed their effectual opposition to the foreign policy of the Ministers; to their reforms in the law; and now, to their reforms in the church; and we confess, that the TASK OF GOING ON appears hopeless, while we have scarcely nerves to look forward to what may be the consequences of their being compelled to make a contrary decision." Ah, Sir! as long as places yield money and patronage, and as long as forty thousand pounds a year shall be suffered to be expended in secret services; as long as they are allowed to do what they have been doing since they have been in power, the *Chronicle* need be under no apprehension of their coming voluntarily to that "contrary decision," which seems so much to alarm it; and yet, if they do attempt to "go on" now, what but a company of grenadiers, going and pushing them by the shoulders till they get them out of the buildings, can get them out of those buildings; at any rate, what short of the remedy which was said to have been pointed out by old George the Third? When a building is on fire, you see the rats escaping in every direction, long before the fire reaches their passages; but these Whig-vermin must have changed their nature if they quit their nests when they are stung.

"*The task of going on!*" Going on with *what*? Going on with rescinding votes for the repeal of the malt tax? Going on with real-coat courts-of-justice bills, and that most signal "*reform in the law*?" Going on with house and window taxes, and surcharges and seizures of goods? Going on with making us pay sixty-five thousand a year to men who have been ambassadors and *chargés-d'affaires*? Going on with making us pay BURKE's pension still, and a pension of twenty-two years to a man for having been *five months* a *chargé-d'affaires* at Florence, that man being a parson of the Church of England, and having two livings all the time? Going on with their refusal to make the rich to pay legacy and probate duty, while they actually *impound* money in the savings banks, to make the poor pay that duty? Going on with their system of making the rich pay a duty of 25 per cent. on their wine, and making the poor pay, in tax and monopoly, 200 per cent. on their beer? Going on with the poor-law commissioners, and their STURGES BOURNE's bills, and their projects for preventing the labourers in Sussex from "*living too high*?" Going on with affairs like that of Calthorpe-street, and with the whole of that system which is now about to be developed? Going on with their mad project for taking twenty millions out of the sweat of the people of England, to be given to the slave-owners, and for making the slaves in fact more miserable than ever? But, Sir, not to tire you, going on with a resolution, **THAT ENGLAND SHALL NEVER HAVE ANY THING BUT SEPTENNIAL PARLIAMENTS?**

Dismal, indeed, must be the consequences, if they should not be able to "*go on*" without all these. As to the matter which has produced this second decision against them, I voted for the original bill being *brought in*; but, the moment I saw the bill, that moment I resolved never to vote for it, or for any part of it, seeing in it, not only no good to the people of Ireland, in general, but infinite mischief; leaving the church establishment disgraced and degraded;

marked out for hatred and contempt; still in existence for all the purposes of annoyance to the Catholics, dishonoured in the eyes of the Protestants; and, above all things, I saw a transfer of immense estates from *easy landlords* to *sharp-biting landlords*, thereby making the working tenant worse off than before, and adding to the evils of non-residence, by bringing out of Ireland a larger portion of its produce than was brought out of it before. This was no "*church reform*:" it was, upon a small scale, "*what the REFORMATION*" itself was: a taking away from the church and the poor cultivators, and giving to the lay-aristocracy; and that is not what we Radicals call "*a church reform*."

What are to be those "*consequences*," which the *Chronicle* apprehends from a turning out of its masters, it would be great presumption in me to say. I have been neither "at Apsley House," nor at "his Royal Highness's the Duke of Cumberland's;" but, as to the cry of the *Times* of this morning, "**THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO THE RESCUE**," as to this, the *Times* ought first to ascertain *who is to go to the "rescue" of the House of Commons*; who is to go the "*rescue*" of those who rescinded their vote on the malt tax, and determined that we shall *always have Septennial Parliaments*, or no Parliaments at all? What! will the Whigs attempt to persuade us that the Lords would do *more* than rescind the vote on the malt tax; would do *more* than give us *Septennial Parliaments for ever*? Would they make us believe that the Lords would add to the malt tax; add to the house and window taxes, the surcharges, and the seizures of goods? As to finance, would the Whigs persuade us that the Lords would do *more* than make the King a partner with a band of private persons in making money for his people; that they would do *more* than make us pay two pounds for one pound that was borrowed; that they would do *more* than take the poor man's bed from under him without a minute's warning, as would have been done by the *Local Courts*

Bill; that they would make us pay *more* than twenty millions to the slave-owners for having "violated the laws of God and man" for so many, many years?

Oh, no, Sir! The Lords would not do *more* than these, nor nearly *so much*. The Lords have not been spectators of all that has been going on during the last six months, without seeing fully clearly, that there is something to be done which the Whigs will not do. The Lords have discovered by this time, that a ten-pound constituency is not much in favour of Lords; and the people, on their part, have discovered that of all the hellish things in this world, nothing, as the Americans are now saying from one end of the States to the other, is so perfectly hellish as an "ARISTOCRACY OF MONEY."

The Lords have been perfectly right in the two cases in which they have decided against the Ministers. About their *motives* I say nothing, because I really know nothing; but I am at all times prepared to show that the two decisions were not against the *people*, but for the *people*; by the people I mean those industrious classes who produce every thing by their skill and their labour. What reason, then, have we to complain of the House of Lords? And, will the *people* go to the "rescue" upon grounds like these? Had they sent a repeal of the Septennial Bill up to the Lords, then, indeed, the people might have come to their "rescue." When JAMES the Second found himself in great peril, he, (having just heard of the defection of his daughter ANNA), addressing himself to the then Earl of Bedford, exclaimed, "Where am I to look, my lord, when my own children desert me?" The Earl answered: "I am too old, may it please your MAJESTY: I once had a son who could have served you, if he had been alive!" The Whigs have not as yet killed the people, to be sure; but the people's answer to them is, in substance, that which the Earl of BEDFORD gave to the unfortunate KING: Oh, no! They would have done anything to the people, and have been doing everything, in the hope

of securing the forbearance of the Lords, and the Lords have not been base enough to be secured by such means.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LOCAL COURTS, &c.

TO WM. COBBETT, M.P.

SIR,—The Lords, whatever may have been their motives, or the arguments by which they were led to their decision, I am disposed to think, took a wise and very wholesome step, in rejecting Lord Brougham and Vaux's "Local Courts" bill. I perceive that you have used the most forcible terms of even your powerful language in treating the bill with unmeasured scorn and contempt. I must admit that I have not read it, and that I have come to my conclusion as to the merits of its rejection, 1st, from having been unable to extract from the high-sounding jargon of pretension of the speeches made in favour of it in the House of Lords, or the arguments in its support in newspapers, enough of any clear or intelligible principle on which it was founded, to show that either its great author, or his subordinates, who must have been its draughtsmen, had themselves any well-defined ideas or any very satisfactory knowledge of what "cheap law" or "cheap justice" was, or indeed what "justice" itself was, as towards both parties to the suits to which the bill, had it passed into law, would have related; and, 2ndly, from remembering, that in the Lord Chancellor's former bill on the same subject, and which bill, to my grievous chagrin and disappointment as a reformer, I did read, the law or justice was not only not cheap law or cheap justice, but it was law and justice to be sold, in direct breach both of the spirit and the express provision of Magna Charta, to the plaintiff in the suit, in the first instance, who was afterwards

to remove the amount, if he could, from the unhappy defendant, in the shape of sums of money, at prices ever before absolutely unheard of. A stock-broker, the nature of whose occupation you so much dislike, buys or sells for his employer 100*l.* "stock," for half-a-crown, or a 100*l.* Exchequer bill for a shilling. And of late years, till the new Uniformity of Process Act superseded this manner of commencing actions, it had come to be thought a hardship that a plaintiff who sued in the King's Bench by special original for a demand exceeding 40*l.* should have to pay to the King, by way of composition for the liberty of suing in his court, a fine at the rate of ten shillings for every 100*l.* of his demand: mark, at the rate of ten shillings for every one hundred pounds. But, under the first bill of the Lord Chancellor, the plaintiff suing for a debt of 5*l.* would, before he could have taken out "execution," have had to pay, in successive stages, fees of court amounting together, if I recollect rightly, to somewhere about 3*s.* 8*d.* or 3*s.* 10*d.* in the pound; and which fees were afterwards to have been levied on the defendant; than which, according to all my notions, I can conceive nothing more outrageously or even more senselessly unjust. The late bill having come from the same workshop, I have no reason to suppose it was founded on altogether new and different, or on any very essentially different principles from the former; and, indeed, though I know not from my own perusal what were the particular provisions of the bill in regard to fees of court or otherwise, yet I read, some days since, in the lamentations of a newspaper over its rejection, that there were to have been "a few small fees" of court: by which "small fees," nevertheless, if I understood the arguments of the newspaper-writer correctly, all the expenses of the several courts were to have been paid, so that the passing of the bill and carrying it into execution was, forsooth, to have brought no burden on the public.

You, sir, have more than once conceded no stinted share of praise to some of our lawyers of former times. You

have always treated the institution of our superior courts and judges with great respect; and, with one or two natural and very excusable, not to say justifiable exceptions, it has been your general custom to treat our individual judges of late years with all due and proper respect. If, too, you will look round you in the House of Commons, at the very numerous body of young lawyers who now have seats in the House, you will find that, with two or three exceptions at the utmost, they are amongst the most liberal in politics of any of the members. Trusting, therefore, that you will not be startled at the name of "special pleader," I beg to request the favour of you to insert in your *Register*, as you can make it convenient, some general notions (for the most part struck out at a heat), of an old special pleader, and now a barrister of considerable standing, on the subject of "law reform." What I have to submit to you, will relate chiefly to the means of insuring a cheap, expeditious and able administration of justice, whether in local courts for the recovery of small demands and redressing less extensive injuries, or in any other courts. But I propose to add some other notions touching the question of what is "justice" as towards both the parties to suits at law; and these will concern the expediency of some modifications of the law itself, as between creditor and debtor. In whatever degree these notions may fall short of, or differ from, any that you or others may entertain on the same subjects, they are the notions of one whose mind has been as severely trained as any man's in the much-misunderstood and much-misrepresented art of pleading, and one who has drawn, in his time, perhaps a large number of pleadings than, and certainly pleadings quite as good as any that have been drawn by any member of either the first or the second set of "Common-Law Commissioners" themselves.

The first essential principle necessary to be fully acknowledged and acted on, in order to the administration of "cheap justice," is, that the expenses of all courts of justice, including the

salaries of the judges and all the officers of the courts, and every expense whatever of the courts themselves, shall be borne by the public at large, and not by individuals in their private characters as parties to suits: and as a corollary from this, it follows that the executive government ought to derive no revenue whatever, in any form or shape, from the suitors in the courts as such suitors.

This principle is clearly to be deduced from, if it be not distinctly laid down to its full extent in, Magna Charta itself; in which the King at that time (who had his courts for the administration of justice), speaking after the royal fashion, in use from time immemorial, in the first person plural, says, "we will sell justice to no person." But if the King was not to be permitted to sell justice, why were any officers under him to sell it, or of what benefit would it be to the people, that the King himself should abstain from selling it, if it was still to be sold by any person, and to be paid for by individuals having occasion to seek redress, or to defend themselves in the courts? It is evident that the principle I have advanced, would go to do away with all fees of court whatever to be paid by the parties to suits. And so extensive would be its operation, that, if it were acted on in the courts at Westminster, the present costs of an action in these courts, exclusive of the costs of witnesses, would at once be reduced perhaps one third.

Under the corollary above drawn, it would also follow that the executive government should derive no revenue from the conveyance by post of letters with their inclosures relating to the business of suits at law; and to this end such letters should be conveyed at a postage not exceeding the average cost of conveyance; suppose, for instance, the postage of a penny on letters not exceeding an ounce, and an additional halfpenny for every additional weight not exceeding half an ounce.

The parties to suits, on whichever of them the burden should in any particular case be thrown, or whether each party should have to pay his own ex-

penses, would thus only have to bear what may be called the natural expenses of a lawsuit, where courts are maintained at the public expense. And these would consist only of their personal expenses, with the fees and expenses of their professional advisers, where professional assistance is resorted to, and with the expenses of their necessary witnesses.

But, besides confining the liability of parties to suits in the matter of costs to those natural costs and expenses of a lawsuit, the number of steps or stages of proceedings, in the course of a cause, should be limited to as few as may be safe and practicable; and in this particular a considerable reform and consequent further reduction of expense might be made. The pleadings, too, should be as concise as the nature of the case will admit of, consistently with clearly apprizing the adverse party of the particular cause of action, or ground of defence. I shall not here attempt to enter at all particularly into the subject of pleading, whether general or special. But I may inform the general reader, that the great object of special pleading, where it is permitted or required, is, by confining the parties to specific and particular issues, to ascertain distinctly what are the points in dispute, and thereby, besides protecting either party from being turned round by an unexpected case to be set up by the other, to save, perhaps, a very heavy expense in bringing to the place of trial a number of witnesses whom it might otherwise be necessary to have in readiness. And here I may observe, that if the principle above advanced, were fully established and acted on, and the other matters above suggested carried into effect, the costs of suit at law to the parties would be reduced to next to nothing as compared with the costs that have ever hitherto fallen upon them, more especially ever since the introduction of the modern system of imposing in most cases on one of the parties, commonly the unsuccessful one, the costs of both. And even with this great reduction of expense, the professional men employed might be as handsomely, or

more handsomely, remunerated for their care and trouble than at present.

Another principle essential to any scheme for an effective law reform is, to take care to insure a *speedy* administration of justice. This principle, as well as the former, is distinctly recognised in, and expressly provided for, though in general terms only, by Magna Charta, where the King says, "We will deny or put off justice to no person." But to insure the speedy administration of justice, and the administration of it to every person, it is necessary that courts for hearing and determining all sorts of causes on grounds of action, should be provided in sufficient numbers, and be placed within the convenient reach of all persons, and their practice be put on such a footing as to insure the trial, without delay, of all causes as fast as they become ready for trial. In so far as a cause is stopped for any unreasonable or unnecessary length of time, while waiting its turn for trial, there is substantially a denial and putting off of justice. This principle also extends to all courts, to superior courts as well as those of inferior jurisdiction. And at the present moment there is special and pressing occasion for effecting a reform in this respect with regard to the superior courts. For, though by the recent addition of a judge to each of the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, there are now a few more days of sittings at Nisi Prius in London and Middlesex in term time, than there used to be; and though the late Chief Justice, Lord Tenterden, and the two present Chief Justices, and I believe also the Chief Baron, have, with the good intention of disposing of a larger number of causes, and keeping down the number in the list, adopted the practice of taking certain causes, which usually occupy but a short time in trying, out of their turn, namely, actions on bills of exchange and promissory notes, and also other causes which the plaintiff's attorneys choose to give notice of an intention of bringing on as undefended causes (but the strict propriety of which practice, inasmuch as, at least in so far as respects the ac-

tions on bills of exchange and promissory notes, it gives a preference to one description of plaintiffs over others, and those the more sharp ones, who have taken bills or notes, may, notwithstanding, be questionable), yet there are at this moment, that is, at the end of the sittings after Trinity term, in the Court of King's Bench alone, 300 causes remaining untried in London, and, the newspapers say, nearly about the same number in Middlesex. A defended cause in this court in London now waits in the paper for trial, I believe, on an average not less than a twelvemonth. What are the consequences of this? It is impossible to enumerate or imagine a tenth part of them. But plaintiffs are tired out, till many of them are ready or are compelled to compromise with the defendants on any terms. By the next term many of the causes disappear from the list, and are not tried at all. In the mean time many defendants, who may have been able in the first instance to pay their debts, become insolvent. What greater encouragement than such delay can there be to dishonest debtors, or what greater inducement to debtors to become dishonest? What can more clearly be a putting off of justice, what can practically and substantially be more a denial of it?

I should here observe, however, that the above-mentioned arrear of causes in the King's Bench, in all probability, would not and could not have been quite so large, but for an act of Parliament which was passed just three years since. By the act alluded to, the judges of the courts at Westminster were not merely relieved from the necessity of sitting at Nisi Prius in London and Middlesex, beyond a limited number of days after each term; it was not merely left to their discretion how long they might think the state of business required them to sit, but it was actually rendered illegal for them to sit, except with the consent of both parties to the suits, beyond the number of days limited. What was this number of days? Six working days after Easter term, and twenty-four working days after each of the other terms. This was in fact to enact,

that if the business of London and Middlesex required twelve days of sittings after Easter term, and forty-eight days of sittings after each of the other terms (and it does require more), only half of the business should ever be done. A more uncalled-for enactment, an enactment more puzzling to find out what could have been the object in view, according to my apprehension, was never made. I have never been able to get the slightest reason assigned for it by any one, except that it would give to the great leaders at Nisi Prius a long vacation. If the legislature of that day had been minded to show the commonest degree of consideration for the interests of the people in the due and speedy administration of justice, they must and would have enacted something in terms and spirit the very reverse of what they did enact. They must and would have enacted, that one or other of the judges of each of the courts should sit, if necessary, that is, as long as any causes remained for trial, throughout the whole of each vacation. Even this might not have proved sufficient, supposing them only to have provided for the sitting of only one judge of each court at one and the same time. But to render it positively illegal for the judges to try causes in London and Middlesex for more than the short number of days limited, was as if, seeing the insufficiency of the water-way at old London bridge, instead of providing for the building of a new one, it had been enacted that twelve of the nineteen arches should be wholly blocked up in order to force a larger quantity of water through the remaining seven arches, and to cause a diminution in the whole quantity permitted to pass, and that at certain periods of the year, and among these periods from the early part of July to November, the tide and stream should be directed not to flow. The three old courts, however, may, perhaps, without meaning to speak lightly or irreverently of them, in some other respects besides in this of their new position arising out of this recent enactment, be thought to resemble what was old London bridge, as it

existed the other day, with its numerous piers of needless thickness, and the starlings for their support, contracting and blocking up the water-way, and with its five-feet fall at low water swamping the small craft.

It is very evident, then, that even with what the political economists would call 'the present "effectual demand" for the high-priced law at present dispensed by the three superior courts, those courts, constituted as they now are, are very inadequate to a speedy or effectual administration of all the law and justice needed in London and Middlesex alone. And if the cheap justice, which would follow from the total abolition of fees of court and the other reforms above adverted to, were provided us, the number of actions would so increase, that it might as well be attempted to make the water of the Thames pass through three sugar hogsheads, as to suppose that these courts, with their present number of judges (place them upon whatever footing they might be put for the trial of causes,) could ever get through the number that there would be for trial. And as for country causes, not to speak of the delay in trying causes only twice a year, the assizes would be equally inadequate. By a very large addition to the number of the judges, indeed, and to the places for holding the sittings in, the business might, perhaps, be effectually performed. But on the score of the expense alone, which would be the consequence, it must not be thought of, to attempt to provide the required additional means of administering justice in this way. The more important causes (for the trial of which the three superior courts should be mainly reserved), it may be advanced as a general rule, call for a higher degree of professional learning and talent in properly disposing of them, than actions for smaller demands or less extensive injuries. And it is in the natural order of things, that the remuneration for professional labours, whether bestowed in the capacity of judges, or of counsel, or attorneys, should be on a higher scale in proportion to the higher degree of learning

and talent called for. Actions for small demands and wrongs of minor extent should therefore be tried in courts, the judges and all the officers of which, and also the counsel and attorneys employed in them, should be content with a lower scale of remuneration for their services.

But I have drawn on your columns at such great and, I fear, unreasonable length for a single article, that, if you will have the goodness to permit me to trouble you again, I must reserve for another communication what I have to submit, as well touching the establishing of any additional courts, as concerning any modification of the law itself, as above hinted at, between creditor and debtor.

In the mean time, I remain, Sir, with the highest respect,

Your most obedient
and very humble servant,
J. GEORGE.

Temple, July 31, 1833.

LIST OF THE MAJORITY

Of 215 (Tellers included) who, on the 23. of July, voted against Mr. Tennyson's motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act, and for shortening the duration of Parliaments.

ENGLAND.

Althorp, Viscount	Chaplin, Colonel T.
Anson, Hon. G.	Chetwynd, Capt. W. F.
Ashley, Lord	Childers, J. W.
Austley, Sir J.	Clive, E. B.
Asherley, A.	Clive, Viscount
Baring, F.	Cockerell, Sir C.
Bentinck, Lord G.	Cooper, Hon. A. H.
Berkeley, Hon. C. F.	Crawley, S.
Bernal, R.	Dare, W. H.
Bolling, W.	Darlington, Earl of
Brodie, W. B.	Denison, W. J.
Brougham, W.	Denison, J. E.
Brougham, J.	Dick, G.
Bruce, Lord E.	Dillwyn, L. W.
Buller, J. W.	Donkin, Sir R. S.
Buller, E.	Duncannon, Viscount
Bulkeel, J. C.	Dundas, Hon. Sir R. L.
Burrell, Sir C.	Dundas, Hon. J. C.
Byng, G.	Eastnor, Viscount
Byng, Sir J.	Ebrington, Viscount
Calley, T.	Ellice, Right Hon. E.
Calvert, N.	Estcourt, T. G. B.
Campbell, Sir J.	Evans, W.
Carter, J. B.	→ Evans, Colonel de Lacy
Cavendish, Hon. Col.	Fancourt, Major
Cogley, Sir G.	Fazakerly, J. N.

Fielden, W.	Ossulston, Lord
Finch, G.	Paget, Frederick
Fitzroy, Lord J.	Palmer, C. F.
Fordwich, Viscount	Palmer, Robert
Forster, C. S.	Palmerston, Viscount
Fox, Lieut. Colonel	Pease, Joseph
Frankland, Sir R.	Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert
Fremautle, Sir T.	Pelham, Hon. C. A. G.
Gaskell, J. W.	Pepys, Charles
Gisborne, T.	Peter, William
Gladstone, W. E.	Phillips, Sir R.
Gordon, R.	Pinney, William
Goring, H. D.	Price, Sir R.
Graham, Sir J.	Reid, Sir J. R.
Grant, R.	Rickford, William
Greene, T. G.	Ridley, Sir M. W.
Grey, Hon. Colonel	Robarts, A. W.
Grey, Sir G.	Rolfe, R. M.
Grimstone, Viscount	Rooper, J. B.
Grosvenor, Lord R.	Ross, Charles
Haumer, Colonel H.	Russell, Rt. Hon. Lord
Harcourt, G. V.	Russell, Lord C.
Harcourt, Right Hon.	Russell, C.
Sir H.	Sanderson, R.
Harland, W. C.	Sandon, Viscount
Henniker, Lord	Scott, Sir E. D.
Horne, Sir W.	Shepherd, T.
Hotham, Lord	Smith, J. A.
Hopdsworth, T.	Smith, R. V.
Howard, Hon. F. G.	Somers, Lord G.
Howick, Viscount	Stanley, Rt. Hon. E. G. S.
Halcomb, J.	Staunton, Sir G. T. B.
Hope, J. T.	Staveley, T. K.
Hudson, T.	Stewart, J.
Hyett, W. H.	Stewart, P. M.
Inglis, Sir R.	Stormont, Viscount
Jermyn, Earl	Talbot, C. R. M.
Jerningham, Hon. H.	Throckmorton, R. G.
V. S.	Tower, C. T.
Johnstone, Sir J. V.	Towuley, R. G.
Kuatchbull, Sir E.	Townshend, Lord C.
Labouchere, H.	Troubridge, Sir E. T.
Langston, J. H.	Verney, Sir H.
Lee, J. L.	Vyvyan, Sir R.
Lemon, Sir C.	Wall, C. B.
Lennox, Lord A.	Walsh, Sir J. B.
Lowther, Viscount	Ward, H. G.
Lumley, Viscount	Warre, J. A.
Lygon, Hon. Colonel	Waterpark, Lord
Lyall, G.	Watson, Hon. R.
Maberly, Colonel	Wedgwood, J.
Macauley, T. B.	Whitbread, W. H.
Mangles, J.	Whitmore, W. W.
Manners, Lord R.	Wilbraham, G.
Mills, J.	Williamson, Sir H.
Molyneux, Lord	Willoughby, Sir H.
Mureton, Hon. A. H.	Wood, G. W.
Morpeth, Viscount	Wood, Col. T.
Mosley, Sir O.	Wood, C.
Mostyn, Hon. E. M. L.	Wynn, Sir W. W.
Newark, Viscount	Wynn, Right Hon. C.
Norreys, Lord	Young, C. F.

SCOTLAND.

Adam, Admiral	Callender, J. H.
Agnew, Sir A.	Dalmeny, Lord
Bruce, C. L. G.	Elliott, Hon. Capt. G.

7 by accident only.

Genl. R. H. C. Rose, H.
 Haldyburton, H. D. G. Stewart, R.
 Jeffrey, R. Hon. F. Stuart, Captain C.
 Mackenzie, J. A. S. Traill, G.
 Macleod, R. Wemyss, Capt. J.

IRELAND.

Acheson, Viscount Howard, R.
 Browne, D. Le'roy, Dr. T.
 Chichester, Lord A. Macnamara, F.
 Christmas, J. N. O'Callaghan, Hon. C.
 Cole, Hon. A. Oxmanstown, Lord
 Coute, Sir C. Perceval, Colonel
 Corry, Hon. H. L. Stawell, Colonel
 Gladstone, T. Verner, Colonel W.
 Grattan, J. White, Luke
 Hill, Lord M.

Paired off against the motion.

Bannerman, A. Johnstone, J. J. H.
 Burdett, Sir F. Kerry, Earl of
 Cavendish, Lord Milton, Lord Viscount
 Cooper, E. J. North, F.
 Cole, Lord Stanley, E.
 Ferguson, Captain Stuart, Lord D.
 Grant, Hon. Colonel Thomson, Rt. Hon. C. P.
 Hoskins, H. Tracy, C. H.

Tellers.

Kennedy, T. F. Rice, Hon. T. S.

LIST OF THE MINORITY

Of 166 (Tellers included) who voted on the
 23. July, in favour of Mr. Tennyson's Motion,
 for the Repeal of the Septennial Act,
 and for the shortening of the duration of
 Parliaments.

For the Motion..... 166 } 341 in the
 Against it..... 215 } House.
 Majority against.. — 49

ENGLISH.

Aglionby, H. A. Cobbett, Wm.
 Atwood, T. Codrington, Sir E.
 Baillie, J. E. Collier, I.
 Bainbridge, E. T. Cornish, James
 Barnard, E. G. Dashwood, G. H.
 Barnett, C. I. Daveport, John
 Beauchamp, Major Dawson, E.
 Bewes, T. Divett, E.
 Biddulph, R. Dundas, Captain
 Bish, T. Dykes, F. L. B.
 Blamire, W. Ellis, Wynn
 Blunt, Sir C. R. Etwell, M.
 Bouverie, Captain Ewart, Wm.
 Briggs, R. Faithful, George
 Briscoe, J. I. Fellowes, Hon. N.
 Bruckeburn, J. Fellowes, H. G. W.
 Brotherton, Joseph Fenton, Captain
 Buckingham, J. S. Fenton, John
 Bulwer, H. L. Ferguson, Sir R.
 Chichester, J. P. B. Fielden, John
 Clay, Wm. Fryar, R.

Gaskell, Daniel
 Grote, George
 Gully, John
 Hall, Benjamin
 Halse, James
 Handley, Major
 Handley, Henry
 Hardy, John
 Harvey, D. W.
 Hawes, Benjamin
 Hawkins, J. H.
 Hodges, T. L.
 Hughes, Hugh
 Humphrey, John
 Hurst, R. H.
 Hutt, Wm.
 Ingham, R.
 Ingilby, Sir W.
 James, William
 Kemp, T. R.
 Kennedy, James
 Key, Sir John
 Lamont, N.
 Langdale, Hon. C.
 Langton, Gore
 Leech, John
 Lefevre, C. S.
 Lennox, Lord W.
 Lester, R. L.
 Lister, C.
 Locke, W.
 Lushington, Dr.
 Majoribanks, S.
 Marshall, John
 Marsland, Thomas
 Martin, John
 Morrison, James
 Ord, W. H.
 Palmer, General
 Parker, Sir H.
 Parrott, Jasper
 Pendarves, E. W.
 Penleaze, T. S.

Phillips, Mark
 Phillipps, C. M.
 Phillipps, John
 Potter, Richard
 Prynn, George
 Rider, Thomas
 Rippon, G.
 Robinson, G. E.
 Romilly, John
 Romilly, Edward
 Russell, Lord
 Sausford, E. A.
 Scholefield, J.
 Scrope, Poulet
 Seale, Colonel
 Shawe, R. N.
 Simeon, Sir R. G.
 Stanley, E. I.
 Stanley, Hon. H. T.
 Strickland, George
 Strutt, Edward
 Tancred, H. W.
 Tayleur, William
 Thicknesse, R.
 Tooke, W.
 Torrens, Colonel
 Trelawney, W. L. S.
 Turner, Wm.
 Tynte, C. J. K.
 Vincent, Sir F.
 Vivian, J. H.
 Walker, R.
 Walter, John
 Wason, R.
 Watkins, J. L.
 Whalley, Sir S.
 Wigley, J. N.
 Wilks, John
 Williams, Colonel
 Winnington, H. L.
 Wood, Alderman
 Yelverton, Hon. W. H.

SCOTCH.

Dunlop, Captain
 Ewing, James
 Ferguson, Robert
 Gillon, W. D.
 Johnson, A.
 Majoribanks, C.
 Maxwell, Sir J.
 Murray, J. A.
 Oliphant, L.
 Oswald, R. A.
 Oswald, J.
 Parnell, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
 Pringle, R.
 Sharpe, General
 Stewart, Sir M. S.
 Wallace, Robert

IRISH.

Baldwin, Dr.
 Barrow, W.
 Barry, G. S.
 Bellew, R. M.
 Blake, M.
 Chapman, M. L.
 Dobbin, L.
 Evans, George
 Finn, W. F.
 Fitzgerald, Thomas
 Lynch, A. H.
 Martin, J.
 Mullins, F. W.
 O'Connell, Daniel
 O'Connell, Morgan
 O'Connell, John
 O'Dwyer, A. C.
 Perrin, Sergeant
 Ruthven, E. S.
 Ruthven, E.
 Sheil, E. L.
 Vigors, N. E.
 Wallace, Thomas

Tellers.

Tennyson, Rt. Hon. C. Hume, Joseph

Paired off in favour.

Abercrombie, Rt. Hon. J. Maxwell, J.	Methuen, P.
Buller, Charles	O'Connell, Maurice
Chaytor, Sir W.	Parker, John
Don, O'Connor	Richards, John
Edwards, Colonel	Roche, Wm.
Fitzsimon, C.	Steuclair, George
Godson, R.	Told, R.
Guest, I. I.	Warburton, H.
Hay, Colonel	

PUFF-OUT.

THE following article, from the *Times*, is curious, at the least. That this *will be done*, there can be no doubt, whenever we shall again have a war with France. This is a mode of warfare which *Pitt began*; and which others will assuredly practise.

From a Private Correspondent of the Times,
27. July, 1833.

An inquiry has recently taken place before one of the Judges d'Instruction of Paris, which has led to some curious discoveries relative to an extensive forgery of Bank of England notes. Some of the money-changers in the Palais Royal had transmitted to London a certain number of 50*l.* notes, supposed to be notes of the Bank of England. They were returned, cut in half, with the word "forged" stamped upon them in the usual way. Search was, of course, immediately made after the utterer of the forged notes, but for some time without success. About 12 days ago however, a man of respectable appearance went into one of the money-changers' shops, with twenty 50*l.* notes, purporting to be of the Bank of England, for which he required change in go*d.* The changer happening to be one of those who had suffered most by the late forgeries, immediately sent for the nearest commissary of police, to whom he gave the man in charge on suspicion of uttering forged English notes. The man was examined, and search was made in the lodging, of which he gave the address as being his own, where se-

veral other notes of a similar amount and description were found. The whole of the notes were proved to be forgeries, and the man was put in prison to take his trial for uttering and attempting to utter them. Some days after a person calling himself a viscount, and wearing the cross of the Legion of Honour, waited on the prefect of the police, and said that he had heard of the circumstances of the man's arrest, and had come to bring an additional charge against him. The whole of the notes passed by him, and found on his person and at his lodgings, the viscount said had been stolen from himself. Those, and a very large quantity besides, the viscount said that he had himself forged, and had been keeping by him to use as a means of destroying the credit of the Bank of England at the next war between England and France. The prefect of the police not being so much disposed to keep the secret of the viscount's patriotic intentions as the latter seemed to wish, instantly caused a search to be made at the place of his abode, where, in fact, several bundles of 50*l.* and other notes, purporting to be of the Bank of England, were found, as also every necessary material for making them. The whole of the notes and implements were of course seized, and the other day they were all produced before the Judge d'Instruction, where the viscount was also made to attend in order to answer the inquiries necessary for the drawing up of the *procès verbal*. Some skilful typographers were also present, and they were desired to make experiments with the implements seized. The notes they drew proved such perfect imitations of those of the Bank of England, that in England itself it would have been hardly possible to distinguish them from genuine notes, much less in France. All the parties are bound to appear at the next assizes, but it is probable that the trial of the utterer will be deferred until the January assizes, as the Bank of England, who will probably be the prosecutor, wishes to make every possible inquiry into this extraordinary business, and, if possible, adopt such means as may put

a stop to any such "patriotic" forgeries of its notes on the continent. One of the firm of the solicitors to the Bank of England has been sent to Paris for that purpose. Z

BEER BILL.

GREAT numbers of petitions have been presented to the House of Commons for a law to put down the beer-houses. The petitioners never, I dare say, gave themselves time to think about the danger of doing this; never to think of the consequences of open and general discontent amongst all those who labour, if not of defiance and resistance! The committee, to whom these fanatical and rigid petitions have been referred, have had the wisdom to refrain from yielding to such thoughtless prayers; and, while they have recommended to the House some slight alterations in the law, have taken care not to suggest any such violent and irritating measure as that which the petitions prayed for. I here insert their moderate and sensible report: and to it I add the curious evidence of PARSON WRIGHT, who was the first witness examined, and whose evidence, when I have concluded it, in the next *Register*, shall be a subject of remark; and, I will take care to get this parson's evidence sent down into his own neighbourhood. I beg my readers to go through it with attention; I beg them to weigh well all that the parson says about his "PETTY POLICE-SYSTEM," and about his showing a flag to Lord Melbourne! I have no time to remark further upon this subject, or upon any other now; but, when I have got inserted the whole of this REVEREND ROBERT WRIGHT's evidence, I will remark on it, and send it down to be read at ITCHIN ABBS and the neighbourhood, where this parson says, that he "established a little POLICE at his own expense!"

Other witnesses give a very different account of the matter. They state the great advantages of these beer-houses.

But, the truth is, they must continue, till the malt-tax be abolished; a tax, which, in spite of the beer-houses, makes the people pay 13,000,000*l.* while it brings about 5,000,000*l.* or less into the Exchequer! The STAMP taxes are partial, and, in many cases, most oppressive and cruel; but, out of about 7,000,000*l.*, the Exchequer gets 6,800,000*l.*; while, in the case of the malt-tax, it gets little more than one-third of what it costs the people! This abominable tax must be repealed; and this is the remedy for all the beer-house evils! They cannot be "put down" by any other means: make every working man's house a beer-house; and, then, all will be well. This one measure will do more to produce general content, and a returning good feeling in the mass of the people towards the Government, than any other twenty measures that the Parliament could adopt.

REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the STATE and MANAGEMENT of HOUSES in which BEER is sold by RETAIL, under the Act of 1 WILL. IV. c. 64, commonly called BEER SHOPS, with a view of making such alterations in the Law as may lead to their better regulation, and to report their observations, together with their opinion thereupon to the House; and to whom the several petitions on the subject were referred; and who were empowered to report the MINUTES of EVIDENCE taken before them:—Have agreed to the following RESOLUTIONS upon the inquiry submitted to their consideration.

1. That it is the opinion of this committee, from the evidence that has been adduced, that considerable evils have arisen from the present management and conduct of beer houses.

2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the annual value of the house and premises held by any person

applying for a beer license, be the standard of qualification.

3. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the justices at the first quarter sessions after the passing of the Act, shall draw up schedules for the parishes or townships of the county, showing the rate, varying between seven and fifteen pounds, at which the beer-house licenses shall be granted; subject nevertheless to such alterations within the above limits as the justices may at any future quarter sessions deem right, on requisition of not less than six rate-payers of the parish or township within which the alteration is sought to be made.

4. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it be obligatory, on requisition from any applicant, to give certificate of the amount of rate at which such applicant is rated, and of the proportion which the rate of said parish or township bears to the rack-rent thereof.

5. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it be requisite that any person applying for a beer license shall produce a certificate [signed by six rated inhabitants of the parish (none of whom shall be beer sellers) in which he resides] to the good character of the applicant.

6. That it is the opinion of this committee, that in case of application for the renewal of a beer license, it shall be requisite to produce a certificate (signed by six rated inhabitants of the parish (to the peaceable and respectable manner in which the beer-house has been conducted in the past year.

7. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the certificate be signed by the overseer or assistant overseer, as a proof that the six persons named were rated inhabitants,

8. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient that some provision should be made, in conformity with the principle of the foregoing resolutions, for granting beer licenses to houses within extra-parochial places not rated to the relief of the poor.

9. That it is the opinion of this committee, that instead of the penalties im-

posed by the act 11 Geo. IV. and 1 Will. IV., the penalty against a beer-house keeper for a first offence shall vary from 40s. to 10l.

10. That it is the opinion of this committee, that in addition to all other penalties and liabilities imposed by the said act, the magistrates in petty sessions shall have the power of suspending licenses upon second conviction, for a period not exceeding two years.

11. That it is the opinion of this committee, that for the third offence the penalty be (instead of a disqualification for two years) a like disqualification for a period, not exceeding three years, in addition to the pecuniary penalties and liabilities imposed by the said act.

12. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the beer-houses be closed on Sunday until half-past twelve o'clock at noon, provided that the keepers of licensed beer-houses may be permitted to sell beer by retail, not to be drunk, on the premises, within the hours now prescribed by law.

13. That it is the opinion of the committee, that lodgers and inmates of licensed beer-houses shall be excepted from the above prohibition.

14. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the period for keeping open at night beer-houses may be beneficially extended in the town, and contracted in country districts; that it should therefore be in the power of the justices of the quarter sessions in open court, once in each year, to fix the periods within their district; in the town districts, not earlier than ten, or later than eleven; in the country districts, not earlier than nine, or later than ten.

15. That your committee cannot conclude their observations on the important subject which was referred to them by the House, without calling their attention to the expediency of the system under which all houses are licensed for the retail of beer and spirituous liquors, being revised in a future session of Parliament; and (without expressing a decisive opinion on this extensive subject) your committee feel that very serious reasons of justice and public advantage may be adduced

in favour of an assimilation of all the regulations as to hours and management to which every description of house licensed to sell beer or spirituous liquors by retail should be subjected.

21. June, 1833.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

THE MARQUIS OF CHANDOS IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. ROBERT WRIGHT called in, and examined.

Are you a magistrate of the county of Hants?.. I am.

You live at Itchin-Abbas, near Winchester?.. I do.

How long have you resided at Itchin-Abbas, as a magistrate?.. About twenty-six years.

Have you been an acting magistrate?.. I believe that I shall feel the riots to the day of my death; the blow that I got then I shall never recover.

Are you well acquainted with the poor of your neighbourhood?.. I am; from the very first commencements of the riots I have had my eye constantly upon those houses.

In your parish, are there any beer-houses?.. None.

Have any applications been made to your parish for beer-houses?.. There have.

And they have been refused?.. They have, because they were not rated to the poor-rates.

Is your parish an agricultural parish?.. Altogether so; ever since the riots have commenced, *I have had a kind of petty system of police at my own expense*, which has every week gone regularly round the villages, so that I have had correct information of every thing that has proceeded in those houses.

You have seen, therefore, the effect of those beer-houses upon the population of the district in which you have resided?.. I have.

Will you state to the committee what has been the effect you have witnessed from those beer-houses?.. I think the committee ought to be informed first of the character of the people who keep

those beer-houses; they are generally men who will not work; a little kind of petty tradesmen, who will rather get their bread by any other way than by hard labour; during the riots, those beer-houses were the focus for the meeting of the different parties, and there all the mischief commenced and was carried on by delegates; crime has increased very considerably in our county; I frequently assist as chairman of the Quarter Sessions, and we never used to have more than one or two cases of assault; and within the last three months there have been no less than 38 committals for punishment for offences for assaults, arising from these beer-houses, besides many others who have been fined according to the act; I should state likewise, that the men who suffered the extreme penalty of the law, for setting fire to places in Hampshire, the whole of it came under my own investigation; I sat six weeks every day till I had got sufficient evidence to convict; I had before committed them to prison, but finding the evidence not satisfactory to my own mind, I let them out upon bail, and it was not till a twelvemonth afterwards that I procured sufficient evidence, by my own exertions, and by a little police I established, to carry the law into effect; those men I saw continually, and from the time of their committal till the day before their death, they entreated me to use every exertion I had in my power to put a stop to the beer-houses, for they said that those beer-houses brought them to their disgraceful end; I am likewise the chairman of the visiting magistrates, in the absence of Sir Thomas Baring, and I have had a good deal of conversation with the characters committed at the special assize for punishment; I think we had 97, and I do not think out of the 97 there were twenty that did not date their misery to arise from those beer-houses.

How many were sentenced to death that you alluded to just now?.. Four were sentenced to death; one to transportation for life. I think I had 120 witnesses before me.

Were either of those men who were under sentence of death or transportation, keepers of beer-houses?..No, they were not; it is very remarkable, that all the leaders and agitators in that riot were petty tradesmen, such as journey-men blacksmiths, journeymen carpenters; not labourers, but men that really did not want; it arose from the love of mischief with them.

As a magistrate for the county of Hants, are you aware whether any of the rioters assembled in any bodies at those beer-houses?..Constantly; and moreover I can state, from positive information, that the *delegates from the Political Unions* constantly attend those houses, and there they enrol the members.

Was there any case of complaint during those riots, against any regular ale-house, as distinguished from beer-houses?..There were complaints against a variety of beer-houses; 40s. convictions have taken place in every village around me.

[During the time you have acted as a magistrate for the county, have you seen any alteration in the habits and morals of the lower classes, since the law passed enabling the beer-houses to be set up?..Not a week passes without having five or six women attending and complaining of the money which their husbands spend in the beer-houses, which is not brought home to their houses.

Is it your opinion that the system of beer-houses has been detrimental to the habits and morals of the lower orders?..Exceedingly so. I think if the legislature does not see fit to do away with that law, it might be put upon another footing, by which you would have more respectable characters keeping these houses; for instance, any person who is rated to the poor-rate, has the power to go immediately to an excise-officer, and demand his license. Now, if no poor man was permitted to have a beer-house, unless he were rated at 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ a year to the poor-rate, I think that would put a stop to a great deal of irregularity that is carried on, because you would have a different kind of character

keeping the house; the men that keep those houses are necessitous men; they are idle men; they will not work, and they will get money in any way that they possibly can.

Have the poor-rates in any parish with which you are acquainted, increased since the system of beer-houses, and to your knowledge, in consequence of the system of beer-houses?..Certainly, because there are a vast number of labourers committed to our prison; when I first was a magistrate, and superintended the Bridewell, we seldom had more than thirty-five people in confinement, and we have seldom less now than 200. I think it makes a difference of eighty or ninety persons constantly in confinement.

Have the poor-rates increased?..They have, for this reason, when the husband has gone to prison, of course the family must come wholly upon the parish for maintenance, and when the money is spent, application is made to the parish-officers, and a great deal of false statement is made, that the husband is not at work or that he only receives so much; but there is hardly a week passes that some complaint is not made for defrauding the overseer by false pretences.

Are you aware of the number of beer-shops in the district in which you act?..There is not a village around me but what has got two or three of those beer-shops.

Are you acquainted with a village called Easton?..I am.

Are you aware of the population of that village?..About 400.

Are you aware of the number of beer-houses in that village?..Three, I think.

Are you aware that in that parish the poor-rates have increased to a great amount since the beer-shops have been established?..They have increased there; and I do not know of a more distressed parish than that is at the present moment.

Have the poor-rates in your own parish increased since 1830?..They have.

How much?..I should think about

40*l.* a year; they used to be about 120*l.* and they are now 160*l.*

In the parish of Easton, do you know what the poor-rates were in 1830 and what they are now?.. No, I do not; but other parishes have spoken to me upon the subject; and Sir Henry Tichborne mentioned to me, that in the parish of Tichborne they have got now to 13*s.* in the pound.

What were they in 1830?.. I do not know, but some of the farmers tell me they remember when they were only 30*l.* for the whole parish; they are increasing every year.

Have they increased more in the parish of Easton than in your own parish?.. Certainly.

Do you think it advisable that any alteration should be made in the system of the beer-house?.. I do; and I think the alteration I suggested would be a very good one, because it would put them upon a respectable footing, and whatever advantage the public derive from beer-houses, they might derive without being injured by those characters who absolutely live by what they can squeeze from them.

Have the county rates also increased in the same proportion as the poor-rates?.. They have; since I first acted as a magistrate they have increased from about 9,000*l.* a year to about 16,000*l.* a year, and they are progressively going on. Where you have 200 persons confined instead of 35, the county rates must increase. The county rates for the expense of prosecutions at the last assizes alone amounted to 1,286*l.*

You said that those persons that were convicted, two of whom were sentenced to death and one to transportation, admitted that the origin of their crimes arose at those beer-houses?.. I constantly attended them, and they begged me to warn every person that came before me, that they owed their untimely end to nothing but the company they met with in those beer-houses, and being enticed to do what they did.

Are you aware of the nature of the society in those beer-houses, generally speaking?.. I am.

Do the labourers in the parishes frequent the beer-houses in their own parish, or are they in the habit of going to the next parish?.. Generally to the next parish.

Does that leave the wife and child destitute of the protection of the parent?.. It does very much indeed.

And does it not leave the women open to the visits from the males of the neighbouring parish?.. The women frequently come to me and complain that their husbands' money has gone at those beer-houses.

Do they cook at those beer-houses?.. That I do not know; they sell bread and cheese; I never heard of any thing more.

Have they other amusements at those beer-houses besides drinking?.. I have not met with any instance of card playing.

Have they music and dancing?.. They have a little music, I believe.

And prostitutes?.. I will not take upon me to say that.

Do you think, that if the people who keep those beer-houses were obliged to be in a condition to brew their own beer, or to be compelled to brew their beer, that that of itself would be a great improvement in the state of those houses?.. I do not know that it would, unless you alter the class of people who keep them, because it is of very little consequence to the brewer whether he supplies the house with beer or with malt, because most of those houses now have got into the hands of the brewers.

Do not you think that that of itself would oblige them to be in the hands of more respectable people?.. Not a bit; the only way you could make them respectable is by putting more respectable characters to keep the house.

Must there not be an outlay upon a house that brews its own beer?.. There are very few that do brew their own beer, they generally are supplied by the brewers.

Would it not be an advantage to take it out of the hands of the brewers?.. Yes, I should think it would; many of them would then be obliged to brew

their own beer, which they do not now; and if they were honest characters they would be able to sell cheaper than they do.

What advantage would there be in obliging them to brew their own beer? .. They would brew it better; they would be able to sell it cheaper, and the beverage would be more wholesome.

Would not the having good beer be an additional inducement to labourers that frequent those houses? .. The general character of an Englishman is something like the loadstone and the needle; the beer-house is an attractive thing to him; it is not altogether the beer, but the fellowship they meet with, and the conversation they get into, and the petty publications which are continually carried round to those houses, and which they get to read; I think as long as they can get to those houses mischief will ensue.

Are you still of opinion, that taking the houses out of the hands of the brewers, would be advantageous to the morals and the good police of the country? .. I have seen many instances where a brewer has set up a house, and another brewer has set up a house close by it; a fortnight ago in my neighbourhood an instance of that kind occurred, and a gentleman who lived close by immediately came and complained of it.

In what manner would you propose to take the beer-houses out of the hands of the brewers? .. By increasing the sum that the person should be rated to the poor-rate, and obliging them to brew their own beer; it ought not to be rated at less than 15*l.*, that would be a house sufficiently large to give every accommodation to a man to brew his own beer, but those beer-shops in general seldom have more than two rooms.

Have you not already stated that if you were to prevent the brewers from supplying them with beer, the brewer would continue to supply them with malt? .. I am only speaking of the lower class of beer-houses; but where you get a respectable character that is rated at 15*l.* a year to the poor-rates, that is a man of some property and he does

not care at all for the brewer, and he can carry on the trade to much greater advantage than a man that has not 6*d.* in the world.

Have you ever inquired whether a brewer cannot supply a publican or any other customer with beer of a better quality at the same price, than the person can brew it himself? .. Decidedly not; I should say from my own experience in brewing my own beer, I get beer half as cheap again without any nauseous drugs, and more wholesome.

Have you taken into consideration the cost of the utensils for brewing? .. I have.

When you speak of nauseous drugs being used, is it from your own knowledge of such being the case? .. I cannot say that I am in the habit now of analyzing the beer that comes from public-houses, but I have seen it analyzed, and there is certainly something more in it than malt and hops; if they would put nothing but sugar, I think there would be no harm in it, but there is a great deal of *eculus indicus* in it; I know that labourers have complained to me that at some particular houses it almost produces a diarrhoea upon them.

You have stated that by brewing themselves they could obtain the beer at one half the price; why then do they go to the brewer? .. Because the man has no capital; if he had a capital and the house did not belong to the brewer, he would do that.

You have stated that you wished a minimum sum of rate to be fixed for beer-houses, what is that minimum sum? .. Fifteen pounds.

To what part of the country would you apply that? .. To the whole of England; in the neighbourhood of London 20*l.* would be better.

Are you aware that 15*l.* in some parts of England would be almost equal to 50*l.* in London? .. I do not know what it may be in the north; I speak of rural districts.

Can you state the details of the calculations you have made, as to the price of purchasing beer from the brewer and the expense of brewing it at home? ..

I am convinced that a man can brew good wholesome strong ale at 3d. a pot, and the brewer charges 6d.; reckon first the price of a bushel of malt, (malt at this present time is 6s. 6d. a bushel,) it would take three quarters of a pound of hops, 9d.; the grains and the yeast would pay for fuel, and from that bushel of malt you will get 12 or 16 gallons of good beer.

Do you mean of the same quality that is sold at 6d. by the brewer?.. Better, I think.

What do you charge for the utensils and the time?.. I allow nothing for time, because the men who keep those houses do not do any work.

What do you allow for the interest of the price of the utensils and the profit of the stock?.. Half a dozen barrels is as much as any of those houses will want, and a copper and two coolers; 20l. would set up the whole, and less than that, because it is not to the advantage of those people to brew more than two or three barrels at a time.

If there is this vast profit of 100 per cent. between the cost of brewing beer and the price that the brewer charges for it, how is it that the brewer of beer at home does not undersell the man who is supplied by the brewer; and how is it that the practice of brewing at home does not become general?.. If you cast your eyes around this metropolis, you will see beer at various prices; those shops sell according to the strength; but you cannot compare beer brewed at home with brewer's beer; the beer brewed at home is always better to the palate, more wholesome and stronger of malt and hops than the brewer's beer is, but it does not intoxicate so soon.

Do you happen to know what proportion of the public-houses throughout Hampshire are supplied with brewer's beer?.. It is impossible to say; I only know that a great proportion of them are supplied with brewers' beer.

And yet you state that the man who brews at home, if he sells at the same price as the brewer, makes 100 per cent. profit on it?.. Yes, but the brewer can

brew cheaper because he does not brew with malt and hops.

You have stated that the remedy you would propose would be to require that an individual, taking out a license for a beer-shop, should be rated at a certain sum, have you known any instances of persons taking out licenses who were in fact, not rated inhabitants?.. I have heard of it.

Have you heard of any instances in which one person has taken out a license in his own name because he was a rated inhabitant, and another person has carried on the business?.. I have known in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth that one person has taken four or five houses, and sent different persons to those houses; the houses belonging to one individual, but they are kept by servants.

You do not know in whose name those licenses were taken out?.. Not all in the same name.

Have you observed that a different degree of regularity and order is observed in the beer-houses, from the old licensed public-houses?.. The old licensed public-houses are generally kept by people of more respectable character, and in my opinion the old houses are more respectable, and better order is observed in them, because they are more under the immediate eye of the magistrates; if the magistrates find that those old houses do not conduct themselves in a proper manner, they have the power not to grant a license; if there are complaints of irregularity or bad conduct of the people, they are liable to have their licenses stopped.

Have you not the power to fine the keepers of the beer-houses if they misbehave?.. I have the power to fine them under the statute.

Have you known many instances of those fines being levied?.. Hardly a week passes without fines or complaints.

And you think that the principal reason why public-houses keep better order is, that there is some apprehension that they may be deprived of their license by the magistrates?.. That is one reason; but the other reason is that

they are generally kept by people of some little property, and of more respectable character.

Have you known any instances of the keepers of beer-shops, what is called drugging their beer, in order to produce a little intoxication more quickly?.. No.

Is there not another cause why those beer-houses are under less control and responsibility than the public-houses, namely their situation?.. It is very difficult to superintend them, they may do almost what they like; I know they are receptacles for game, and a number of things.

Are not those beer-houses situated elsewhere than in villages?.. Yes, some by road-sides and little back lanes, no matter where.

Are the farmers and more respectable individuals who have occasion to go to a public-house for an hour in the evening, in the habit of going to those beer-houses?.. I do not think a respectable character ever enters one of them.

Does not that make a difference in the class of persons who frequent them?.. Of course the more respectable characters will not sit with a parcel of riotous people.

Who do you mean by respectable persons?.. I mean the yeomanry.

Have you known instances of the wives of the labourers going night after night, at a late hour, to those beer-houses, to bring their husbands home?.. I have.

Have you known, that in consequence of the increased number of those houses, when the poor men have been induced to leave one, before they have got home they have been tempted to go into another?.. I will mention one circumstance in my own village, though I have no beer-shop there; a woman came to me for relief, I said, "What can you want, there is only you and your husband, he earns 10s. a week, and that is sufficient to keep you both;" the man was ill, I went and visited him in my capacity of clergyman, and every thing that that man had was pawned; he had nothing but a bed to lie upon, and a bit of a blanket, and the woman

told me that his round frock, his hat, and his high shoes, and that all her garments, were in the pop-shop for what this man had spent at the beer-shops.

You stated that this took place in your own parish, and that in that parish there are no beer-shops; how near is the nearest beer-shop?.. About a quarter of a mile.

Did she specifically state that it was at a beer-shop, or at the public-house, that this took place?.. At the beer-shop.

So that you understood that this man had not pawned his clothes for the purpose of getting liquor from the public-house that was close at hand, but from a beer-house that was a quarter of a mile off?.. Exactly, because the public-houses dare not harbour characters of that description in my parish.

Was not that man a respectable person?.. I do not know how a man can be called respectable when he spends all he can get at a beer-shop.

When did he become this drunken person?.. For the last two years.

Supposing this circumstance had not come to your knowledge, should you not have considered him a respectable workman?.. *He is the best workman in the parish, as those drunken fellows generally are.*

Should you not consider him a respectable individual?.. He seldom comes near the church.

Supposing you had not been aware of the circumstance you have related, would you have considered him a respectable individual, or not?.. Yes, I should have known nothing to the contrary.

That being the case, how could a public-house refuse to receive that individual within its walls to drink a pint of beer?.. There is a vast difference between giving a man a pint of beer, and letting him sit there and get intoxicated; I said that the public-house would not admit characters of that description to sit and get drunk day after day.

Then this man might have begun drinking at the public-house, and com-

summed his drunkenness at the beer-shop?.. I do not think he went to the public-house, because it would have come to my knowledge and that of the parish officers.

Had he ever applied to the parish previous to the time you have mentioned?.. I do not know that he had, previously to the last two years; but I have been speaking of since that period; but the man himself did not apply; it is his wife that applied; and I dare say *got a good thrashing* for applying.

How can you feel assured that his drunken habits were produced by the beer-shop, which was so much farther off than the public-house?.. In the first place, he would not have gone to the public-house because his parish officers would have known where his money was gone to, and he knows that when a person becomes chargeable to the parish, there is an Act of Parliament under which persons are liable to be put into prison for a month.

This man being a good workman, earning 10s. a week, under those circumstances, how could a publican refuse to furnish him with beer, keeping his house in good order at the same time?.. I am speaking of the last two years since the beer-shops have been established.

What do you know of the man before these two years, do you know that he was not addicted to tippling in public-houses before that time?.. I never heard any complaint of it.

Did his wife ever apply for parish relief before that time, stating that he had pawned his goods?.. Not before that time.

Did she obtain relief?.. Yes.

Is that the manner in which the poor-laws are administered in your parish, that if a husband squanders away his earnings of 10s. a week in tippling, he may still receive parish relief without being put to labour in the workhouse?.. In the first place, we have no labour in the workhouse; and in the next place, is it not an exceedingly hard case that an innocent woman with three children should stay at home and be almost starved for want, whilst her

husband should go about into public-houses and spend his money.

You have stated that the county rates in Hampshire have been progressively increasing, can you state the same of the poor-rates?.. It is like a snow-ball, and if something is not done, it will swallow up every thing; as the population increases the poor-rates will increase; the larger the population the greater your poor-rate must be, *except some better system is adopted.*

You have stated that such a person pawned every thing he had, and finding that to be the case, you found it necessary to supply him with other articles to protect him from the cold during his illness?.. I did; I gave him a double blanket immediately.

You stated that such a character would not have been allowed to frequent one of the regular-established ale-houses in your neighbourhood, is it not your opinion that that difference is owing to the better control and management that the magistrates have over the old alehouses?.. It is; and to the other reason that I gave, that the people that keep those public-houses are people of some character and some little property.

What is the sort of control that is exercised by the magistrates over those beer-houses; have there been in your neighbourhood many informations against those beer-houses for misconduct laid before the magistrates?.. There have been a great many.

Then, in point of fact, the parish officers and constables in your neighbourhood do look into the conduct of those houses, and inform of their misconduct?.. They do; and we are very much *indebted to the police that have been sworn in* in the neighbourhood.

Have there been many convictions under the statute of the parties that keep those houses?.. A great many.

You say there have been informations laid against the beer-shops for irregularities committed in them; have not there been informations against the licensed alehouses?.. I have not had one.

Is there any difference in price between

the alehouse and the beer-house?.. They all sell at different beer-shops; the beer-shops that are supplied by the brewer are exactly the same as what is supplied by the brewers' houses.

Is there not better accommodation at alehouses?.. Yes, there is.

And yet you think the lower classes prefer the beer-houses?.. They do, because they only meet characters of their own description there.

Do you know whether persons in your village are in the habit of frequenting a particular beer-house, when there is a public-house nearer to them?.. I have heard a *complaint from the public-house in my own village*, that they do not sell near the quantity of beer that they did.

Do you know in your own village of instances of persons living near to the public-house, who pass the public-house to go to a particular beer-shop?.. I do; I see them constantly.

You were understood to state, that they would not be permitted to stay in the public-house to get drunk?.. No, they would not.

Are there not two beer-shops at Itchin-Stoke?.. There are.

And you have a public-house in that village?.. We have, at Itchin-Abbas.

To your knowledge, are those two beer-shops at Itchin-Stoke attended by more of the labouring class than the public-house in that parish?.. They are completely thronged, and more especially upon the Sunday.

Have you ever had complaints against the alehouse in that neighbourhood?.. Never any.

Have there been complaints against those beer-shops in Itchin-Stoke?.. From the families of the persons that spend their money there.

Is it within your knowledge that the two beer-shops within a mile of your village are crowded with labourers while the public-house in your village is not?.. I am confident of it.

Do your own parishioners go from your own village to those two beer-shops within a mile, in preference to the public-house in your own village?.. They do.

You stated that the county rate has increased in consequence of the crime arising from beer-shops; but you afterwards said that the county rate has been going on progressively increasing?.. It has, but it has increased in a greater proportion lately.

Can you state what is the difference since the establishment of beer-houses?.. I should think that the expense of prosecutions has increased more than one-third since the last two years.

Have not the riots occurred during the last two years?.. They were in December 1830.

Did not those arise from other circumstances besides the beer-houses; was there not great distress at the time?.. I think they arose *more from people being led away by false views of things*, and having *placards* placed in those houses, which were regularly sent round.

Were they *political*?.. They were; *I gave one to my Lord Melbourne.*

Would not the same parties have been admitted into the tap-room of an alehouse?.. No, they would be afraid of being found out, because the characters are more respectable there.

Do you consider it a *crime to have a political pamphlet*?.. This was not a political pamphlet; it began, "The flags of freedom and liberty are flying over the churches and steeples on the continents; rise, Englishmen, and assert your rights, and *pull down priestcraft* and oppression. The Reform Bill is only a stepping-stone to our future advantages. Down with the *tithes*! down with the taxes! down with the places! and down with the *pensions*!"

Might not such a paper as that have been distributed in the tap-room of an alehouse?.. No; they are carried to those houses for the sake of secrecy and inflaming the minds of persons who are led away, not having discrimination and sense to discern the mischief of them.

You have stated, that music and dancing were not common in those beer-houses, are not those beer-houses under the control of the law the same as the alehouses, with the exception of the power of the magistrates in granting a

license?.. No; I do not think they come under the same act.

Are they not subject to the same punishment at common law for irregularities and breach of the peace?.. If they keep the house open after ten o'clock, they are subject to a fine of 40s., and it rises progressively to 5l. after the third conviction, and after that the license may be taken away.

May they not be convicted in the same way as an alehouse-keeper, under the ordinary laws for irregularity and breach of the peace, with the exception of the power which the magistrate has of refusing a license without giving any reason for it?.. Undoubtedly they may; but there is the greatest difficulty in getting people to come forward and give information. The law is good, provided it is carried to its full extent, but you *cannot get people to come forward*.

You were understood to state, that a great number of informations have been laid, and a great many convictions have followed upon those informations?.. Just round where *the police* have an eye and authority.

Then your observation does not extend to small parishes where there is *no police*?.. Here and there it does; for instance, in the parish of Twyford, near Winchester, we have had several convictions, and again in the parish of Cheriton.

Have those informations been successful in inducing the owners of beer-houses to keep better order in their houses?.. Not a bit.

Has any instance occurred in which the penalty of the Act of Parliament has been put into execution so that the person keeping the beer-house has lost his license?.. Not one; they cannot lose their license under three convictions.

Have the first penalties imposed by the act been enforced?.. Very often.

Do you remember any instances where the keepers of public-houses have taken upon themselves to say arbitrarily to individuals, You shall not come here?.. No; I take it that the keeper of a public-house has no right to refuse admittance to a person in that house, but at the

same time, if that public-house keeper permits a person to stay in that house and tittle and get intoxicated, especially a poor man that has a wife and family to maintain, I should say that he is not a proper person to keep that house.

You stated that the public-house keeper would not have allowed those *political characters* to enter, how could he have prevented them?.. He would have been afraid of *losing his license by admitting such characters*.

In those cases where the primary penalties imposed by the act have been enforced, have you had any second informations against them?.. In the parish of Cheriton we had an information twice against one house, but the *hard swearing* has completely carried them through it.

Have you observed any difference with regard to the hours at which the houses have closed, between the beer-houses and the licensed ale-houses?.. In towns the ale-houses are not closed so early as they ought to be, at ten o'clock; but I have passed the beer-houses at eleven, twelve, and one, and I have seen them open.

Have you made the same observation with regard to the licensed public-houses?.. Not to that extent.

Did you convict those beer-houses that you saw open?.. No.

Do you consider that by the statute under which those beer-houses are established, you have any power of convicting a beer-house keeper for keeping his house open after ten o'clock?.. Not upon view.

Have you the power of convicting a beer-house keeper either upon view or through information, under the statute, for keeping his house open after ten o'clock?.. No; you must have evidence that beer was drawn after that hour; the onus probandi rests upon the witness; a man may sit up as long as he likes.

Have you convicted any beer-house keeper for selling beer after ten o'clock at night?.. Yes.

Have you convicted any beer-house keeper, for permitting persons to drink beer in his house after ten o'clock at

night, which beer he had sold before ten o'clock at night?.. That I cannot say; there is room for great evasion.

Have you any power of convicting a beer-house keeper for permitting beer to be drunk upon his premises after ten o'clock?.. Yes.

Have you convicted any persons for that?.. I have.

Can you lay before the committee any list of persons that you have convicted for that?.. Yes; I can send it up to the committee.

Have you ever convicted any public-house keeper for selling beer after ten o'clock?.. Not for these three or four years.

Does that arise from the statute, or does it arise from the public-houses being generally closed at the proper time?.. I conceive from the public-houses being generally closed.

Is not the law more stringent upon a beer-house than upon a public-house?.. Not a bit.

Have you observed whether the keeping of a beer-house is often a beneficial trade to the person carrying it on?.. I think it is, because most of the keepers of beer-shops are little shop-keepers and little petty tradespeople, who are not very fond of work, and they seem to live a great deal better and they dress better than they did.

Have you heard of any of them falling into difficulties, in consequence of the labourers getting into debt with them?.. Yes; I often hear of their not getting paid.

But you think, notwithstanding of that, it is a good trade?.. I think it is.

Have you heard of any of them becoming insolvent?.. Never; there is one man that I convicted, and I was obliged to issue a warrant of distress, but that was the only one.

Since the first passing of the Act of Parliament, has the number of beer-houses increased?.. It is increasing every week.

Do you find that the poor persons in your neighbourhood buy beer at those houses for the purpose of drinking off the premises?.. I do not think they carry a drop of it home.

Are they not in the habit of carrying a portion of it home for supper?.. I think not.

Are those houses in the habit of selling spirits?.. Not to my knowledge; if I knew it I should be bound to take cognizance of it; we have a good deal of smuggling; I have had one or two informations by the excise of their selling spirits.

What has been the result of those informations?.. They have been convicted.

How many instances have you had of that?.. I can only recollect two.

Do any proportion of the population in your neighbourhood receive a part of their allowance from the parish rates?.. They do.

Do you find that persons receiving money from the parish rates, spend their money in the beer-houses?.. Much more than the good labourers; you seldom find a good honest labourer there, except to have half a pint of beer.

Is the spending money in a beer-shop made the ground for refusing the parish allowance?.. When a woman comes and says, I have nothing to eat, and my husband has only produced such a sum of money, it is very hard that the women and children are to starve.

Do you not relieve the man also?.. I have felt it my duty to relieve the wife and children, and have frequently committed the man to prison.

What is the poor-rate in the pound in your parish?.. I should think not 9d. in the pound in my own parish.

Is that the case in the circumjacent parishes?.. No; they are 4s., 5s., 6s., 10s. and even 13s. in the pound.

Are not the poor in a bad state in those parishes?.. They are.

Therefore the moral tone of the peasantry and of the persons who frequent those shops is low?.. Their character is low, and there are a number of idle people.

In the parish of Easton, is it the practice to make an allowance in proportion to the number of the family?.. It is; the parish of Easton is under the Gilbert Act. In the first place, the man before he can receive any relief is bound to go

to the guardian of his parish; he must be refused by the guardian of his parish; he is then obliged to go to the guardian of the united house at Winchester, and he must be refused there before he can obtain any relief at all, and when you get the parish officer before you, and he says to the person applying for the relief, here is a ticket to go into the poor-house, the magistrate's power ends.

Is the Gilbert Act well administered in that parish?.. Very badly indeed; it was intended as an act of mercy, but it is an act of oppression; a man has got four or five children, he is asked "How much do you earn?" he says, "I earn 9s.," and he is then told, "You can support your wife and one of the children, and I will take the rest and put them into the united house."

You stated that smuggling exists a good deal in the neighbourhood, has not that the effect of demoralizing the peasantry?.. A few it has, but I think they drink more beer than spirits, and I think the smuggling gets more into the middle order of society than the lower.

What scale of life are the persons in that possess those beer-houses?.. They are mere cottagers with generally two rooms.

What do you suppose would be the average value of those houses?.. About 50s. a year; they are mere cottages.

If, therefore, there was any regulation that there should be no beer-houses licensed under 10l. it would exclude them?.. It would; but 15l. I think would be much better.

Have you known persons that were not upon the rate-book apply to be rated in order that they might keep beer-shops?.. Yes.

Would not a rate of 15l. exclude a great number of the regular public-houses?.. I do not know that.

You have stated that there have been convictions for selling spirits at those beer-houses, is it your opinion that the fear of being informed against for selling spirits prevents their keeping the parties in order?.. Certainly; it is nothing but fear that prevents them.

You have stated that there are no beer-houses in your parish; is your parish more clear of crime than the parishes around you?.. Yes, it is; because in the parish where I live we have not had an illegitimate child born for these 20 years.

Are you cognizant of the state of crime in other parishes as compared with your own parish?.. I am.

And you are prepared to state that there is less crime in your parish than in the surrounding parishes?.. Certainly; we lose nothing by depredation in our parish.

In your parish is there a *better police* than in the surrounding parishes?.. There is *no police but myself*.

Are you not an active magistrate, and keep a sharp-look out upon them?.. I do; I *conscientiously* perform my duty to the best of my abilities.

Is there any allowance out of the poor-rates in your parish?.. We do not go exactly into that; every man has so much land, if he has not sufficient to maintain his family he comes to me and I order him relief; we have no settled allowance.

Suppose a man were to come to you and to say, "Sir, I have got a wife and half-a-dozen children, and I have nothing to feed them with," would you give him an increased allowance in consequence of his having six children?.. Certainly I should; but I have no regular system, because I go according to what I conceive to be the wants of the people; but I can state what the allowance is in the neighbouring parishes, it is a gallon of bread to each person, and if they have four children, sixpence a-head besides.

Do you do anything of that sort in your parish?.. No.

You stated that crime has increased lately, are you aware of the parliamentary returns upon the subject of the increase of committals since 1817?.. No, I am not.

You do not know then that there has been a considerable decrease?.. I do not; there has been an increase in our neighbourhood.

Has there been an increase of com-

mittals under the game laws?.. Yes, there has.

Can you state under what heads the increase of crime has been?.. Petty offences; but generally such as little depredations and assaults arising from the pot-house when they are investigated; they go from thence to poaching and depredations.

Do you find that there are many petty offences of which no cognizance is taken?.. I make up hundreds every year of my life, rather than bring them before the bench.

When you speak of the increase of crime, do you include those cases which are so made up?.. Independent of those there is an increase.

In any of those cases have the crimes been plotted in the beer-houses, or have they arisen from people drinking there, or meeting together there?.. They meet there previous to their setting out upon their errand in many cases, I think in 19 cases out of 20.

Have the poor in general any other place to meet in?.. None.

You said that there were no cases of bastardy in your parish, do you think there has been any increase of that crime in your district?.. Yes, there has.

You said that your parishioners were in the habit of going from your parish to other parishes to drink in the beer-houses, and that nevertheless in your parish there has been no increase of crime?.. Men may walk out upon a Sunday and come home after taking a pot of beer, without getting intoxicated.

Are you in the habit of firing for drunkenness in your parish?.. Never.

Have any of those smaller depredations been committed by drunken persons?.. Yes, by loose, disorderly drunken characters.

Has drunkenness increased in your parish?.. Not in my parish, it has in my neighbourhood; I cannot go out without seeing a vast number of drunken persons.

Has that arisen of late years?.. It has, and it is increasing every week.

What is the population of your parish?.. Two hundred and forty-three.

Do you conceive that spirit-drinking has diminished either in your own parish or in the neighbourhood?.. I do not think that spirit-drinking was ever much thought of in that neighbourhood.

You state that crime has increased in that district, have you formed that opinion by seeing the number of committals?.. Yes.

Do you know whether there has been a better look-out against crime in this district?.. No; I am sorry to say that the *police of the country is very badly conducted.*

Are not the expenses of prosecuting sometimes paid for now by the public, and not by the prosecutors?.. There is a portion of the expenses paid by the public, but that is only in cases of felony: but there was 40*l.* upon the conviction of a felon before, and that is done away with.

Did not the Act of Parliament which gave you the power of paying a portion of the expenses of those prosecutions, pass in the year 1827?.. I cannot say.

You state that the persons convicted have implored you to put down the beer-houses?.. *The man that struck Mr. Bingham Baring* two days before he died, begged and entreated me to use *all the influence I possessed to get the beer-houses put down*; and the other men did the same; and of ninety-seven that were in our Bridewell, I do not think there were *five* that did not tell me that they owed their confinement there and their misery to the beer-houses.

Were those ignorant men?.. Some were, but a good many of them were not.

You stated that the leaders of the riots were not agricultural labourers, but the agricultural labourers are the chief persons who frequent the beer-shops?.. Agricultural labourers and the little petty journeymen.

But that the persons who chiefly concocted the riots were not persons who frequented the beer-shops?.. I think they were not, but they led those unfortunate people into the commission of the crimes.

You stated that the persons who kept the beer-shops were not persons of property, and you stated also that one man was the owner of four beer-shops; was he not a man of property; was he not a person of as much property as some persons that are rated at 15l. ?.. I cannot say; I only know that I heard such a house belonged to such a person, and that he put such a person into it to keep it.

Were not the persons that he put in probably persons of less property than himself?.. They were mere servants; they were mere agents to him.

Do you know the sum required as capital to set up a beer-shop?.. It depends upon whether you brew your own beer or not; if you do not brew your own beer there is no capital required at all.

In case of an information having been laid against the four different beer-shops that were possessed by one person, would that person who possessed those four beer-shops have had any penalty against him?.. No; the person whose name is over the door is the person convicted.

Are brewers willing to trust persons of this description with beer?.. Any body that will open a house.

Are not the persons who keep the beer-houses sellers by commission of the beer for the brewer in most instances?.. In a great many instances I think it is 16s. or 18s. the hog'shead that is allowed them.

Will you state as far as your knowledge goes, whether the wives and children of the paupers generally speaking, have been worse off and more neglected since the passing of the Beer Act or not?.. They have.

Have there been in consequence, applications to the parish officers for additional assistance to the wives and families?.. There have; with every degree of subtlety to impose upon them.

Is that confined to your own parish?.. Not to my own parish; but I say it from the investigation of complaints that have come before me.

You have stated that crimes have

been concocted at the beer-shops; in your opinion did any incendiary fires take place previous to the passing of the Beer Act?.. None.

Have any incendiary fires taken place since the passing of the Beer Act?.. Yes; all the fires that have happened, have been since the passing of the Beer Act; I suppose 20 or 30 fires in the county.

Have any of the offenders that have been detected been traced upon the night when the fire happened to beer-shops?.. All of them to beer-shops that very evening.

Would not those parties be able to meet and consult their objects in open fields, if there were no beer-houses?.. No doubt they could, but they could do it more conveniently in a beer-shop. Of 21 persons that were tried for the murder of the Duke of Wellington's servants, all of them went from a beer-shop that night.

Could not the same crime be concocted in the houses of the individual labourers?.. No doubt they could.

Have you any reason to believe that such crimes have been concocted in any other places but the beer-houses?.. I believe not.

Are you aware that convictions had taken place at the assizes for incendiarism, many years before the passing of the Beer Act?.. Not to my knowledge.

Do not the parish officers visit the alehouses occasionally on Sundays?.. Yes, they do.

Do they visit the beer-houses?.. I do not know that they do.

Do you consider that they ought to do so?.. I consider that it is the duty of the churchwardens to go to the alehouses to see that no one is there during divine service.

You were understood to state that people who frequent the beer-houses, generally left them in a state of intoxication?.. A great many of them do; they spend all their money, and when that is all gone they are obliged to turn out.

In any evidence that came before you, with respect to the incendiarism, did it ever turn out that the incendiarism

were in a state of intoxication?.. They were generally; at least they were in what they call, according to their own confession, three parts of the seas over.

What class of persons were they?.. One of the persons convicted was an agricultural labourer; another was a bricklayer; another was a bricklayer's labourer.

Are you acquainted personally with the majority of the keepers of beer-houses in the parishes adjacent to your own?.. I am.

Can you state whether they are generally respectable characters?.. I have mentioned that they are idle people; I do not say that they would commit depredations themselves, but they would connive at anybody that did it.

Generally speaking, before the Beer Act came into operation, were they considered respectable people?.. No, they were looked upon as slippery people.

You stated that 20 or 30 fires had taken place in your neighbourhood since the passing of the Beer Act, could the persons who committed those crimes be all traced to the beer-houses?.. Every one of them.

Can you state that in no case were those crimes to be traced to the public-houses?.. I do not think there is a single fire in our neighbourhood or county, that has not originated from the beer-shops, and where they have not started from the beer-shops to commit the crime.

How many cases of incendiarism have been brought to trial in which evidence has been taken on the subject?.. Five or six.

In how many cases out of the twenty or thirty, have you had evidence that the incendiarism was concocted in the beer-houses?.. From the confession of the criminals, after sentence of death passed, I should think that fifty of the persons in the parish where the conflagration took place, and the villages round, were all leagued together.

In how many cases out of those twenty or thirty, had you positive evidence, either before the quarter sessions or assizes, or before you as a magis-

trate, that the incendiarism was concocted in the beer-houses?.. I think that six were tried, and five convicted.

Before the passing of the Beer Act, are you able to state what sort of houses those persons used to frequent before they set out on their schemes of depredation?.. We had no incendiaries; and the other crimes were different from that, and did not require their meeting so much, because it was merely for their sole and self-advantage.

In those cases, when any number of persons went together to commit a crime, are you able to state from what sort of houses they used to go before the beer-houses were set up?.. I should think from private houses.

Has it come within your knowledge, that there have been private houses in your neighbourhood where crimes were concocted, and where beer and spirits have been the constant beverage of those people during the whole of the night? I have heard of it, but I do not know it.

Have you ever met with any criminals who confessed to you that they concocted their crimes at such houses?.. I have never heard them confess that they concocted their crimes at such houses; but I heard them confess that spending their money at public-houses and in sabbath-breaking has brought them to their end.

Was there not a class of private houses where the police had no right to enter, where those persons might drink and concoct their crimes, before the Beer Act passed?.. I never heard but of one, where the man was a smuggler, and sold smuggled liquors.

That was in your immediate neighbourhood?.. Yes, about five miles from me.

Might there not have been such houses in every village without your knowing it?.. I think not; I never knew but of one, and that was a smuggler's house, and he is dead.

And that, of course, was a house in which a policeman had no more right to enter than your own house?.. Certainly.

Have you recently directed your endeavours to trace the criminals to any

particular houses, with a view to ascertain whether the beer-shops are beneficial?.. I have found they all came from the beer-houses.

You said that the beer-houses generally consisted of two rooms only?.. Generally.

If they have not more than two rooms, is it not easy to see whatever drinking is carried on?.. I have heard, but I cannot speak positively, that a man has rented what they call two tenements; one of the tenements is licensed to sell beer, and there is a door which communicates with the other; the beer has been drawn in the licensed house before ten o'clock, and carried through into the other place, and there they sit up to what time they like.

Would not that form a ground for fining a man, or depriving him of his license?.. Not at all.

Are the beer-houses in your neighbourhood well attended?.. A great many people go to drink.

Do not the public-houses in your neighbourhood consist of several rooms? They generally consist of accommodation for a traveller; to give him a bed and a good supper, and any thing he wants; there is generally a parlour or two, and what is called the kitchen and the settle.

Are you aware of certain returns which have been made to the clerks of the magistrates in every district as to the licenses given of those beer-houses?.. No, we had no returns.

Are you not aware that they are obliged to enter into certain securities?.. Yes, ten pounds each.

Are you not aware that you have a right, as a magistrate, to have these securities produced before you?.. No.

Will you state what remedy you would apply to the evil of the beer-shops?.. The remedy I would propose is, that no man should take out a license for a beer-shop unless he was rated 15*l.* a year to the parish rate; then you would have respectable characters; I think that would answer the purpose better than any thing that could possibly be adopted.

Supposing that should be thought too exclusive, do you think there is any other means by which the same object could be obtained?.. No, I do not; because you have those low cunning characters to deal with, who will evade the law in some way or another.

Are you of opinion that it would not be proper to put those beer-shops under the power of the magistrates?.. I think it would not; the magistrates have already enough to do, and they have power enough already.

Would you propose any alteration with regard to laying informations?.. No; because a man that lays an information is generally marked.

What would be the effect, if you were to prevent the drinking of beer upon the premises,?.. I think it would answer in some measure, but I think not to the full extent.

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

JERVIS, W., Truro, innkeeper.

BANKRUPTS.

FRIEND, C., Munster-street, Regent's-park, milkman.

LEE, H., Down-street, Piccadilly, saddler.

STEWART, J. C., Torrington-square, merchant.

SUDELL, J., T. and W. T. Clough, Darry Lever, Lancashire, manufacturing-chemists.

TUESDAY, JULY 30, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

DENHAM, A., Chorley, Lancashire, tallow-chandler.

EDWARDS, J., Crawford-street, Marylebone, cheesemonger.

HAYWARD, T. B., Liverpool, tailor.

HICKLEY, J., jun., City-road, tailor.

PARSONS, R., York, surgeon-dentist.

STAMPER, R., Torpenhow, Cumberland, drover.

THOMAS, J., Worcester and Evesham, draper.

WINSTANLEY, J. I., Holborn-hill and Cranburn-street, Leicester-square, hostler.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 29.—The supplies of Wheat left over from Friday's market, added to liberal arrivals this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, caused the stands to be well filled with samples, and the weather proving extremely fine, and highly favourable for all agricultural proceedings, prevented the millers from evincing any disposition to purchase; the market in consequence ruled extremely dull, and sales of all the better descriptions were difficult to effect even at a decline of 4s. to 5s. on the quotations of this day se'nnight. The depression in inferior descriptions was still greater, and most of the parcels left unsold. For bonded Corn no demand existed.

Barley continuing in short supply, the few samples of grinding offering were held at Monday's rates.

Malt dull, and 1s. per qr. lower.

The extensive supply of Oats the previous week, with fresh importations this morning, rendered the trade excessively heavy, and the article experienced a slow languid sale at a decline of 1s. per qr., as compared with last Monday's currency.

Beans were in fair supply and dull sale, at 1s. per qr. less money.

White Peas sustained no alteration, but Grey and Maple were both 1s. lower.

New Rye hung on hand at from 32s. to 36s.

The Flour trade was dull, and though 55s. may be still quoted by a few millers, yet it was generally understood that the top quotation was only 52s.

Wheat	56s. to 62s.
Rye	30s. to 32s.
Barley	24s. to 26s.
— fine	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White	31s. to 34s.
— Builders	44s. to 48s.
— Grey	30s. to 35s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 32s.
Oats, Potato	23s. to 26s.
— Feed	16s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 52s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new	—s. to 60s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	72s. to 73s.
— Limerick	72s. to 73s.
— Waterford	70s. to 73s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, July 29.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves was, for the time of year, rather numerous; but the two former were, in great

part, of indifferent quality. The supply of Porkers was limited—trade was, with each kind of meat, rather dull—with Beef, at a depression of from 2d. to 4d.; Veal, 4d. to 6d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork at barely Friday's prices.

Full four-fifths of the Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; but some of them from Northamptonshire, and our western and midland districts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Scots and Norfolk homebreds, Herefords, Irish Beasts, and lusty and Town's-end Cows; about 30 Sussex beasts, a few Staffords, &c.; the Scots, &c. chiefly from Norfolk, with a few from Suffolk and Cambridgeshire; the Herefords, &c. from our midland districts, Sussex, Kent, and the London marshes.

Nearly, or quite, three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down or white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about one-eighth South Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few horned Norfolks and Dorsets, old Lincolns, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

A full moiety of the Lambs were South Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, chiefly of the Downish cross; and the remaining fourth Dorsets, intermixed with a few Somerset, Kents, &c.

MARK-LANE—Friday, August 2.

The arrivals this week are large. The market dull, at Monday's prices.

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POLICE AFFAIR.

Bolt-court, 8. August, 1833.

On Tuesday last the select committee met, and determined to lay the minutes of their proceedings before the House, preceded by the following report.

“Resolved—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the conduct of the policeman, Popay, has been highly reprehensible, inasmuch as he appears to have taken an active personal part in the proceedings which his duty only required him to observe, and to have carried concealment and deceit into the intercourse of private life; and, although the committee are inclined to hope that he was not influenced by any malignity of disposition, but by a mistaken view of his instructions, and a misjudging zeal in the execution of them, they cannot forbear to mark his course of behaviour with their most grave and decided censure.

“2. Resolved—That it is the opinion of this committee, that while it cannot be supposed that authority was given for the foregoing conduct, there is reason to apprehend that sufficient caution was not always exercised by those to whom Popay's reports were submitted, in checking the occasional diffuseness of their contents, and in warning him against having recourse to undue means for supplying them.

“3. Resolved—That it is the opinion of this committee, that with respect to the occasional employment of policemen in plain clothes, the system, as laid down by the heads of the police department, affords no just mat-

ter of complaint, while strictly confined to detect breaches of the law, and to prevent breaches of the peace, should these ends appear otherwise unattainable: at the same time the committee would strongly urge the most cautious maintenance of those limits, and solemnly deprecate any approach to the employment of spies in the ordinary acceptance of the term, as a practice most abhorrent to the feelings of the people, and most alien to the spirit of the constitution.”

This was approved of by a majority of the committee, I being in the minority; because, though I gave full credit to the majority for the goodness of their motives, and though I could not but applaud their fair treatment of me and the petitioners, and their strict impartiality from the beginning to the end of our proceedings, I thought the report wholly insufficient to characterize the abominable system which our inquiries had brought to light.

It has been erroneously stated in the newspapers, that the report was brought up by Mr. Alderman Wood was the chairman, and, therefore, he brought up the report; and I must take this opportunity of saying, that he discharged his part of the duty imposed upon us with extraordinary diligence and care, and with that unflinching adherence to right-doing which I have known to mark his conduct for now pretty nearly thirty years. When the report was presented to the House, I rose with an intention to state, that I did not approve of that report, thinking it insufficient; that I myself (having been the person to present the petition and to move for the committee) had prepared a report and submitted it to the committee; that that report had not been agreed to by the majority; that the report which I had prepared divided the petition into eighteen distinct allegations, and brought, under each, the evidence by which it was supported; that my report was a *summing up of the evidence*, so as

to save the House the trouble of wading through the volume; and that it concluded with a bird's-eye view of the whole of the horrible transactions, and tendered to the House our opinion of the inevitable tendency of such a system, leaving it to the House to discover and to adopt an effectual remedy. It was my intention to state this to the House when the report was brought up; but it was urged, that it was not proper to enter into a discussion on the subject, until the evidence should be printed and in the hands of the members. I was, therefore, obliged to give way. On Wednesday (yesterday) I had petitions to present from NEWCASTLE and from Nottingham against the spy-system, which had been brought to light by the petition on which this committee was founded. These two petitions, together with one from Edinburgh, I had kept back, because the committee had been appointed before I received them, and I thought it would be more agreeable to the petitioners, that their complaints should come after the confirmation of the truth of the petition from Camberwell and Walworth. The two petitions which I carried to the House yesterday were in language, as well as in sentiment, and argument, two papers as admirable as any that ever fell into my hands; that from EDINBURGH, which I received about the same time, being deposited where I could not get at it yesterday, was not presented; if it had, it would have been a suitable companion for the other two; and, let any other country in the world find me three towns capable of producing three such papers as these; but, the readers will say, you must find first some other country that contains three such towns.

I began to read the petition from NEWCASTLE, without intending to utter a word in the way of speech; but that paragraph so justly, so fully, so eloquently, so forcibly described the vile acts developed in the evidence before our committee, that I really felt myself impelled to stop and to say then, something of which I should have said upon the bringing up of the report. There then took place that of which the

public has seen a pretty tolerable report in the newspapers, especially in the *Morning Chronicle* I think; and, indeed, in the *Morning Herald*, and the *Times*, I having as yet seen no other paper. I am seldom very anxious on the score of reports of what I say; but there is an error here which it is right that I should correct. The *Morning Chronicle* makes me say, "that I took copies of the reports of POPAY." I said no such thing. I said that I took them home and read them with great care, as it was my duty to do; I said, that these reports made by the spy to the Government, formed a part of the evidence laid before us, and that I should have been very unworthy of the share of trust reposed in me by the House, if I had not made myself wholly acquainted with that evidence; that I did take them home openly and with the knowledge of the chairman, and with the knowledge of the clerk; that I numbered them, and that I returned them safe into the hands of the chairman accompanied with an INDEX, which I had been at the trouble of making out for the convenience of other members of the committee, the reports consisting of about a hundred and seventy folio pages of manuscript in POPAY's hand-writing. I further said, that these writings were, in fact, evidence produced before the committee; that it was from these reports that facts stated in the evidence came out; and that I had proposed that we should subjoin the reports in an appendix to the minutes of the evidence, conformably to the invariable usage of select committees receiving such documents.

It was necessary to explain this matter, lest the public should believe, that I had come at any information in a clandestine manner. It is very true, that I have laboured with more zeal and activity in this case, than, perhaps, I should have done, had I not entertained a very powerful prejudice against this police establishment, and against every establishment of its kind. This is very likely; but this cannot invalidate any fact that has been brought forth. Why, Mr. Alderman WOOD has always been

a friend of this police establishment; but I can bear him witness, that that did not slacken his zeal in this case, and his desire to come at the truth, and to do justice. In availing myself of the opportunity when I presented the petitions, I could not help bearing in mind, that *the session might end without giving me another opportunity!* There is nothing that can be done now about the report of our committee, without a motion, and that motion preceded by a notice, and that notice standing at the bottom, perhaps, of seven or eight, and those seven or eight standing at the bottom of thirty orders of the day! In short, it would have been madness to entertain the hope of being able to bring on a regular discussion, overlaid and smothered as we are by proceedings of all sorts. So that the accusation against me of making an *ex parte* statement, was, certainly, not well founded. This is all that I shall say upon the matter at present, though there will be a good deal to say of it when once the evidence has been printed and submitted to the members of the House, who, I am sure, when they have had time to reflect, will be convinced that this system must be put an end to. The facts brought to light of the proceedings of this spy really chills one's blood. If the minutes of the evidence and the report be delivered to us in the House, in time, I shall publish, in the *Register*, next week, a summing up of that evidence; public good, public duty, and particularly justice to the petitioners at CAMBERWELL and WALWORTH, demand this at my hands.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The petition from EDINBURGH is from the *working classes* of that fine city, in public meeting assembled. They pray, that a full inquiry may be made into the complaints of their brethren of CAMBERWELL and WALWORTH. Thus, from the banks of the FORTH to the banks of the THAMES, has this spy upon working people become famous. The inquiry has taken place: we have anticipated the prayer of these sensible and spirited working

people of EDINBURGH; but there are other things that they suggest, which makes the petition worthy the particular attention of the House.

POOR-LAW PROJECT.

THIS subject is by no means wholly unconnected with the police affair. The matter contained in the book which, under the names of the Bishop of LONDON and Bishop of CHESTER, STURGES BOURNE, HARRY GAWLER, SENIOR, COLSTON, and another: the book laid before the House of Commons under these names, has been remarked upon by me before. The main object in view has been, under pretence of improving the poor-laws, to introduce a villanous thing called, a POLICE into all parts of England and Scotland; to set aside the present justices of the peace and all parochial peace officers; to supplant the former by hired magistrates; and the latter by the amiable and faithful comrades of POPAY; or rather, by recruits extending the already four thousand to a hundred thousand men, at the least. Our ears have been dinned by the words "*rural police.*" "*A rural police!*" "*A rural police*" has been the cry every time that we have heard of the burning of a stack! Some in uniform, of course; the rest *à la Popay*; and ROWANS and MAYNES and M'LEANS to receive and read the reports sent in by the POPAYS. It is as clear as daylight that this poor-law commission had this principally in view. To have contemplated such a thing is little short of madness. How soon the oak-saplings and the ground-ash would have rattled about the skulls of the POPAYS!

The itinerant poor-law commissioners, who were sent about the country to collect matter for the contemplated "improvement of the age," had among them a fellow of the name of O'Brien. Part of the business was to, every present magistrates, in order that might appear that hired magistrates were necessary. This was im-

as well as impudent: the feelosofers overshoot their mark here; and they have met, from one of the present magistrates in particular, with a rebuff that they will not easily recover. This magistrate is a Mr. YEATMAN, a clergyman of Dorsetshire, whose answer to the feelosofers I published before. The feelosofers OKEDEN has answered him, and Mr. YEATMAN, the magistrate, now publishes his reply. Thus we have, then, the book of the poor-law-projectors, the commentary of Mr. YEATMAN on that part of the book which applies to a district in Dorsetshire; we have OKEDEN's answer, and we have Mr. YEATMAN's reply; the latter leaving the Malthusian feelosofers no hole to creep out of. I request my readers now to go attentively through the whole of these papers. It is a subject of infinite importance. The scheme, if it had been acted upon, must have plunged the whole country into confusion. If it could have succeeded, it would have made Englishmen a set of sulky and gloomy slaves; but it never could have succeeded: the "rural police" would have been knocked on the head like so many dogs, and the country would have been such that no gentleman could have lived in it. Nothing would have remained of it but its name: local judges and a police establishment must have produced open and general resistance in a very short time. But, now, what is to become of this poor-law commission; and who is to pay for it; and when is it to end? Are we to be taxed all our lives to maintain these fellows? They were to have been *commissaires de police*, I suppose? I imagine, that their project is now blown into air: it must have been conceived in some half-mad and half-drunken skull, in which the madness and drunkenness were mixed up with a suitable quantity of malignity. At any rate, it becomes us still to watch it. To watch it with effect we must first understand it. To understand it we must read about it; and the whole subject is pretty well brought before us by the three articles which I here subjoin, which I again request my readers to go

through with attention; and I again express my thanks to Mr. YEATMAN for the share which he has taken in the blowing up of this wretched scheme; for, though it never could have succeeded, the attempt might have produced mischiefs enormous.

An Inquiry into the Merits of the Poor-Law Report of D. O. P. Okeden, Esq., Assistant Commissioner; by the Rev. HARRY FARR YEATMAN, LL B., acting Magistrate for Dorset and Somerset.

In perusing a document of so much importance as that of a "*report as to the administration of the poor-laws*," by commissioners appointed by the crown, the general reader will naturally expect to find that such a report is founded upon evidence of the most impartial and conclusive description, and that such evidence has been taken by the commissioners of each district in a manner the most open, circumstantial, and direct. It will be expected that this should be the case, for the purpose of showing the "*most correct views on the working of the poor laws generally*," and as a system; the central commissioners having been (according to the instructions of Lord Melbourne), "directed by his Majesty's commission to make a diligent and full inquiry into the practical operation of the laws for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, and into the manner in which those laws are administered, and to report whether any and what alterations, amendments, or improvements, may be beneficially made in the said laws," &c. &c.; but it will be the more especially expected that the evidence on which the reports are framed should be taken in the open and candid manner above alluded to, if it should turn out that the character of the justices of any one single division, or of any one county, has been reflected upon in those reports, and that judicial inquiry on the part of the district, or the assistant commissioner, shall have led the way to judicial condemnation.

In perusing the poor-law report, addressed by D. O. P. Okeden, Esq., on the 25. of December, 1832, to his Majesty's commissioners, in his capacity as an assistant commissioner duly appointed to "inquire into the practical operation of the poor-law system," in this county, and which report has been "PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY," and referring to that particular part of it which relates to the county of Dorset, and to the Sturminster Newton division of it in particular, in which I have had the honour to act as a magistrate for the somewhat long and certainly very laborious period of full twenty years, I am forcibly and most painfully impressed with the opinion,

first, that the manner in which Mr. Okeden was pleased to collect the evidence, on which his report, touching the working of the poor-law system in the Sturminster Newton division is founded, was *neither so open and accessible to the parties concerned and affected by that report as it ought to have been*; secondly, that the evidence so taken by him is utterly insufficient for the purpose "of showing the PRACTICAL OPERATION" of the existing poor-law system within the aforesaid division generally, and which "practical operation" ought to have been shown by a careful comparison of parish with parish, and by sifting the system as a whole, from which some general inference might be drawn, touching the nature of that system; and not by selecting and commenting upon a few parishes in particular, carefully and studiously chosen for the purpose, as it should seem, of illustrating the peculiar views and opinions which Mr. Okeden is well known to entertain upon this important question, and which ought to have been illustrated by an analysis of the effect produced by the administration of the justices thrown over the whole surface of this division at large. In confirmation of the truth of these statements, I beg to observe that, on the day when Mr. Okeden attended the petty sessions at Sturminster, for the purpose of collecting such evidence as he might require from the overseers of every parish (all of whom were summoned by myself or colleagues to give such evidence as might be required by Mr. Okeden), that gentleman arrived at, and entered the room where a certain number of the justices, including myself, were then assembled in petty sessions; and that, after the interchange of a few words, he retired to a *private room*, as being more convenient both to him and to ourselves, and that he there collected such information as he thought proper to require, except that, in so far as the parish of Sturminster Newton was concerned, he asked, at our request, a certain number of questions from the overseers of that "ill-regulated parish," concerning the injudicious mode of payment to, and non-employment of, single men, and recorded the answers thereto in our immediate presence. But I beg to observe, that the evidence on which the report of Mr. Okeden was framed, and on which as it turns out, the magistrates of the whole division have been blamed and censured by Mr. Okeden, was received and recorded in a private room, into which room the justices were not invited to enter, though at this very time they were sitting under the same roof in petty session assembled; with the nature of which evidence, or of the charges against them founded thereon, they were never made acquainted in any manner whatever, either directly or indirectly, till they saw the report, and censures on their conduct founded thereon, "published by authority," and circulating throughout the kingdom. Received too, as that evidence appears to have been, by some few individuals who were personally interested in the matter,

from persons who were opposed to and dissatisfied with the orders, directions, and general practice of those magistrates; and who did, either designedly or incidentally, in the course of inquiry before Okeden, prefer a formal complaint, and a serious charge against the legal practice of those justices to which it did not appear expedient to Mr. Okeden to permit those justices to have any opportunity whatever of making their defence; upon which evidence, so taken, so recorded, unexplained, exparte, and unexamined on both sides, as it undoubtedly was, and as it ought not to have been, Mr. Okeden has thought proper to affix a certain degree of censure upon the conduct of those justices, and to permit the declaration of it to be published to the whole world. As a gentleman who is in the habit of frequenting the courts of justice in this county, and occasionally presiding in a criminal court himself, I would here beg leave to ask of Mr. Okeden, whether the practice of the judges of this land, or of the magistrates of this kingdom, when sitting on the bench, is, or is not, in accordance with the practice adopted by him towards the justices of the Sturminster division, on the 29. of October last; and whether it is, or is not usual to allow persons accused, first, to know the nature of the charges which are about to be, or have been preferred against them; and secondly, whether it is not usual, as well as just, to allow such persons, in the face of their accusers, to enjoy the right and privilege of replying to those charges, and of cross-examining the evidence on which those charges have been preferred; and if Mr. Okeden's reply is likely to be, *as it must be*, in the affirmative, and in favour of their practice, I beg leave respectfully to ask him, why he departed from that principle on the day when he received from the overseers of Hasilbury and Sturminster Newton, the evidence which appeared to him to be sufficient to accuse the justices of the Sturminster division of a maladministration of the poor-laws, and of having, in a "singular" manner, thwarted the rector of Hasilbury Bryan, in his efforts to put down that system of maladministration on their part. On the authority of this fact, affirmatively taken, I feel that I have a right to consider that myself and brother justices have been *condemned unheard*, and that too, in a manner the most repugnant to our notions of common justice, as founded upon the practice of our common courts, both of equity and law; assuming for the moment, and admitting, though only for the purposes of argument, that the evidence so taken from our accusers and calumniators was even perfectly correct, founded on fact, and incapable of contradiction. Having thus alluded to the manner in which the evidence was, in reality, taken by Mr. Okeden, whereon his report to the poor-law commissioners is founded, I now proceed to examine the *nature* of that evidence, so far as the same can be inferred from the substance of the report itself. The first parish which is named by Mr. Okeden, is that of the parish of

Cranbourne; out as that parish happens to be remote and distinct from the division of Sturminster Newton, and is one for the poor-law administration of which I am not personally responsible, I shall pass on to the consideration of the next-named parish, merely observing, that Mr. Okeden's report on the moral condition of Cranbourne is remarkable for the most extraordinary allusion to the presumed irregularity of practice on the part of a magistrate of that division LATELY DECEASED, venturing to think at the same time, that, although the living are subjected, in this report, to the visitations of his dispraise, yet that it might have been as well to exonerate the dead from the searching severities of his censure.

After making certain observations on the past and present condition of Cranbourne, Mr. Okeden next directs his attention to the parish of Hasilbury Bryan, of which parish we are presented with the following graphic description.

HASILBURY BRYAN, DORSET,
POPULATION 611.

Number of acres in the parish.

Pasture land	2,020
Arable ditto	250
Woodland ditto	27
Common ditto	150
Garden ditto	7

Total acres..... 2,454

"Expended on the poor, as per book, for one year, to Ladyday, 1832, 413*l*."

"There are 77 agricultural labourers. In the summer none are out of employ; in the winter not above five or six are unemployed. These are put on the roads, or, if family men, relieved by the scale as settled at the petty sessions at Sturminster Newton. In short, the scale system and the making up of wages are complete. There is no work-house, but there are eight cottages belonging to the parish, in which there are fourteen families lodged. Soon after the riots of 1830, a new and more liberal scale was made by the magistrates of the division, and in February, 1831, an order was given to the overseers of Hasilbury Bryan, requiring them to relieve ten families, all able-bodied and in employ, by the new scale. The overseers contended, and the clergyman protested, against this order in vain."

Now it would be supposed by an indifferent observer, and by a person not locally acquainted with the parish of Hasilbury, from the perusal of the above extract from Mr. Okeden's report, first, that the parish of Hasilbury was reduced, by the maladministration of the justices of this division, to the extremity of poverty and moral degradation, and that the parochial poor-rate was increasing year after year to a most fearful and insupportable amount, threatening to absorb all the visible property of the parish, and to destroy every existing principle of independence, as well as

all physical energy on the part of the labouring paupers of this parish. Secondly, that the said justices had interpreted and administered the poor-laws of the realm in a manner both widely and glaringly different from that of any other justices of the county, or even of the kingdom. Before I proceed, however, to the investigation of this part of the subject, I am compelled most reluctantly to protest against the accuracy or veracity of the statement which Mr. Okeden has made, touching the expenditure of the parish of Hasilbury for the year 1832. By referring to the poor-book of this parish (which it is presumed Mr. Okeden cannot have looked at!) I find that the expenditure of the poor for one year to Ladyday, 1832, is not 413*l*., as stated by Mr. Okeden, but 280*l*. 10*s*., (2*l*. 12*s*. having been disallowed by myself and brother justices in virtue of the 50th Geo. III. c. 49, and deducted from the gross charge made by the overseers of 333*l*. 2*s*. for that year); being just 82*l*. 10*s*. less than the amount quoted by Mr. Okeden, that gentleman having confounded the expenditure of the year 1831 with that of the year succeeding it! But even of this sum, no less than 49*l*. 10*s*. 10*d*. is to be deducted for county rates and mole catching, and which, deducted from 330*l*. for the year 1832, makes the actual expenditure on the poor to be the sum of 280*l*. 19*s*. 2*d*., and this too upon a population of 611!! I would also observe, that by referring to the book for the whole period of three years (during which time only we have presided over the parish of Hasilbury as justices), and not judging, as Mr. Okeden has done, from the gross account of one year only, selecting at the same time the highest amount of expenditure that he could find, including county rates and charges for mole catching, and calling the whole as he has also done "expenditure on the poor." I say, that by referring to the Hasilbury poor-book, and looking at the sums total as sworn to by the overseers during the three years last past, I find that the expenditure in gross on the part of the Hasilbury overseers stands precisely as follows;

1830 and 1831 total expenses of	£. s. d.
overseers	413 10 2
1831 and 1832 ditto ditto	330 10 0
1832 and 1833 ditto ditto	305 6 10

showing, that during the last three years (for be it again remembered that Hasilbury Bryan did not belong to the Sturminster Newton division till September, 1830, it having been assigned and added to the Sturminster division by an order of quarter sessions under the sanction of 9. Geo. IV., c. 43, prior to which it formed part and parcel of the Blandford division, and was not under our controul at all); showing, I say, that in the last three years, during which period, according to Mr. Okeden's report, we have so grossly and improvidently mismanaged its concerns, the poor-rates of Hasilbury have positively decreased

from the gross charge of 413*l*. 1*0s*. 2*d*. extreme height, down to the sum of 394*l*. 8*s*. 1*0d*. present expenditure; being a reduction of poor-rate upon the three years only to the extent of 2*0* per cent !!! But I shall beg leave to rate the actual decrease even still higher, by stating that during this period no less than fourteen special rates have been ordered by

the court of quarter sessions, and levied for the county lunatic asylum; and that when these and the other extraordinary items are deducted from the several years above recited, it will reduce the total expenditure on the poor in the parish of Haslebury Bryan for the last three years, to the following proportions:—

Date.	Gross Expenditure.	Extraor. Disbursements.	Expended on Poor.
1830 and 1831	£413 10 2	£19 19 0	£393 11 2
1831 and 1832	330 10 0	49 10 10	280 19 2
1832 and 1833	305 8 10	47 8 5	258 0 5

reducing the expenditure of the year ending Ladyday, 1833, to the sum, the trifling sum of 259*l*. 0*s*. 5*d*.; being, on the whole population of 611 persons, less than the sum per head of 8*s*. 6*d*., and really less than 1*s*. 6*d*. in the pound. I would also add, that if the sum of 413*l*. 1*0s*. 2*d*. appears to be a sum of considerable magnitude (as contrasted with the charge of the previous years 1829 and 1830) for the expenditure of the year from Ladyday, 1830, to Ladyday, 1831, it ought to be remembered, first, that during and immediately subsequent to "the riots," it was deemed advisable by my brother justices and others, to increase the comforts of the poor, and to soothe the lower orders, excited as they were at that eventful period, by a more liberal amount of relief, and, that, during the same year, the large sum of 60*l*. was also paid for the first and only time for spade husbandry within this parish, the expenditure of which, and the ordering of which, the magistrates of the division had nothing to do with, and which proved to be, as stated to myself and colleagues, the source of serious loss to the parish, though solely from the mismanagement and negligence of those who superintended it at the time: the introduction of which system, when differently managed, as connected with the plan of allotting small pieces of land to the poor, the magistrates of this division have most warmly advocated; and for the introduction of which plan into the parish of Haslebury they are ready to tender their best thanks to Mr. Walter.

I beg also to observe, that although the justices did in the winter of 1830, during "the riots"—and the

"Duriis urgens in robas egestas"

which at that time prevailed, and which, proceeding as it did from inadequacy of wages and inefficiency of relief under the scale, drove the pauper population to madness and to covert acts of rebellion; an able-bodied man having, at this time, only 4*s*. 5*d*. and 6*s*. per week wages, and 2*s*. 1*d*. and 1*s*. 10*d*. per week relief under the scale, to support himself in food and wearing apparel of every sort and kind according to the rate of relief afforded at that period. I say, that although the justices of this division did, at that particular period,

order the overseers at Haslebury to relieve as many as ten families, according to a more liberal and extended system of relief, yet it appears from Mr. Okeden's own statement, that, generally speaking, "in winter not above five or six are unemployed," "and relieved by the scale as settled at the petty sessions at Sturminster Newton;" and that therefore the "magisterial interference" so much complained of, and upon the exercise of which, Mr. Okeden has let down the whole weight of his heavy censure and disapprobation, must have been generally, as we shall presently find it to have been, confined to the grievances and complaints of "five or six only." But I beg to ask, how did it happen that this liberal system of parochial relief was adopted by the justices of this division at this particular period; and why was it that they felt it to be their duty to make the orders of relief on the "ten families" aforesaid, to the great grievance, it seems, of the highly respectable rector, and the overseer of Haslebury Bryan? I proceed to answer these several questions, and to state at the same time, that if Mr. Okeden had informed either myself or brother justices, as he might have done, when he attended at Sturminster on the 29. of October last, that he had at that very moment received, and then possessed in his green bag a charge against the justices of that division which he intended, upon the exparte evidence of certain persons residing at Haslebury Bryan, to publish to the whole world; I state that if Mr. Okeden, on the day aforesaid, had in candour or justice, saying nothing of common courtesy, afforded to my brother justices and myself, an opportunity of vindicating or explaining our conduct, so far as we could do so, he would have received three several answers on the spot, and we should not have been prejudged and condemned in a public document, before we had been permitted to utter a single syllable in our defence. Be it known then, that under the excitement which prevailed from one end of the west of England to the other, "during the riots of 1830," and when the labouring population was in arms, I have reason to know that several gentlemen in this county made promises to the lower orders of far more advantages and greater comforts, and of an

increase of wages; assuring them that the same should be raised from 5s. and 6s. to the height of 11s. and 12s. per week, and which promise, I grieve to say it, now that the alarm and terror of the moment have subsided, has been broken in a manner the most treacherous and dishonourable;—it was deemed advisable by myself, my brother justices, and others, that the “poor and impotent,” and also the able-bodied who were unable to procure employment sufficient for themselves and their helpless families, should also be admitted to a participation of the blessings of that soothing system, which, though late, and extorted from the higher orders of society by fear and terror, it was deemed expedient to adopt at that alarming and distressing period. With this view, and at my earnest request, a special meeting of the magistrates of the neighbourhood (not of the division of Sturminster Newton, but of the whole neighbourhood), and of the eastern part of the county, was held at Blandford, in order that they in their wisdom and good feeling might suggest a mode of tranquillizing the county, by applying to the lower orders a liberal and uniform system, both of increased wages and increased relief: my object being, that the labourers of our division should not be made uneasy and discontented by hearing of the greater amount of both prevailing and adopted in another. At this special meeting, Mr. Okeden attended—and at this meeting at Blandford it was that Mr. Okeden broached for the first time, in a formal manner, the doctrine which he has since promulgated and maintained, “that no relief whatever ought to be afforded to the able-bodied man, and that if he and his family could not subsist upon their wages, they might lie down and die by the roadside,” (these were the words of Mr. Okeden,) “whether the wages, so received, were or were not per se, sufficient for the support of the able-bodied father and his family.” One justice who was present, and one justice only, assented to this extraordinary and unchristian doctrine, for such I must venture to call it; the result of our deliberation being this: first, that although a uniform system of wages was absolutely impossible, from the fact, that in different parts of the county, from an increased or decreased demand for labour, from a greater or lesser degree of cultivation prevailing, from an excess of arable over pasture land, and from a greater or lesser degree of population, in proportion to the improved and improvable surface of the land so requiring cultivation, a higher amount of wages must exist of necessity, as compared with those parts of the country where the state of society was different; yet that, secondly, in the opinion of the majority of the justices who were present, it was absolutely necessary that the amount of relief to the poor and impotent, and to the able-bodied who were unable to obtain for themselves and families an adequate amount of wages, should be increased from what it had been, and raised to an amount

somewhat more upon a level with the common necessities of life. But I go one step further, and I show that the principle of interference with able-bodied labourers, who are unable to support their families from the insufficient wages which they earn, against which system of “magisterial interference,” it appears that the “overseers of Hasilbury” contended, that the clergyman protested in vain; I say that I am prepared to show that this doctrine of “magisterial interference” with an occasional relief to able-bodied men and their families when in distress, received about this identical period, the sanction of the whole court of quarter sessions in this county, and that, too, from one of the fullest and most intelligent benches of magistrates ever assembled at the county hall in solemn deliberation. On the 12. of February, 1831, at an adjourned session, holden at Wimborne, Mr. Okeden gave notice of a motion which he intended to submit to the consideration of the court, about to be assembled at the ensuing quarter sessions, to the following effect, “That it was impolitic and illegal to make up the wages of able-bodied men from the poor-rate;” and accordingly at the Easter sessions, and on the 5. of April, 1831, Mr. Okeden, after recapitulating the arguments which he had previously used at Blandford, at the special meeting of justices above referred to, and after entering into, and reciting these doctrines which he has embodied in the report which forms the subject of these strictures, concluded by pressing upon the court the motion above recited. But what was the result? Were the justices of this county, to the amount of nearly forty, were they in favour of the opinion entertained by Mr. Okeden, and since advocated by the overseers of Sturminster, and of Hasilbury Bryan? Were they of opinion that an able-bodied man of unblemished character, with a deserving wife and helpless children, should be allowed to “lie down and die by the roadside,” or drag on a life of wretchedness and want, to which the felons in our county jail cannot be exposed without a violation of the existing law?—No!—Mr. Okeden’s statements or arguments were triumphantly replied to, and Mr. Okeden himself begged permission to withdraw his own motion; thereby from necessity, if not from conviction, conceding to the very doctrine which the magistrates of the whole county maintained in opposition to him, and for acting up to which, Mr. Okeden has seized the present mode, and availed himself of the present opportunity, on ex parte and inconclusive evidence, of convincing—not the justices of the whole county of Dorset, who maintained that doctrine after a solemn argument, according to notice given by Mr. Okeden himself, and in opposition to that gentleman—but the justices of the Sturminster Newton division, who simply acted in conformity with the same. I would also ask of Mr. Okeden whether it occurred to him to demand of those, who, on the day aforesaid, dropped into the lion’s

month at Sturminster Newton, their charges and complaints against the justices of that division, first, whether the orders which were made upon these ten families, were made for a longer period than "one month," (under the 59. G. 3, c. 13);—secondly, whether these orders were renewed; and thirdly, what was the amount of the money expended and paid by the overseers of Hasilbury, in virtue of and under the pressure of those orders, by the amount of which alone, could they have been aggrieved, affirming as I do, that if Mr. Okeden did not ask these questions and record the answers thereto, he was guilty of negligence towards the parish of Hasilbury; and that if he did, and obtained the answers to the same, he ought, in justice to the magistrates of this calumniated division, to have published the result of those answers, for the purpose of showing the extent of the evil which he and the highly respectable clergyman and overseer of Hasilbury complained of on the one hand, and the amount of money which, according to their views of the case, they had been, in virtue of those orders, unjustly mulcted of on the other. What, Mr. Okeden has not done, either in justice to the parish of Hasilbury or to the magistrates of this division, I now beg leave to do in fairness towards both. I state, first that on the 7. of February, 1831, orders of relief were made, in the usual form, by the justices of this division, on ten persons, labourers with families, belonging to Hasilbury Bryan: but these orders were made for the space of "one month only, to meet the exigencies of the then existing crisis, in pursuance of the statute aforesaid, immediately subsequent to the agricultural riots which convulsed this very, and immediate part of the country: and which orders (with one or two exceptions only) were never renewed by us, I would also submit to any one conversant with the duties of magistrates (Mr. Okeden and the highly respectable clergyman and overseers of Hasilbury excepted) whether in their opinion, the period of these "riots" was the time, above all others, to withhold relief from these ten men, and whether, if we had done so, and a tumult had ensued, we should have been considered by my Lord Melbourne, by the Lord-Maintenance of this county, and the public at large, as acting up to our duty of conservators of the public peace? But Mr. Okeden has stated that these men were "all *able-bodied*," and in "*employ*." In reply to which, I beg to say, that the ten persons on whom we made orders of relief on the 7. of February, 1831, were named as follows, "Jonathan Paddock, "John Crocker, Stephen Spicer, Robert "Frizzle, Mary Granger, Samuel Muston, "John Lush, Robert Calves, Thomas Rolls, "and William House," and that by referring to the poor-book of Hasilbury for the year 1831, (and which book it is certain that Mr. Okeden could not have looked at when he made this charge against the justices of this division, although by referring to the instruc-

tions which he received as assistant commissioner, I find that "the inspection of parish books, and other vouchers," is a duty most especially recommended to every one who fills that judicial and very responsible office); and looking at the entries of the 6. of February, the day immediately preceding that one, on which the orders of relief, for the time to come, were made on the ten persons and their families, I find that several sums are entered as paid on that day, in the following manner.

John Crocker	} No Work!
John Lush	
Thomas Rolls	

Proving that the above ten persons were not "all employed" on the day preceding the date of these orders of relief; Mary Grange, a woman with five children, and the three men above-mentioned, being evidently in a different situation; and as to the whole being "*able-bodied*," it is equally clear that, as many of these persons had children, some of whom (by referring to my notes taken at the time), I find to have been under five years of age, and therefore "impotent and unable to work." "According to the strictest interpretation of the statute of Elizabeth, these children, "being objects of relief under these orders, "equally with the men, who were their parents, "and named in those orders, it is clear "that the objects of relief under these orders "cannot and ought not to be spoken of and "described as being" all "*able-bodied*." I also declare, with a view of supplying the deficiency in the evidence which Mr. Okeden, with the parish-book of Hasilbury before him, did not choose, or think it worth while, or any part of his duty to supply, first, that upon the ten persons above-named, upon whom orders of relief were made, on the 7. of February aforesaid, and who with their children amounted to no less than 64 persons, it appears that the two overseers of Hasilbury expended during the single month for which time our orders were binding, the sum of 5l. 13s. 6d. and no more; four persons also out of the above having been ill during the said month, (therefore not "*able-bodied*," as asserted by Mr. Okeden); and which sum, when divided among the 64 persons, who were included in, and the objects of our order, amounts to about one shilling and nine-pence per head on an average for the time being, and no more; for granting which, and that too, during the time of riot, excitement, and public distress, the justices of this division are censured by Mr. Okeden, "protested against by the clergyman, and contended against by the overseers" of the parish of Hasilbury Bryan. But I beg also to say, on the authority of the printed instructions, page 417, "that it is the duty of the assistant commissioner to endeavour to ascertain the time at "which the relief of the *able-bodied* order "is generated in any parish; whether it is "creasing, stationary, or diminishing, or has "ceased; and the causes, and results of its

"origia, increase, continuance, diminution, "termination," &c.; and I therefore ask, whether Mr. Okeden can gain credit from any one for having acted up to these instructions in the case before us. Mr. Okeden must have known "the cause" which induced us to make "the new and more liberal scale" (as he terms it) of the year 1830, because he has indirectly stated it: but Mr. Okeden ought also to have known that having answered its temporary object, that amount of relief and allowance had been reduced: and I beg to ask in the most pointed manner, why this fact is suppressed by Mr. Okeden, and not even glanced at most remotely in his report to Lord Melbourne? If he had admitted us behind the scenes in the private room at Sturminster, or had examined persons who were willing or competent to give fair and impartial information, Mr. Okeden would have found that whereas in the year 1831, "soon after the riots," we deemed the sum of 7s. 4d. for a man and his wife and one child of tender years, to be no more than sufficient under the peculiar circumstances of the time, bread being at 8d. and 8½d. per loaf; yet that in the year 1832, and down to this period also, we deemed and still deem the sum of 5s. 9d. to be sufficient for the same number of persons, bread being at 6d.; and that from the decrease in the price of other articles of consumption, &c., from increased exertions, on the part of landlord and tenant to find employment for paupers, and from the progress of the allotment system, which we have advocated to the utmost of our power; for these and for other reasons, we have universally reduced the amount of relief in all cases, and that so far from any ill effect being produced by this reduction, I find, not only that the labouring poor throughout the division (with the exception of the town and parish of Sturminster Newton) are perfectly contented, but that even in the parish of Hasilbury, there is not on this very day a single able-bodied pauper out of employ, and that the first month's payment for the year, on the part of the newly-appointed overseers, amounts to the trifling sum of 5l. 14s. for a population of 611 persons. Why Mr. Okeden, therefore, on the 25. December, 1832, did not endeavour to learn the amount of the expenditure for the three quarters of the parochial year then expired; why he did not fairly and candidly state the amount of the yearly decrease of that expenditure under our system of "magisterial interference?" and why Mr. Okeden did not assign the existing cause of the "new and more liberal scale" during the period of the riots; and why he did not fairly state the true and exact amount of its pressure on the parish of Hasilbury, especially the amount of that pressure produced by the orders of relief on the "ten able-bodied persons" (assuming them to have been such); and why he did not candidly state at the same time the cause and operation of these extraordinary orders for relief, and the effect produced by our system on

the existing character of its inhabitants, (some of whom, and as I believe, in consequence of our protection and interference in extreme cases, have been committed for any crime, one man excepted, for stealing an hurdle from Mr. Walter,) as well as the gradual abandonment in our part, of this obnoxious part of our practice; and lastly, the gradual and complete employment of the whole labouring population of Hasilbury Bryan, these are questions which I feel it to be my duty to ask, leaving Mr. Okeden to assign, if he can, a reasonable cause for his overlooking them as he has done. But I beg also to state that not only by the magistrates of this county, I may say by the magistrates of this whole kingdom, is the doctrine of "magisterial interference," in favour of able-bodied labourers in extreme cases of distress, and when adequate wages cannot be obtained for the support of themselves and their families, both adopted and acted upon generally, I ask permission to show that by the legislature itself, and by the Court of King's Bench, when appealed to on this principle, it is the same doctrine of "magisterial interference," in behalf of the poor inhabitants of every parish, either indirectly encouraged or positively sanctioned. It cannot be denied that the legislature of this kingdom, through the medium of its peers and commoners, who are magistrates of the realm, is acquainted with the manner in which the poor-laws have been diverted from their original purpose, and is cognizant of the shifts and expedients to which the justices of England have been reduced, in order to make the antiquated and imperfect statutes of an earlier and very ancient period accommodate themselves to the existence and pressure of circumstances, of a modern and unlooked-for growth; and which the framers of the statute of Elizabeth, and the framers of the subsequent statutes down to the 2 William and Mary, chap. 11, and the 9. Geo. 1, chap. 7; did not and could not have contemplated. It is admitted by all who have spoken or written on this subject, that the present departure (for a departure there has been) from the original spirit and strict letter of the poor-laws took place only about the period of the late war. It is an evil, therefore, of modern growth: and it is an evil to which the attention of Parliament has been continually directed; and yet, although Whig and Tory Ministers have alternately presided over the helm of government, and although the members of both Houses of Parliament, being acting justices themselves, and therefore aiding and abetting the very system complained of—must have been acquainted with the existence of this practice, no one single statute has been passed with a view of putting down this evil of putting an end to the practice of relieving, under certain circumstances, able-bodied paupers unable to find employment at adequate wages, or of declaring it illegal! On the contrary I maintain and affirm that both the legislature of this country, and the Court of King's Bench as evinced in the memorable case of

the King versus Collet, where the question touching the legality of granting relief to able-bodied paupers was evidently evaded by that court; and what is more, the acquiescence of persons themselves, who feel themselves aggrieved, by refusing as they have done (and as the overseers of Hasilbury did, on the 7. February, 1831.—though most distinctly told by myself and brother justices, that we were ready to meet them in that court, in order to have the question settled both at once and for ever), to enter the Court of King's Bench, with a view of bringing the legal consideration of this question before the final adjudication of the judges of the land; I affirm that all collectively have conspired to give a colour and a credit to the propriety of this practice, and have clothed the exercise of it with all the sanctity of long usage. It is perfectly true, that the Parliamentary committee on the poor-laws, just previous to the dissolution of the late Parliament, resolved, that it was expedient, that the opinion of the judges should be taken on the following questions:

1. Does the 43. of Elizabeth, chap. 2. or any other law, authorise magistrates to order any relief to be given to poor persons who are able to work, or to afford them any assistance, except by procuring some employment for them where employment can be obtained?

2. If it be satisfactorily proved that employment cannot be procured within a reasonable distance of the parish to which able-bodied poor belong, will the magistrates in such case be authorised to order relief?

3. Where able-bodied poor persons maintain only a part of their family by the wages of their labour, are magistrates authorised to order any relief to be given to them for the maintenance of such of their children, not being able to work, as they cannot maintain? And which the abrupt prorogation and subsequent dissolution of that Parliament alone prevented from being carried into effect. The very fact, however, of doubts being entertained upon this subject, by a parliamentary committee, sitting upon the question of the poor-laws, and the very fact of this branch of the legislature requiring the aid and advice of the judges of the land, in order to enable them to prove whether the granting relief to able-bodied men, under extreme circumstances of distress and non-employment, was legal or illegal, shows of itself, first, that the statute law on this subject is not as clear, at all events touching the "illegality" of the practice, as Mr. Okeden endeavoured to prevail upon the court of quarter sessions of this country to think was the case, on the 5. of April, 1830: and that, therefore, till these doubts are cleared up, and till the opinion of the judges is delivered, these statutes ought to be interpreted in favour of the subject, and in favour of the poor, for whose advantage they were passed. As long, however, as the 36. G. 3. c. 23, and the 55. G. 3. c. 137. are in existence, declaring it to be "lawful for any justice or justices of the peace to direct and order collection and re-

lief to be paid to any industrious poor person or persons at his, her, or their home or homes, house or houses, under certain circumstances of temporary illness;" and as long as the 59. G. 3. c. 12 and 15, which statute enables two justices, under certain circumstance, on complaint of the want of adequate relief, by or on the behalf of any "poor inhabitant," (not of the "lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them being poor and not able to work," as recited in and limited by the statute of 43. Eliz. chap. 2.) but generally, on the behalf of any "poor inhabitant,"—I say, that as long as justices are empowered by this statute, as well "to make an order under their hands and seals for such relief as they in their just and proper discretion shall think necessary, reference being had by such justices as the character and conduct of the applicant," so long shall I for one consider that there has been a virtual departure from the letter and spirit of the 43. Elizabeth, chap. 2.; and so long shall I consider that the statutes have been enlarged, with a view of meeting the exigencies of the present time, and the difficulties and distresses of the "poor inhabitants" of every parish within the counties of England.—I now proceed to address myself to the consideration of Mr. Okeden's concluding observations upon the parish of Hasilbury Bryan, and which stand thus in his report: "Mr. Walter determined, in the year 1823, to put an end to the illegal system of roundmen, or stemmen, and he appealed to the Dorsetshire July quarter sessions against the rate made for that purpose." "I fear Mr. Walter's appeal in 1823, did not conciliate the magistrates; and certain it is, that in some remarkable cases the bench of the division have done all in their power to counteract Mr. Walter's efforts." Now I ask in the first place, who are "the magistrates" who are, by implication, accused by Mr. Okeden of being actuated by a spirit of vindictive feeling towards the highly respectable rector of this parish? In the year 1823, the parish of Hasilbury was part and parcel of the division of Blandford, and was therefore against the adjudication and allowance of the rate sanctioned by the honourable magistrates of the Blandford division, and not against any judicial acts of the justices of the Sturminster division, that Mr. Walter's appeal was made. To the honourable and most highly respected justices of the Blandford division, then, as to the persons who are made the objects of this uncharitable insinuation of Mr. Okeden's, I leave the task of replying to this most odious charge. I content myself with declaring that, in the year 1823, three out of the seven magistrates who now act for the Sturminster division, were not at that time in the commission of the peace; at all events that they did not at that period act as justices of this division; and that therefore, they, presuming for a moment that they could be vile enough to be influenced by any personal feelings of any kind, in the dis-

charge of their judicial functions, could not have been influenced by possibility in any matter or thing where Mr. Walter has been concerned. Nor do I believe that "the bench" ever came in contact with or had any opportunity of "thwarting" the rector of Hasilbury Bryan, except when, on two occasions, he attended the petty sessions for the purpose of promulgating doctrines of non-interference in cases of parochial relief, which the justices of the division did not deem it expedient to accede to—thinking that the control of the overseers, and the power of granting relief to paupers out of employ, ought not to be surrendered by them to any one, however respectable he might be in his individual capacity. As Mr. Okeden, however, has stated that "in some remarkable cases," the bench of the division have done all in their power to counteract Mr. Walter's efforts, I here beg leave, not merely in my own name, but in the name of the whole bench, to demand from Mr. Okeden a distinct enumeration and explanation of these "remarkable cases," requiring at the same time the name of the individual on whose statements he has thus presumed to impugn our magisterial conduct. But what will be thought of the levity of manner, and the insufficiency of evidence, on which Mr. Okeden has presumed to attempt to affix a stigma on "the bench" at Sturminster, and on the purity of motives and conduct, which, I holdly affirm, have always characterized the judicial acts of the four remaining justices whose conduct in this matter remains to be accounted for; what will be thought of this attempt on the part of Mr. Okeden to impute to them something like vindictive feelings towards the Rev. Henry Walter, because that highly respectable gentleman, "in the year 1823, appealed to the "Dorsetshire July quarter sessions against the "rate made for the purpose" of paying these roundsmen and stem-men (even granted that this rate had been ministerially allowed by us, which did not happen to be the case). When I declare, as I do from authority, that so far from opposing Mr. Walter on that occasion, I, for one, and my honourable colleague, the Rev. John Bastard, for another, actually voted in favour of the principle contended for, and the appeal which was entered and prosecuted by Mr. Walter; and that of the remaining two most honourable men, who, with Mr. Bastard and myself at that time constituted "the bench" at Sturminster Newton, one was absent from the sessions; and that, with respect to the other, from the lapse of time which has taken place, it is difficult to ascertain whether he was present, or how he voted upon that occasion. But when I state that the name of that our colleague, of whose presence and vote these doubts are entertained; when I state that his name is *Henry Seymour, Esq. of Hanford House*, I state enough to show that upon the name of an individual so truly good, so honourable, so upright, and exemplary as he is, it is out of the power of any man on earth to affix the shadow of an insinuation as to the

purity of his principles, or the correctness of his conduct as a gentleman and as a magistrate. I will only add, that this unkind insinuation of Mr. Okeden's is the more extraordinary and unexpected, when it is considered that Mr. Okeden himself was continually in attendance upon that very court of quarter sessions, which, at the Easter sessions of 1830, placed the parish of Hasilbury under our jurisdiction for the first time from and after the 1. of September then ensuing; just seven years after the appeal of Mr. Walter in 1823. I now pause a moment, at this stage of my inquiry, for the purpose of asking whether Mr. Okeden's report, with the suppression of these facts previously recited by me, and with charges and insinuations on his part, against the justices of this division, every one of which I have proved to have been insufficiently alleged. I ask whether this report, as far as the division over which we are presiding is concerned, can be considered as "a diligent and full inquiry into the practical operation of the laws for the relief of the poor," and an impartial, fair, open, and candid statement of facts, whereon his employers, the poor-law commissioners of England, can form correct opinions touching the effects produced by those laws. I have proved already that Mr. Okeden has not correctly stated even the amount of the poor-rate expended by the overseers of Hasilbury; and that he has mistaken and assigned the expenditure of one year for another. I have proved that Mr. Okeden has quoted the gross sum standing at the foot of the account, for the year 1831, stating that sum to have been "expended on the poor" in that particular year, without deducting the extraordinary sums levied upon and paid out of the poor-rate, amounting to 42*l.* 1*9s.*, and without allowing for the sum of 16*l.* 1*7s.* 4*d.* in hand, and therefore levied in, and belonging to a previous year,—making therefore, in his statement of expenditure for this one year, a mistake of no less than sixty-six pounds, sixteen shillings, and four-pence, upon the sum of 413*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*! I have also proved that Mr. Okeden has quoted the highest amount of expenditure, perhaps, ever known in the parish of Hasilbury, brought about too, as that excessive increase of poor-rate was, by the operation of external and internal causes, with which we, as justices of the division, had nothing to do—and for which, therefore, we ought not to have been blamed; and which circumstances, common diligence in the execution of his duty, as a commissioner paid out of the public purse, and common candour and justice towards the aforesaid magistrate, ought to have induced him to explain and notice, with the view, if no other motives intervened, of placing the population and expenditure of this parish in a true and just position relatively to each other. I have also proved, that within the three last years, in which the parish of Hasilbury has been under our magisterial control, there has been a yearly decrease of annual expenditure on the poor, amounting to

25 per cent. on the average of those years; and which, though eloquently explicit, when speaking of the parish of Cranbourne, touching the yearly decrease of parish rates brought about by the system of non-interference adopted by himself, Mr. Okeden has studiously omitted, and has not had the fairness or kindness to notice, when taking place in the division of those justices to whose administration of the poor-laws he chooses to be opposed. I have also proved that the insinuation which Mr. Okeden has uncharitably, and I must also say very illiberally made, touching the improper or apparently vindictive motives which have influenced our decisions, so far as the highly respectable rector and the overseers of Hasilbury are concerned, are not only groundless and untrue, but that they are attributable, if attributable to any one, to the justices of a neighbouring division,—to the justices of Blandford, and to them alone, whose allowance of the rate was appealed against, by Mr. Walter; and which justices, for a period of seven years after the determination of that question, alone interfered in, and controlled the affairs of the parish of Hasilbury!! Having proved thus much, and leaving the consideration of these facts to the candour and justice of the public, I now proceed to the further consideration of the final part of Mr. Okeden's report—so far as we, the said justices of the Sturminster division, are collectively affected by it.

STURMINSTER NEWTON PARISH.

Having thus disposed of the parish of Hasilbury Bryan, Mr. Okeden proceeds to make a sweeping and very comprehensive survey of the "district of Sturminster Newton;" meaning, I presume, the state and condition of the division generally; and which survey and summary is made in the following

very remarkable sentence:—"I have already named in my report on Dorsetshire, the district of Sturminster Newton, as the worst regulated as to poor concern, with the highest proportionate rates in the county: it is certain that in no district is there so much magisterial interference." Now the fair and only inference to be drawn from these words, is simply this; that the ill-regulation as to poor concerns, which pervades the whole division, is attributable to "magisterial interference: and that the proportion of poor-rate in this division is higher than it is in any other division of the whole county, and that such higher proportion is principally, if not solely, attributable to the interference also, of us, the justices aforesaid! But I not only deny absolutely and positively this statement of Mr. Okeden, but I proceed to show by facts which cannot be contradicted, beginning with the parish of Sturminster Newton, and tracing the effects of our system throughout the twenty parishes which constitute this division, that Mr. Okeden has again accused and misrepresented us in a most unwarrantable manner.

First, then, to commence with the town and parish of Sturminster Newton; I beg to state that the return made to the justices of this division, on oath, in pursuance of the 55. Geo. III., chap. 51, both as to the extent and this parish is as follows:

	ACRES, 3,837.	£.	s.	d.
Annual value		5,735	10	0
Average amount of tithes		1,000	0	0
Stock in trade.....		88	1	8

Total annual value £6,843 11 8

and that the population of the whole parish, according to the returns of the year 1831, amounts to 1,831 persons. The poor-rate from 1830 down to Ladyday, 1833, stands the value of precisely as follows:—

Year.	Gross Expenditure.	Extra Disbursements.	Net Expenditure on the Poor.	Increase.
1831 and 1832	£2161 14 11	£141 19 0	£2019 15 11	£415 14 3
1832 and 1833	2365 18 8½	111 10 3	2254 8 5½	(65) 6 9½

and the question is, whether, as assumed and stated by Mr. Okeden, this increase of poor-rate, in the parish of Sturminster, is attributable, either solely or principally, to "magisterial interference" or to other causes, distinct and reasonable, and beyond the control of those magistrates; and which causes of increase, duly considered, would lead to conclusions more just than those which Mr. Okeden has formed, so far as the conduct of the justices of this division is concerned on the one hand, and more correct, with a view of conveying to his Majesty's poor-law commissioners proper information touching the working of these laws upon the other. In order to arrive at this desirable end, I beg to state in the first place, that if the "scale," so prominently alluded to by Mr. Okeden, had been, or could have been, the cause of the increase of these poor-rates, in the town of Sturminster,

that increase would have taken place long before the period of 1832, in which year the first increase of any consequence, viz., an increase of 415l. 14s. 3d. over the amount of the previous year, took place upon the net expenditure of poor-rate; that "scale" having been in operation for nearly, if not more than twenty years, without intermission; and which increase, if Mr. Okeden had examined the "parish-books," according to his instructions, (which I am informed by the overseers of Sturminster he declined or neglected to do,) he would have found not to have taken place, passing over a long series of years, till the aforesaid year of 1832. Before I proceed to inquire into the causes of this increase, I will state, once for all, that "the scale" which has been acted upon in this division for so long a period of time, was brought into practice from a neighbouring division (Wincanton, in

the county of Somerset) a great number of years ago, the Wincanton division being in the northern direction of the county, closely adjoining to our own: it having been, I presume, the object of the judges who so introduced it, to assimilate as much as they could well do, the rate of relief in this neighbourhood generally; and as a great deal has been said about the nature and effects produced by this "scale," I here beg leave to present the public with a copy of the same as originally introduced, leaving them to calculate whether any human being can exist upon a sum less than that which the said "scale," when in use, allowed for their support; and whether, in fact, they can honestly exist upon it at all.

SCALE IN THE WINCANTON DIVISION.

For regulating the Allowance of Parochial Relief to the Poor, according to the price of bread, where there are two or more messing together in one family.

When the Standard Wheat or Quatern Loaf is sold at.....	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7
The weekly allowance to be made up, including earnings for a Labouring man	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
For a Woman, or Boy, or Girl, above 14 years old	3	8	3	6	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
For a Child under 14	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1

The earnings of a woman having three children under twelve years of age not to be taken into account.

In parishes where fuel is not supplied to the poor on moderate terms, the magistrates will make an additional allowance to the pauper.

Mr. Okeden, however, has stated, taking the particular parish of Hasillbury as a model, that the wages which are earned by a man, his wife, and three children, amount to 41l. 5s. per annum; and he has apparently made this remark, with a view of showing that the justices of this division are not warranted under such circumstances, in making any grant to a family at all, where wages so great can be received almost by asking for them. But I beg to inform Mr. Okeden that he is in error, if he conceives, or being told as much, believes, that generally speaking, a labouring man with a wife and three children can earn anything like the wages here stated by him. I affirm, first, that in many parishes, no work can be got by a labouring man at all at certain seasons of the year: secondly, if work can be got at seven shillings a week, that in wet days and bad weather they are allowed nothing by their employer, and are sent home, to my certain knowledge, without a farthing; in proof of which, I state as a fact, that in the parish of Sturminster Newton, during the hay harvest, and during last summer time, no less than forty persons were dismissed and sent home on one single morning, in consequence of a storm of rain rendering the hay unfit to be carried,—and that in the winter months, in hard frost and deep snow, when labourers cannot work, if work could be provided for them, similar deductions must be made from this general assumed amount of 13s. 6d. per week; and yet Mr. Okeden, without sufficient inquiry into these facts, or the practice of the division, has eagerly caught at this gross amount of wages, and rated the same at 41l. 5s. per annum; as if no abatement whatever was to be made, or ever was made, from the same!! But I go further—I deny that a woman who has a husband and three children to wash and mend and provide food for, can earn the sum of 2s. 6d. per week by button-making: and I really believe that the poor man's income is rated from 7l. to 10l. per annum higher than it really is, taking one year with another. But I also declare that if, as assumed by Mr. Okeden, there could be earned and annually enjoyed by an able-bodied man, with a wife and three children, the sum of 13s. 6d. per week, or 41l. 5s. per annum, as stated by him, in no case whatever should we, as justices of this division, order or allow them a single farthing by way of relief—our rate of allowance to the same number of persons, including house-rent, being only 10s. per week, which is 3s. 6d. per week less than the above sum stated by Mr. Okeden! The aforesaid scale, however, was, as before stated, put an end to and destroyed "immediately after the riots," in the year 1-31; and a more liberal rate of allowance was adopted for the time.

being; varying according to circumstances,—departed from where necessary,—and abridged or extended, or withheld entirely, (as I shall presently show, in contradiction to Mr. Okeden,) where the character of the party was undeserving. But I repeat, that if the scale had been the cause,—and if “magisterial interference” had been the cause also of the sudden increase of the poor-rates in Sturminster, it is remarkable indeed that such increase did not take place during the twenty years that the scale had been at work, prior to 1833;—and during which time, to my own certain knowledge, the same amount of “magisterial interference” had been used without producing such increase. What then are the causes of this increase—and of the moral wretchedness and “ill-regulation” of the parish of Sturminster Newton, which, as a consequence, have succeeded? I state first, that there has been, within the last ten years, an increase of population within the town of Sturminster, amounting to *two hundred and nineteen persons*; and which number,—thrown upon a town already over-populated, without any, even the slightest increase of profitable labour, must have produced, as they have produced, an increase both of poverty and expense. Now I will assume that one-third only of these persons, (increased by this time to full 260 persons,) have been thrown upon the parish, which will amount to seventy-three persons; and which persons, at the common and ordinary rate of relief, or consumption, (call it what you will,) at 1s. 6d. per head, will thus cost the parish the sum of 277l. 8s. per annum; and which sum I produce as the first item by way of a set-off to, and as a means of accounting for, this sudden increase of 415l. 14s. 3d., merely adding that the extreme pressure of these children could not have been felt at once, or be reasonably expected to take place, till they had arrived at the period of 10 or 12 years of age. But I beg leave to say, that there has been also, a sudden decrease of expenditure of capital as well, within the town and parish of Sturminster, within the precise period of the two last years;—the very years in which this sudden increase has taken place in the poor-rates; which, of itself, connected with one more cause about to be assigned, and leaving the increase of population, with a decrease of profitable labour totally out of the question, would be sufficient to account for this sudden increase of poor-rate to the extent aforesaid. I state it as a fact, which Mr. Okeden might have learnt by common inquiry, that from 1825 to 1830, two benevolent and most excellent individuals residing within the parish continued to employ no less than 27 or 28 men belonging to the parish, at the rate of 10s. per week; and that their expenditure for that period, taken at the extreme amount could not have been less than *three hundred per annum*; and which sum, in the year 1830, was diverted into another channel, and withdrawn entirely from this particular object. Here, then, is the

additional sum of 300l. per annum, to be made up by the overseers of this parish; for out of their department only can the deficit be made up; making up the sum of 577l. 8s. annual loss to the parish, and additional increase of the Sturminster poor-rate, without the slightest particle of “magisterial interference” on the part of the justices of this division; and when to this is added the fact, that from the depression and distress which have fallen upon the shopkeepers and farmers, there has been a manifest and lamentable decrease of employment and demand for labour, (and which will be conceived to be the case when I state that if the whole labouring population of the parish were employed and apportioned, it would require only one man to every seventy acres of land!); and that from one cause and another the surplus of able-bodied men have not been engaged by the merchants in the Newfoundland trade as they used to be formerly, the average per annum, who were sent out from Sturminster, till within these ten years, being six, and the same number engaged and sent out, since that period, being only two, and occasionally three persons; thereby throwing the weight and pressure of thirty or forty men at the least upon the parish, on the average of ten years, together with the chance, I might also say the certainty of their contracting marriages, and burdening the parish with a family in the mean time; I say that when from these causes combined, we find that the non-employment of the labouring poor, has arrived to the present pitch, we shall feel ourselves enabled on the one hand to account for the increase of poor-rate which has taken place at this particular crisis, without tracing it to “magisterial influence,” with which I now proceed to show that it has had nothing to do;—and to feel ourselves justified in expressing our astonishment on the other, that none of those causes should have been noticed by Mr. Okeden in that part of his report which has been “published by authority!” But there are other causes which will account for the aforesaid increase of the Sturminster poor-rate, and which in one sense will justify the declaration of Mr. Okeden that the parish of Sturminster has been an “ill-regulated parish.” About twelve months ago, the late overseers, without consulting the justices, placed the able-bodied single men of the parish who were out of employ, on the following most insufficient allowance: they told them that they should work at the gravel-pits till they could earn 3s. per week; and that from and after that period they might go where they pleased, for that they should neither be employed nor paid by the overseer of that parish any longer! This system, as might be supposed, it being a *penalty on celibacy, and a premium on crime*, led, as it will continue to lead, to consequences the most fatal to the future prosperity of Sturminster. But I ask, even under these extreme and most lamentable circumstances, of “ill-regulation” and improvidence,—not on the part of the justices, but of the

overseers of the town of Sturminster, where was the "magisterial interference" so much complained of by Mr. Okeden? How many summonses were granted by them, at the suit of the unmarried, oppressed, and ill-paid paupers of the parish of Sturminster;—how many orders of relief were made by the busy and "interfering magistrates" of this mismanaged division? None! No one single summons was issued—no one single order of maintenance was made—and these cases, as at Cranbourne, were allowed to "rest on their own merits," it having been the practice, and it being now the practice of myself and brother justices, never to interfere if we consider that the party complaining has enough for a bare subsistence. But I state, as an additional fact, by way of showing the increase of the poor's expenditure in this parish, that the very trifling sum thus afforded to the single man, amounted to 150*l.* per annum. I beg also to state, as a proof of our forbearance and non-interference with parochial management, that upon the 22. of the present month, thirty-nine of the able-bodied paupers of this parish, came to my house in a body, complaining of ill-usage on the part of the then newly-appointed overseers, and asking for my advice and assistance on the occasion. My first step was, to order every one of these men to return to their parish, leaving as representatives of each class of complainants two married and two single men to detail and to explain to me their grievances: and although, upon examining these four men I found, that without due notice, the new overseers had reduced the single men to the allowance of 2*s.* 6*d.* per week, instead of 3*s.* as previously allowed, requiring them to work, as they now work, twelve hours per day for the whole week, for this miserable pittance, yet so far from exercising any "magisterial interference" in the matter, I issued no summonses—I made them no promise—merely saying that the justices of the division would hold a conference with the parish, taking at the same time the precaution of driving into the town, and telling the whole number of fifty men, who had all struck work, and were assembled at the Crown Inn, that by taking the law into their own hands, and by combining as they had done for an unlawful purpose, viz. that of intimidating the overseers, and by leaving their work, which all of them had done on that day, they had forfeited our protection on those accounts, inasmuch as we had and ever should make in our decisions *distinction as to character*, and I can state that up to this time—twenty-five days after the event above alluded to, no steps whatever have been taken either by myself or brother justices to coerce the overseers; although my own opinion most decidedly is—now that the men are again quietly at work, that the sum of 2*s.* 6*d.* to single men, should be increased to the sum of 3*s.* from which it was abridged, and the rather, as they are now compelled to work six days instead of two, as heretofore, and that too at twelve hours per

day for this wretched insufficient sum, and because no single man, without the advantage derived from numbers in a family, can subsist honestly for less than 3*s.* per week. It will be expected also, whilst I am enumerating the causes which have led to this increase, that I should state the average number of men, able-bodied men which have been out of employ in the parish of Sturminster within the ten years last past, and which I do, by stating, that no less than forty men with their families are in the aforesaid most deplorable condition; and I then leave any one to wonder, if they can, at the increase and amount of the Sturminster parochial poor-rate expenditure, coupled as that non-employment has been with other causes, and connected as these causes have also been by the levying of fourteen special and extraordinary county rates, within this period, or nearly so, for the erection and completion of the Lunatic County Asylum, at Foreton, and which causes, collectively taken, will surely be more than sufficient to account for the increased expenditure of the year ending Ladyday, 1833, over that of 1830 and 1831; amounting in the gross to 650*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* increase upon a population of 1,831 persons under the peculiar and distressing circumstances above alluded to.

I now proceed to notice the sole remaining charge of Mr. Okeden against the justices of this division, contained as that most serious accusation against us is in the following words of his report: "*In this district indeed the overseers know so well the inability of resisting, that to avoid trouble, expense, and reproof, they generally accede to the demands, and settle all claims, not by character or merit, but by the rules of addition and subtraction.*" In replying to this charge, I do not content myself with making, as Mr. Okeden has unfortunately done more than once, an allegation without evidence to support it, but I deny the charge both in the name of the overseers of the division, and in the name of the justices of this division as well; and I proceed to show, by recent proofs, that our practice is quite contrary to that which is thus imputed to us by Mr. Okeden. I must state in the first place, that with the exception of Haslbury Bryan, and Sturminster generally, and of Stalbridge and Iwerne Courtenay parishes very rarely and occasionally, (four parishes out of the number of twenty, as contained in our whole division), we scarcely ever hear or see, or come in contact with the overseers of any one single parish, except in cases of removal, cases of bastardy, or when their accounts are made up and presented for allowance at the end of the parochial year. This is a fact which I state on authority which cannot be questioned, and therefore I affirm that if the overseers of these twenty parishes "accede to the demands and settle the claims" of the paupers who apply to them, "not by character or merit, but by the rules of addition and subtraction:" I affirm that it is a practice

which we have not sanctioned,—that it is one which we are ignorant of,—and what is more, that it is one which we do not believe to exist. As a proof, however, that when overseers choose to take the trouble to lay complaints against the “characters” of paupers (which we are continually and incessantly obliged to do, and which they will not take the trouble to do, as we can prove, if necessary, on oath, both by our clerk and the admission of overseers of the several parishes as well), as a proof that we have recourse to those powers of discrimination which as men and individuals we ought to exercise, and which as magistrates, in accordance with the spirit of 59. Geo. III., chap. 12, we are bounden to carry into effect in all cases that come before us; as a proof that “character and merit” do form the basis of our decisions, I most positively declare that in several instances which have lately come before us, even from the parish of Haslebury, and also from the towns of Stalbridge and Sturminster Newton, and other parishes as well, we have refused relief to a certain number of applicants on account of their indifferently characters; and I also state that in the only four cases which have come before us in the past year, from the populous town of

Stalbridge, we have, on the complaint of the overseers, committed one, and reprimanded three others, the overseers stating that the above example would answer the ends of justice, and the object they had in view.

In the town and parish of Sturminster also, where, from the state of mismanagement on the part of the late overseers, a fearful amount of crime is now taking place, and will continue to take place, if, as I hope will be the case, a better system of pauper management is not speedily introduced (the allotment system being now about to be tried, and the labour rate being about to be had recourse to at Michaelmas next, both of which, in the opinion of the assistant overseer, will reduce the poor-rate one-fourth for the time to come). As a proof that we have not been idle and remiss in our duty in this parish, I state as a fact, that we have not only refused relief to undeserving characters, but that we have done the utmost in our power to suppress every sort of crime, and that even within the year now last past we have dealt with the criminal, and idle, and disorderly, of the parish of Sturminster, as follows: and this too in many of the cases at the suit of the overseer:—

Offence.	Committed.	Fined.	Bound over, &c.
For assaults.....	2	1	0
For drunkenness	0	1	0
Idle, and not working.....	4	0	0
Breaches of the Peace	1	0	2
Violations of the Lord's Day	0	8	0

Total punished by the Justices of this division from Sturminster only—nineteen persons.

In my own parish, the parish of Stock Gaylard, I can also affirm that the only man who has applied for relief for the period of upwards of ten years, was refused relief by the Justices of this division on the plea of bad character under the following circumstances. I have employed, for a series of years, nearly every man in the parish, able-bodied or otherwise, capable of doing work, and the pauper above alluded to amongst them. I had apprenticed his son, and placed out his two daughters at service, and had given him some fir poles to build up a shed with: not contented however with taking the trees which had been given him he cut sixteen others standing in one of my plantations, and for this act of dishonesty he was dismissed by myself, and refused, most properly, any parochial relief by the Justices of the division: but which act of dishonesty, after a penance of one twelve months on the part of the offender, I have pardoned and overlooked: the man being restored to his usual work, and to a state of comparative affluence and comfort: but showing, in conjunction with the above cases, that a deficiency of “character or merit” meets with no countenance or encouragement from the

Justices of this division. Whilst upon this subject, I will also add, speaking of my own parish, that I have apportioned at moderate rent, from half-an-acre to three quarters of an acre of land to every labourer of this parish, and to a certain number of the adjoining parish of Lydlinch as well, in which a portion of my property is situated; that every man has from one to two or more pigs; no one, with the exception aforesaid, having been before the bench either for relief, or for any act of dishonesty for the period of more than ten years, (I might perhaps say for double that period,) and that our poor-rate does not exceed the trifling sum of 1s. 4d. in the pound; and I have no doubt, that if Mr. Okeden had inquired generally throughout the parishes which surround it, as to the state and condition of the poor, and the effects of the present system of magisterial control—if he had made a fair and general inquiry throughout the whole division, “dwelling, (to quote again his “Instructions from the Central Board” from which he has so lamentably departed,) dwelling principally “on those facts from which some general inference may be drawn, and which form “the rule rather than the exception.”—I have no doubt whatever, but that similar results would have been arrived at, tending to

show the well-being of those parishes generally, the good character of their inhabitants, and the discreet and cautious mode of conduct of the magistracy of the division under whose control they are placed. Instead of so doing, instead of adducing facts and arguments, "modera instances," and proofs in confirmation of his bold assertion, "*That the district of Sturminster Newton is the worst regulated as to poor concerns*, with the highest proportionate rates in the county;" instead of conforming himself to the rules and directions of the poor-law commissioners, who tell him to dwell principally "on those facts from which some general inference may be drawn, and which form the rule rather than the exception," Mr. Okeden has chosen to invert this generous maxim, and has fastened with avidity upon the single parish of Hasilbury, which forms the exception instead of the rule, even according to Mr. Okeden's own statements, taking them as they stand; and then most illogically and unjustly arguing from particulars to universals, has ventured and endeavoured from a solitary instance of presumed parochial irregularity and mismanagement (admitting it for mere argument to have been so), to infer, and to charge the justices of the division with a *system of bad management, and irregularity of practices throughout their whole division or district*. But I ask, where are the proofs of this assumption and declaration on the part of Mr. Okeden? Where are the proofs on his part that our division is visited and afflicted "with the highest proportionate rates in the county?" Why has not Mr. Okeden produced a schedule of the whole division, with the poor-rate expenditure, and population and poundage of every parish, compared and contrasted with schedules from other divisions, "from whence some general inference might be drawn," and where the "general rule" of our practice, compared with the practices of other divisions, might be seen and fairly appreciated? Why has not Mr. Okeden done this, instead of selecting, as he has done, one single parish only, seemingly with a view of illustrating his own peculiar opinions (which have been repudiated by the justices of the whole county in quarter sessions assembled), and seemingly for the purpose of imputing to the justices of this division motives of conduct and feelings of resentment and unkindness towards the rector of Hasilbury, which they shrink from with abhorrence? What Mr. Okeden has met done, I here beg leave to do for him: I present an analysis of the poor-law expenditure, the population, and the amount of poor-rate in the pound, of every parish in the Sturminster division: I do so in justice to his Majesty's Poor-Law Commissioners, who have, as it would appear, been sadly misinformed by Mr. Okeden upon this subject; I do so in justice as well to the magistrates of this calumniated division; and I ask with confidence, whether Mr. Okeden can produce a more satisfactory analysis

from any other division in the whole county of Dorset?

[Here was a Table proving the falshood of Okeden's report; but it was not necessary to insert it here.]

Lastly, I must observe, though most reluctantly, that, taken as a whole, nothing can be more unfair or unsatisfactory, than Mr. Okeden's poor-law report, if general information and correct views of the "practical operation of the poor-laws" are to be deduced from its pages, and which will appear to be the case, from a cursory glance over the surface of the same. First, with regard to Cranbourne: in this parish, Mr. Okeden states that "the average wages are 8s. and 9s. per week; that the population consists of 2,158 persons; and that there are 13,052 acres in the parish; that there is a pottery which employs 110 persons; that the woods afford very profitable piece-work labour, in fencing, hurdling, and fagoting, at each of which employments an able-bodied man may earn from 12s. to 14s. per week; that the labourer has another great advantage, he is allowed to cut turf for himself gratis, so that his fuel costs him nothing but the labour, and its vicinity to the heath does not require carriage home." Mr. Okeden also states that "ten acres of land have lately been given up to the poor," and further, that "no distinction is made by individuals in the wages of single and married men;" and then takes credit to himself, that such a parish within his own division is in a prosperous and well-regulated condition, under such circumstances!! But let me ask any man, whether it is fair to contrast a parish, thus blessed with advantages of various kinds, as the parish of Cranbourne is beyond all doubt, with such a parish as Sturminster Newton for instance; the difference between the two parishes being simply this: first, that in Cranbourne there are 2,158 persons apportioned to 13,052 acres, or one person only on an average to six acres of land, whilst in Sturminster Newton, there are 1,831 persons apportioned on 3,837 acres, there being little more than two acres only to each person; there are no woods where an able-bodied man can earn "8s. or 9s." much less "12s. and 14s. per week;" the poor man at Sturminster is not "allowed to cut turf for himself gratis," on the contrary he has to pay 1s. 4d. per cwt. for his coal: at Cranbourne, there is, in addition to the gardens which are attached to cottages "which border the heath," ten acres of land, apportioned to the poor by the lord of the manor: at Sturminster, the poor man gives on an average 5l. per annum for his house, without a garden, and there has been no land provided for the poor till this present time, that is, from and after this present Ladyday: at Cranbourne there is a pottery employing 110 persons; at Sturminster there is no pottery, merely a brick-yard employing about four or five persons of the parish, and this in the spring and sum-

mer only; at Cranbourne, the able-bodied (all of whom appear to be employed) earn in ordinary cases 8s. and 9s., add in other cases the "very profitable wages of 12s. and 14s. per week;" at Sturminster there are generally fifty, always forty, men out of employ, who are paid thus—single men, 2s. 6d. per week, for their week's work; married men and their wives, 4s. 6d. for the same all the year round: and yet with these differences, a contrast is attempted to be drawn by Mr. Okeden between the two parishes, as if they were in circumstances exactly parallel; and as if there was no more need of "magisterial interference" in the one case than in the other! Mr. Okeden next illustrates the value of non-interference on the part of magistrates, by presenting us with a description of the highly moral and well-regulated condition of his own parish: the parish of More Critchell. But what is the state of that parish as shown by Mr. Okeden? There are 1,860 acres in More Critchell, and a population of 304 persons; being six acres and more to each inhabitant. There are only "about twenty-five men and ten boys able for the field and barn work," according to the report; it is therefore quite certain that these persons cannot be sufficient to do the work of the parish; and which I have heard from unquestionable authority to be the case. Mr. Okeden boasts, as well he might (for to him and to Mr. Sturt, the two sole proprietors, the greatest credit is due for the management of their parish), that "there are never any men out of employ," and then takes credit to himself that "there is no scale or make-up system." But Mr. Okeden ought to have assigned the reason, and that a very simple one, viz., that in such a parish, with the advantages of high wages, full employ, and deficient population when compared with the extent of acres requiring cultivation, where "every cottage has a large garden," and where "potato land is let to the labourers by the farmer at the usual rate;" where "for any extra job, application for labour is made to the neighbouring parishes;" "where no increase of cottages is allowed above the requisite habitation required for the sufficiency of the labourers of the parish;" in short, where every thing is done by the praiseworthy and most excellent proprietors above-named, to **KEEP UP THE MORAL EXCELLENCE OF THE PEOPLE, AND TO KEEP DOWN THE PRESSURE AND INCREASE OF THE POPULATION, AND OF THE POOR-LAWS.** Mr. Okeden ought to have stated, that in a parish so regulated, the application of the "scale and make-up system" does not take place, simply because it is not wanted; and, according to the nature of things, cannot take place by possibility. But to produce such a parish as an illustration of the "practical operation" of the poor-law system, under ordinary circumstances, or as a parish fit and proper to be compared to Sturminster Newton, with its forty able-bodied men out of employ all the year round; or to compare such a parish with the town of Stour-

bridge, in our division, where the pauper population is situated very nearly in the same unfortunate condition, or even with the parish of Haslibury Bryan, or the generality of parishes in our division, where there are no **RESIDENT LANDLORDS**, is not only unfair and impracticable, but in the way of argument, absolutely ridiculous. Again, as to the comparative superiority of the state and condition of the towns and parishes of Poole and Bridport, in favour of the existence of which Mr. Okeden has given his opinion in the concluding portion of his report, and as to whether "the poor of boroughs where little or no magisterial interference takes place, being superior in moral character and appearance to the majority of country parishes," and which opinion Mr. Okeden has illustrated and confirmed by adding the instances of Poole and Bridport, in this county, I can only say, that when it is considered that Poole and Bridport are seaport towns, where trade is known to flourish to a very great extent, and where there are outlets of various kinds and descriptions for the surplus population of each town and parish, the well-doing and want of distress amongst the lower orders of such towns and parishes will easily be accounted for, and as readily believed: but if Mr. Okeden means to affirm, that there is a lesser amount of crime amongst the lower orders of the several towns within this county, than in the "majority of parishes" within it, and even within our own division of Sturminster Newton, I beg leave respectfully to deny that statement; affirming, as I do, that there are at least ten or twelve parishes out of the twenty constituting this very division, where a pauper is never known to be brought to the petty sessions for the commission of the smallest offence, least of all to the quarter sessions, or to the assizes: and lastly, that I for one, though I entertain and profess the highest respect for them, will never allow that in any one department of their office, are the duties which devolve upon them more discreetly or correctly executed by the justices of boroughs than by the justices of counties, by those of the county of Dorset pre-eminently above all others.

I cannot conclude these observations without expressing my deep regret at finding myself opposed on such a subject and in such a manner to a gentleman so generally respected as Mr. Okeden: but, in defence of our character as justices, and in defence of a system of legal practice, on the JUDICIAL CONTINUATION of which I for one believe that the security and existence of the very framework of society depend; I say that silence on my part would have been guilty acquiescence, and a tacit approbation of charges and of doctrines which I repudiate from my very heart. I beg most distinctly to declare, however, that I believe these errors and misapprehensions of Mr. Okeden's to be perfectly unintentional and inadvertent on his part; and that Mr. Okeden was not aware, in framing this report,

that he was doing otherwise than what he thought he had a right to do, reasoning from certain facts and premises before him, such as they were. But Mr. Okeden must be informed that we could not and ought not to be indifferent to a series of severe censures proceeding from a gentleman clothed with the authority of an assistant commissioner, and that to affirm that one division in a whole county is the "worst regulated as to poor concerns," and that in a particular parish the justices of the same division "have done all in their power to counteract and thwart" the rector of that parish, merely because he appealed to a certain rate, with which, as it turns out, they had nothing to do—is beyond all doubt to impugn the magisterial agency of those justices in the most sweeping and wholesale manner, and at the same time to assail the purity of their motives and the uprightness of their conduct as gentlemen. I will also take the liberty of adding that if his Majesty's poor-law commissioners misled or misinformed by Mr. Okeden, should be induced to bring in and to pass a law, whereby the able-bodied labourers of this kingdom shall be deprived, under the pressure of occasional distress and non-employment, of that salutary relief which the present poor-laws afford them, I am convinced that they will drive into a servile war the starving millions who will be goaded by hunger, by oppression, and by the lamentation of their children crying for bread, to the extremity of resistance, and that the rebellion in arms, of men and multitudes fighting for existence, will be chargeable upon their heads. Mr. Okeden, when sitting on a memorable occasion by our side, once heard a clergyman of a certain town within our division declare, upon oath to us, at Sturminster Newton, that the dogs in his kennel were better fed and lodged than the paupers of that town; and I would ask Mr. Okeden, I would ask him as a Christian, in the language of scripture, "Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother hath need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" And I would ask him, as a gentleman of kindness and consideration, how such a system of cruelty, neglect, and wretchedness, such as we all know to exist in many parishes in England, is to be amended, and is to be put down, but by the occasional exercise of "magisterial interference?"

I will only add, that although I have had reason to lament, to be grieved, and to be surprised at the charges which have emanated from misguided, ill-informed, or disaffected persons, against the conduct and character of the magistracy of this kingdom, I could not have been brought to believe, if my own eyes had not been my witnesses, that any reflections upon the justices of this county would have been made by any one (by a magistrate of that county above all others) without the most substantial and unquestionable evidence to support and to uphold them. Least of all

did I think, that as a return for the unremitting and anxious and laborious exertions, in discharge of my magisterial duties, covering the period two of twenty years, during which time scarcely a single order or decision of mine or of my honourable and most highly respectable colleagues has been called in question, much less reversed by appeal or otherwise. I repeat it, and I do so with emotions of regret deeper and more poignant than I can really give utterance to, that I did not expect to have "lived and seen this day," when, as a return for these exertions, I and my brother justices should have been presented by Mr. Okeden with the unsparing measure of his censure and condemnation, grounded upon testimonies and proofs which we hold to be insufficient, applied against us as they have also been, without an opportunity having been afforded us either of defence or explanation. We have, however, made our appeal to our country, to his Majesty's poor-law commissioners, and to the candour of Mr. Okeden, feeling assured, satisfied, and convinced, that the golden scales of justice will strike the balance in our behalf.

Stock-house, Dorset, 13. May, 1831.

P. S. I feel it right to add, that I have submitted this statement of facts as a defence on the part of the justices of the Sturminster division of this county, to the whole six magistrates with whom I have the honour to act in this division; who have not disapproved of anything therein contained. And that if any error should be proved to exist, I shall promptly and humbly endeavour to amend, and to express my regret at the existence of the same.

A Letter to the Rev. Harry Farr Yeatman, on his Inquiry, &c.—By D. O. P. OKEDEN, Esq.

More Crickell, 10 June, 1833.

REV. SIR,—I have read the pamphlet lately published by you, purporting to be an Inquiry into the merits of my Poor-Law Report;—though, in fact, what has been hitherto printed by authority, is a very short extract from the general report, as it will be read before the House of Commons. Had your inquiry been confined merely to the manner in which my duty, as assistant commissioner was performed, I should not have taken any public notice of it, *holding myself responsible for the correct performance of that duty to the Central Board of Poor-Law Commissioners, and to them alone.* But when the most exaggerated misrepresentations of my words and conduct, on several occasions, are brought forward, and when my general character is assailed, in no very measured terms of vituperation, I can no longer be silent. I shall confine my observations entirely to these misrepresentations. On our respective opinions, upon the general

administration of the poor-laws, I shall not touch; nor shall I say one word on your charges of incorrectness, and even of something worse, in the performance of my duty as assistant commissioner. I have transmitted a copy of your Inquiry to the central board, and stated that to them I am ready to afford any explanation which may be required. I proceed then, first, to page 11 of your pamphlet:—After stating the cause of the meeting at Blandford, in 1830, you say, “At this meeting at Blandford, Mr. Okeden broached for the first time, in a formal manner, the doctrine which he has since promulgated and maintained, that no relief whatever ought to be afforded to the able-bodied man, and that if he and his family could not subsist upon their wages, they might lie down and die by the road-side (these were the words of Mr. Okeden), whether the wages so received, were or were not, per head, sufficient for the support of the able-bodied father and his family.”

To this assertion of yours, *as thus stated*, and now publicly made, with all the emphasis of italics, I offer my most solemn and direct denial.

You are too good a scholar, sir, not to know, that context is absolutely necessary to the right understanding of expressed opinion; and that the suppression of half a speech will often place the other half in a light totally at variance with the feelings and opinions of the speaker. I will call to your recollection, and I hope to that of the other magistrates who were present at the Blandford meeting, the real and exact purport of what I then said.

I opposed at that period, what you term the soothing system; I objected to making promises, the keeping of which was perfectly impossible; I protested against that baneful curse, the relief of able-bodied men in employ from the poor-book, for the purpose of making up low wages. I was asked by Sir John Smith, or yourself, I forget which, whether I was prepared, then, to see the men and their families die by the road-side. I answered, “that question is somewhat difficult to reply to. I say yes,—but that extremity never can happen; for on the refusal of parish relief, wages would immediately rise, and if they did not so immediately, private charity would step in to prevent so dreadful a catastrophe.”

These, sir, were the words of Mr. Okeden. To quote the latter portion of them did not, I presume, suit the object of your Inquiry. Now, had you waited, as in common fairness you ought, for the publication of my entire report, as it will appear before the House of Commons, you would have seen, that so far from advocating, what you term “an extraordinary and unchristian doctrine,” I deprecate as an act of barbarity and injustice, the refusal of relief to able-bodied men in employ until the superfluity of labourers, created by the present vicious system of the scale and make-up, be disposed of, either in this country, or in her colonies.

In the expression of the “unchristian doctrine,” I was supported, as you say, by one magistrate, and by one alone. To his kindly feeling, and still kinder acts of benevolence to every poor person on his large estates, all who know him will bear a ample testimony, and, on every subject connected with rural concerns and rural police, whenever I have the satisfaction of agreeing with that gentleman, I feel a strong confirmation of my own opinion.

Your account of what passed at the quarter sessions, in April, 1830, I will merely answer by saying, that the withdrawing of a motion does not necessarily arise from a conviction that the opposers of it are in the right. In the case to which you allude, I withdrew my motion upon the suggestion of Mr. Banks, that the period of enforcing it would so immediately follow the agricultural riots, that considerable fresh excitement might ensue. When you speak of my failing to persuade the magistrates of the illegality of that system, which I opposed, you may have forgotten, although I strongly pressed it on the notice of the court, that, at the two assizes preceding those sessions, the judges, Alderson and Taurton, both eminent as lawyers, did, in their charges to the grand jury, insist on the unlawfulness of the relief of able-bodied men, in employ, and urged them, as landowners and magistrates, to put a stop to it in their several districts.

I now, sir, come to your charges against my conduct at Sturminster. Throughout the whole of my progress, in execution of the commission, I endeavoured, as indeed I was directed to do, to fix my sitting, if I could, on a day of petty session. I always met the magistrates in their justice-room, and then, as was absolutely necessary, retired to another: but never without saying that, if any of them would afford me their attendance and assistance, I should feel much gratified. I pursued this line of conduct at Sturminster, with the exception of examining the Sturminster overseers in the presence of the magistrates, and which, if I do not err, I did from my own suggestion to you. Besides, you must, surely, sir, recollect, you cannot possibly have forgotten, that previous to the sitting at Sturminster, I wrote to you, and, in the strongest terms, requested your special assistance and co-operation. Is it quite fair, then, to talk of “private rooms,” “behind the scenes,” “green bag,” and “lion’s mouth?” The room in which I sat was the farmer’s common room, the door was always open, and there never were less than twenty persons present, all listening to what was going on. If the magistrates did not join me, the fault was not mine. What then, after all, sir, is “the head and front of my offending?” Is it that I have spoken irreverently of the practical operation of the poor-laws in the Sturminster division? In my report to the central board, I have stated, that it appeared to me, on investigation, that the division of Beaminster was the best managed,

as to its poor concerns, in Dorsetshire, and that the division of Sturminster Newton was the worst.

I said so then, because I thought so; I say so now, because I think so still. But I never did, nor do I, blame the magistrates of the latter division. I know, sir, that they, and that you in particular, have done much to counteract the mismanagement of overseers, though I entirely disapprove of your scale-system. Let me observe to you, sir, that the words "magisterial interference," which seem to have given so great offence, apply as much to a useful and necessary interference as to any other species whatever. You have often, sir, deplored to me the necessary interference which you were compelled to use in the towns of Sturminster and Stalbridge; and I do not hesitate to say, that, with one exception, they appeared to me the two worst-regulated parishes which I had investigated, in the whole of my progress. I cannot conclude my letter without protesting against your insinuation, that I wish to depreciate the provincial magistrates of England. No man holds them in higher respect than I do, and I will yield to no one in sincere esteem for those of Dorsetshire; an esteem founded on the intimate knowledge of their zeal and uprightness in the discharge of their useful and laborious duties.

I have deemed these few observations, which I have addressed to you, necessary for the establishment of the truth, as far as my own words and personal conduct are connected with your inquiry. I trust, sir, that they are made without any of that bitterness of personal invective, which forms so striking a feature in your inquiry,

I remain,

Rev. Sir

Your most obedient humble servant,
D. O. P. OKEDEN.

**A Letter to D. O. P. Okeden, Esq.,
on the Merits of his Poor-Law Report.
By the Rev. HARRY FARR YEATMAN,
LL.B.**

Stock-house, 13. June, 1833.

SIR,—In justice to the magistrates of this calumniated division, as well as with the view of rendering due justice to yourself, I feel it to be a duty very briefly to reply to your published letter of the 10. instant, written on your part in answer to my inquiry into the Merits of your Poor-Law Report, so far as the same has been "published by authority." You commence that letter by informing me, "had your inquiry been confined merely to the manner in which my duty as assistant commissioner was performed, I should not have taken any public notice of it, holding myself responsible for the correct performance of that duty to the central board of poor-law

"commissioners, and to them alone." Now surely it is rather hard upon a bench of justices, when their legal practice is found fault with and condemned, when their division is pronounced to be "THE WORST REGULATED" "AS TO POOR CONCERNS, with the highest proportionate rates in the county," without a tittle of evidence to support these charges, being adduced on your part; when their conduct towards the very respectable rector of a certain parish is represented as having been actuated by an implied vindictive feeling as well, which we have proved could not by possibility exist; surely, sir, it is rather extraordinary to deny to those justices the common privilege of complaint, and to deny that any thing in the shape even of explanation on the part of those who thus attack them, is due to the persons who thus consider themselves to have been unjustly and groundlessly accused, and that too, when no one single fact adduced by them in their defence has been denied or called in question! You proceed thus:—

"But when the most exaggerated misrepresentations of my words and conduct on several occasions are brought forward, and when my general character is assailed, in no very measured terms of vituperation, I can no longer be silent." I am really at a loss to conceive in what part of my "Inquiry," such language or sentiments are to be found, deserving such severity of denunciation as this. My sole object in quoting the words which were used by you at the special meeting at Blandford, in the month of January, 1831 (in so far as I recollect the same), was to show that the doctrine touching non-relief to able-bodied paupers maintained by you on that occasion, was opposed by the majority of the magistrates who were at that time present, as well as by the whole COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS holden at Dorchester in the month of April then next ensuing; and that we, the justices of the Sturminster division, who had been censured or reflected upon by you for affording relief to able-bodied men in distress, had simply acted in unison with the justices of this county, on the occasions aforesaid. If, however, I have been guilty of a "misrepresentation of your words" used upon that occasion, I am most sincerely desirous of apologizing to yourself, and to the honourable magistrate who coincided with you in opinion on that day, provided that he should conceive that he, also, has been misrepresented. To the best of my recollection, the facts of the case are these. In the course of our deliberation at Blandford, you asserted broadly that "no relief to able-bodied men in employ" should be allowed by justices. I for one, and the honourable haronet to whom you allude, Sir John Smith, for another, appeared to be struck with astonishment and alarm at the promulgation of such a doctrine, knowing, as we did, the results it must have led to. I am authorised to say that Sir John Smith then demanded, "Are you then prepared to see as a consequence, men

"and their families dying by the road-side," to which you emphatically answered "Yes!" But I declare upon my honour as a gentleman, that I do not recollect, nor, in the desultory and somewhat loud conversation which took place at the enunciation of such a doctrine, did I hear the expression of the words of qualification which you affirm that you added at the same time, viz. "But that extremity can never happen, for on the refusal of parish relief, wages would immediately rise, and if they did not do so immediately, private charity would step in to prevent so dreadful a catastrophe." I affirm, sir, and I repeat it most solemnly, that I did not recollect or know when I wrote my "Inquiry," that these words had been used by you at Blandford; nor do I bring them to my recollection at this moment; and, therefore, I feel that, as I have not acted wilfully in omitting them, I am not deserving of the censure and insinuation conveyed by you in the following words: "these, sir, were the words of Mr. Okeden. To quote the latter portion of them did not, I presume, suit the object of your Inquiry:" proceeding as they do from you, sir, who are pleased to deprecate in this very letter of yours, "the bitterness of personal invective!" Upon due inquiry, however, at a conference holden this day between my most highly respected friends Sir John Smith, Bart., Thomas Harlock Bastard, Esq., and myself, who were present at the special meeting aforesaid, at Blandford, I find for the first time, that the word of qualification alluded to by you, or words to that effect, were added by you, after the promulgation of the extraordinary and unchristian doctrine so loudly reprobated by me, and by others who were present on that occasion: and I therefore not only lament that I could not charge my memory with these words, when I quoted the declaration of yours which was antecedent to them, but I proceed to show that even if I had quoted these qualifying terms, they would have been utterly insufficient (as maintained by my hon. friend, Sir John Smith, at the time,) to exempt the doctrine of refusing relief to meritorious able-bodied labourers, from the censures which are due to such a system of policy, and which I attached to it in my "Inquiry." As amended and corrected by you, your declaration stands as follows:—

"I was asked by Sir John Smith, or yourself, 'I forget which, whether I was prepared, then, to see the men and their families die by the road. I answered—that question is somewhat difficult to reply to; I say yes,—but that extremity never can happen, for on the refusal of parish relief, wages would immediately rise, and if they did not do so immediately, private charity would step in to prevent so dreadful a catastrophe.' Now how is the matter altered, modified, and amended by the addition of these qualifying words? Here is the doctrine promulgated, as stated by me in my "Inquiry," page 11, "that no relief whatever ought to be afforded to the able-bodied man, and that if he and

"his family could not subsist upon their wages, they might lie down and die by the road side"—with only the mere contingency of a probable rise of wages, or of the casual application of the cold hand of charity to save them from destruction! Is there a reasonable, or an impartial man alive, that will say the two propositions are not absolutely the same in their essence and true meaning; and that even if these qualifying words were suppressed, the effect of the doctrine advocated by you, sir, would not be the same. But let us look a little closely at these alternative measures in store for the starving paupers of England, when the poor-laws shall be abolished. First, as to a rise of wages. In parishes where the population exceeds the demand for labour, such an increase of wages could not take place, from the nature of things, without a decrease of capital; being the very evil which this poor-law relief, if continued, would occasion, and to prevent which, this relief is proposed to be discontinued. Nor would the rate-payers of this kingdom be more willing to accede to an advance of wages, than to submit to the payment of poor-rate to the able-bodied pauper. I have, in addition to personal experience, the authority of Dr. Smith, for saying (*Wealth of Nations*, chapter 8,) "masters are always and every where in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination, not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate." "The demand for those who live by wages, it is evident, cannot increase but in proportion to the increase of the funds which are destined for the payment of wages. The demand for those who live by wages, therefore, necessarily increases with the increase of revenue and stock of every country, and cannot possibly increase without it. The increase of revenue and stock is the increase of national wealth. The demand for those who live by wages, therefore, naturally increases with the increase of national wealth, and cannot possibly increase without it. It is not the actual greatness of national wealth, but its continual increase, which occasions a rise in the wages of labour." Let us apply the solid reasoning of Dr. Smith to the case before us. You affirm, sir, that if relief was withheld from able-bodied men, that "wages would immediately rise." Now granted that the agriculturist and manufacturer would be inclined to give high wages, it is certain that an increased amount of wages can only be afforded when "there is an increase of the funds which are destined for the payment of wages;" in other words, when profits are great: so that in times of depression and distress—the very period when these able-bodied paupers would stand in need of these high wages, they would absolutely and universally fail them. But Dr. Smith also declares, what common and every-day experience confirms, "That the demand for those who live by wages, naturally increases with the increase of national wealth, and cannot pos-

"sibly increase without it;" so that in cases of national distress, bad harvests, manufacture depression, or during the pressure of occasional calamity and depreciation of property, arising from any other cause, it is certain, not merely as shown above, that wages would decrease, but that the demand for labourers would decrease also, and that thousands and tens of thousands would be thrown absolutely out of employ; and, in that case, relief to able-bodied men having been prohibited by law as proposed by you at the Easter sessions of 1831, what other alternative remains to the wretched labourer of England, but to "lie down and die by the road side?" But there is another point of view, in which your expected and promised rise of wages cannot take place, and therefore cannot compensate for a loss of the poor-law system of relief. I have hitherto supposed that the supply of labour is only equal to the demand. What, sir, let me ask, are we to do in parishes such as Sturminster and Stalbridge for instance, where there are fifty and even seventy able-bodied men out of employ at one time, and that for a period of eight months and more every year. How are the wages of these men to be raised? Let Dr Malthus—the sheet-anchor of that abstract principle which has led you into the labyrinths of so much error; let Dr. Malthus answer: "A market overstocked with labour, and an ample remuneration to each labourer, are objects perfectly incompatible with each other. In the annals of the world they never existed together: and to couple them, even in imagination, betrays a gross ignorance of the simplest principles of political economy." But there is another point of view in which it becomes every advocate for the abolition of relief to able-bodied men, to look at the doctrine of high wages in lieu of such relief, in order to see the utter insufficiency of such a remedy, and the necessity which, as a consequence must exist, of having such a provision as that of the poor-laws to fall back upon, in cases of extreme distress, in order to protect the labouring population of this country from absolute starvation. Let us suppose, sir, the too frequent contingency of a scarcity in this country, approaching to famine; and let us see how your presumed substitute of high wages would work in that case, in preference to the poor-law system of relief as existing at present: and let me ground this wholesome and cautious view of the certain evils which would ensue to society, if your plans were carried into effect, not upon any insufficient and valueless opinions of my own, but on the authority of Dr. Malthus—an authority that you, I am most truly confident, will never attempt to call in question.

"If," says Dr. Malthus, when speaking of the effects produced upon society by the operation of scarcities and bad seasons,—"*If, instead of giving the temporary assistance of parish allowances, which might be with-*

raised universally the wages of labour, it is evident that the obstacles to the diminution of the circulation, and to returning cheapness would have been still further increased; and the high price of labour would have become permanent, without any advantage whatever to the labourer." "Dr. Smith has clearly shown that the natural tendency of a year of scarcity, is either to throw a number of labourers out of employment, or to oblige them to work for less than they did before, from the inability of masters to employ the same number at the same price. The raising of the price of wages tends necessarily to throw more out of employment, and completely to prevent the good effects, which, he says, sometimes arise from a year of moderate scarcity, that of making the lower classes of people do more work, and become more careful and industrious." (Dr. Malthus, vol. ii. chap. 5.) Thus it appears that under no possible circumstances of distress, proceeding from scarcity and high prices of provisions would your plan of high wages afford relief to the distressed and starving and able-bodied pauper, even if employed; first, because the rise of wages would only be nominal, inasmuch as it would not keep pace with the increased price of consumable articles: secondly, because, in years of scarcity, wages would, and must, from necessity, be lowered, because masters, from a decrease of profit, would be unable to afford the same amount of wages, as in years of plenty and profusion; thirdly, because from a decrease of capital, they would be obliged not only to lower the amount of wages, but to throw out of employment, in many parishes, even those whom they had previously hired and paid; and when the able-bodied pauper and his family are thus reduced to poverty and distress, and when the poor-law system of relief to able-bodied men shall have been abolished and utterly put an end to—I leave you, sir, and others, to decide, what are the effects upon society at large, which are likely to result from the notable scheme of non-relief, which you have thus been pleased to advocate.

But, sir, there is another contingency that must not be lost sight of; there is another cause of national distress that too frequently takes place, and under the influence and operation of which the pauper population of this country is reduced to the lowest possible state of degradation and distress; and that is, when, from either internal or external causes, a depreciation takes place in the currency of any kingdom; and it is a curious circumstance connected with the object of our present inquiry, that the *discovery of America*, and the consequent depreciation in the value of the precious metals has been supposed by many writers on this subject to have been the more immediate cause of the introduction of the poor-laws into this country, rather than the dissolution of the monasteries at and subsequent to the reformation; and the more so, because in other Catholic countries, in Spain espe-

cially, where no monasteries were suppressed, regulations for the maintenance of the poor became necessary about the same period. "A depreciation of money, (says Dr. Rees) has the same effect on the circumstances of the labourer as a bad harvest. Commodities rise in price, and if the change in the value of money is progressive for a number of years, he suffers the same hardships as from a succession of bad seasons, which every year becomes worse and worse. While money continues to sink, the labourer, though occasionally relieved by an advance of wages, feels himself exposed, in a few years, to the recurrence of the same difficulties. In a few years he will be reduced to indigence, and from indigence to beggary, the transition is short. That this was the case in England during the sixteenth century; that the number of the poor was continually increasing; that the country was overrun with idlers and vagrants, we have the authority of the poor laws to prove, and the concurrent testimony of all contemporary authors to corroborate." I have a right to infer then, and to assert, that your proposed panacea of an increase of wages, in lieu of poor-law relief, will utterly and entirely fail to cure the national evils which the abolition of that relief would occasion. You have adduced no reason or argument, sir, of any kind or sort whatever, to prove that "on the refusal of parish relief, wages would immediately rise;" and I show upon authority, which will not, and cannot be questioned,—first, that wages cannot rise, when "the funds which are destined for the payment of wages" are either stationary or declining; secondly, I have shown that wages cannot rise, when the demand for those who "live by wages" is decreasing instead of otherwise; thirdly, I have proved, that in the event of a scarcity approaching to famine, the effect of such a visitation would be either to "throw a number of labourers out of employment, or to oblige them to work for less than they did before;" and lastly, I have also proved that in cases where the standard of value becomes reduced, and "a depreciation of money" takes place as well, "the same effect on the circumstances of the labourer" takes place, as in the event of a bad harvest, thereby reducing the paupers of this country to the very extremity of national distress: and having shown all this, I must leave yourself and others to decide whether abstract principles without experience, and theory without practice, are likely to help them in their misfortunes; and whether anything but a *servile war* can be expected to ensue, as the consequence of so rash, and so unchristian a scheme as that of the abolition of relief to able-bodied paupers who would be reduced, with their innocent children, to a state of absolute starvation—not by any act of providence or immorality of theirs, but by the influence and effect of causes over which neither they themselves, nor the rulers of the destinies of nations can, by

possibility, possess even the slightest control.

But you tell us, sir, that there is one resource left, "private charity would step in to prevent so dreadful a catastrophe." Now granted that the bed-ridden would be visited, that the idiotic would be attended to, and his wants anticipated; and that a person would be found, clothed with the official power and responsibility of stimulating the humane, and of giving a current and direction to their munificence: who would hold up the widow's cruse that it might always be replenished, and the poor man's barrel of meal that it might not fail; and that shivering wretch might catch the crumbs which prodigality or mercy has to spare,—let me ask, if such ministers of goodness are to be found within the crowded city, attended upon the chariot wheels of the rich and the luxurious, tell me, sir, I beseech you where such an individual is to be found within the precincts of the deserted village? and who are to be the votive offerings of the bounty thus required, in those lonely dwellings of despair and destitution? I need not inform a gentleman, who is so well read in the history of his country as yourself, that at and subsequent to the period of the reformation, such persons were appointed by law at a very early period of our history, at a time too, when "*private charity*" was known to be most exuberant, for the express purpose of collecting "*voluntary alms*," for the support of the poor of this realm, and that such "*voluntary alms*," and charitable contributions on the part of individuals, was quite insufficient for the purpose.

By the 27. of Henry VIII. chapter 25. the several hundreds, towns corporate, parishes or hamlets, were required to "find and keep, every aged, poor, and impotent person," "which was born or dwelt three years in the same limit, by way of *voluntary and charitable alms* in every of the same cities and parishes, with such convenient *alms* as shall be thought meet by their discrecion, so as none of them shall be compelled to go openly in begging:" and the minister was to take all opportunities to exhort and stir up the people to be liberal and bountiful."

By the 1. of Edward VI. chapter 3. after providing for severe punishments (by branding with a hot iron and by perpetual slavery) for the vagabonds and those who lived "idle and loitering by the space of three days" it was also enacted that "all impotent, maimed and aged persons, who cannot be taken for vagabonds, shall have convenient houses provided for them, and otherwise be relieved in the cities, boroughs, or towns, where they were born, or where most conversant" by the space of three years, by the willing and charitable disposition of the parishioners."

By the 5. and 6. of Edward VI. chapter 2. collectors of the poor were to take down in writing on certain Sunday, immediately after divine service, in every year, an account of

what every person was willing to give weekly for the ensuing year: and if any should refuse to give, the minister was gently to exhort him, and in case of refusal, to report him as a recusant to the bishop.

By the 5. of Elizabeth, chapter 3, if he stood out against the bishop's exhortation, the bishop was to certify the same to the justices in sessions; who had a power,—first, to persuade him to contribute,—secondly, “to assess him what they think reasonable towards the relief of the poor,” and in case of refusal to commit him till such assessment was paid.

But the question is, how did this system work? what was the result of an appeal to the “private charity” of individuals—and of whole parishes, stimulated as it was when slumbering and inert, by the exhortations of ecclesiastical persons, ministers, and bishops, and excited as it also was by the pains and penalties of the statute law through the agency of her Majesty's justices of the peace in quarter sessions assembled, who were invested with the powers of commitment, until the parties who were recusant consented to contribute their “voluntary alms” towards the relief of the poor? The answer is, as it would be again, were some insufficient modes of provision for the poor, even for the “impotent, maimed, and aged persons” in distress, had recourse to;—the answer is, that *it totally failed* (as the gradually increasing severity of these statutes would have long since prepared us to expect); and the 14. of Elizabeth, c. 5, was expressly enacted for the purpose of enabling her Majesty's justices of the peace to make “a general assessment of the parishioners of every parish for the relief of the poor of the same parish,” and for introducing that principle of *compulsory assessment*, which the subsequent statutes have embodied under certain improved regulations—and which constitutes the principle of *parochial provision for the poor* down to this hour.

In the sad spirit of prophetic apprehension it was then, touching the results which must inevitably follow, if the legislature in an evil hour should be induced to adopt and act upon the fatal doctrines of non-relief advocated by you at Blandford, and looking with the experienced eye of a well-read magistrate of forty years standing, to the effects which must irresistibly be produced upon the population of this country, too well informed in these days, both as to the nature and extent of their civil and social rights, and too well acquainted with the extent of the physical power which they possess also, to enforce them—that my highly esteemed friend, Sir John Smith (by whose side I am proud to be found standing as the “poor man's friend,” on principles both of religion, and equity, and expediency, such as cannot be controverted), I say that to his overbearing honour both as a magistrate and a Christian, Sir John Smith declared at Blandford upon the promulgation of your opinions,

“Rather than assent to such a doctrine, or “see my fellow-subjects reduced to such distress as must ensue from its adoption, without being enabled in a Christian country, to afford them due relief, I would throw up my commission as a magistrate, and act no longer.”

I have a right then, from the arguments thus used, to declare and affirm that *private charity*, which was had recourse to and tried from the year 1535 to 1572, a period of no less than thirty-seven years, is utterly insufficient as a substitute for the present system of compulsory relief, even to the “impotent, maimed, and aged” paupers of the kingdom: and as I have previously shown that your other alternative of an expected and presumed rise of wages, “on the refusal of parish relief” never could, under any circumstances, be held to be an equivalent for that necessary provision for the poor, I affirm, sir, that we are now standing in the exact position in which we were, prior to the introduction of those redeeming words of qualification on which you appear in your letter to me to lay so much stress and importance; that the question is not at all affected in any way whatever, practically, by the introduction of those words of qualification, and that the effect of your doctrine, if ever it should unfortunately be adopted, would be, and must be, to compel the able-bodied paupers of this kingdom, who cannot get adequate wages, or who are out of employ, to “*Lie down and die by the road side*,” unless they should be driven, as Lord Chief Justice Hale conceived they would be, under the self-same circumstance, to beg or steal for the means of their subsistence.

You next observe, “Now had you waited, “as in common fairness you ought, for the “publication of my entire Report, as it will “appear before the House of Commons, you “would have seen that, so far from advocating “what you term ‘an extraordinary and unchristian doctrine,’ I deprecate, as an act of “barbarity and injustice, the refusal of relief “to able-bodied men in employ, until the “perfectly of labourers created by the present “vicious system of the scale and make-up, be “disposed of, either in this country, or in the “colonies.”

To this sentence of your letter, sir, I really scarcely know what reply to advance. Do you seriously propose, sir, in the first place, that a report reflecting upon our conduct as magistrates, is to be circulated throughout the kingdom (containing most serious charges against us, as your report of the date of the 25. of December last undoubtedly does), and that we, the parties accused, are to sit down and say nothing in our defence—nothing in explanation of, or in disproof of, the charges and insinuations which are thus publicly recorded against our conduct and our practice? Are we to wait till your “entire report” is laid upon the table of the House of Commons, accompanied for aught we know, by statements upon

our conduct on the part of the central poor-law commissioners themselves; and who, from our very silence on these matters, would have a right to infer that we were guilty of the charges which the assistant commissioner had allged against us in the extracts of his report, "published by authority," and the more so, because our waiting for the presentation of your "entire report" at the table of the House of Commons, would have appeared to be the more extraordinary and remiss on our part, with a view to self-justification, when it is considered that, in the extracts from that report now, "published by authority," you declared distinctly, on the 25. of December last, "I have ALREADY named in my report "on Dorsetshire, the district of Sturminster Newton, as the worst regulated as to poor concerns, with the highest proportionate rates in the county; it is certain that in no district is there so much magisterial interference;" a sentence where magisterial interference, bad regulation, and high poor-rates are spoken of conjunctively; a condemnation, therefore, at once absolute and complete; and from which no appeal was afforded to the magistrates of this division, but through the medium of what inquiry which we have instituted into the merits of that report!

But I confess that I am surprised, though delighted, to find that in this "entire report" you deprecate as "an act of barbarity and injustice, the refusal of relief to able-bodied men in employ, until the superfluity of labourers, created by the vicious system of the scale and make-up be disposed of, either in this country or in her colonies;" knowing as I do, that your doctrine at Blandford, as above alluded to, as well as at the Easter sessions of 1831, when you moved absolutely and unconditionally—"That it was impolitic and illegal to make up the wages of able-bodied men from the poor-rate," was diametrically opposed to this new principle, as now for the first time promulgated as your doctrine on this subject; and lamenting as I do that when you found fault with us for making "orders on the overseers of Hasilbury Bryan, requiring them to relieve ten families, "all able-bodied, and in employ," (and this too, at the expense to the parish of less than sixpence and a farthing per head, exclusive of their wages,) you did not inform his Majesty's poor-law commissioners and the public, that we had simply acted in conformity to your own *new opinion* thus expressed, knowing also, as I do, that no steps had been taken at that time, or were about to be taken with a view of disposing, "either in this country or her colonies, of the superfluity of labourers" which were then requiring such relief. You also state that when you moved, at the Easter sessions of 1831, "that it is illegal and impolitic to make up the wages of able-bodied men from the poor-rate," you withdrew your motion "upon the suggestion of Mr. Banks, that the period of enforcing it

"would so immediately follow the agricultural riots, that considerable fresh excitement might ensue." I well remember, and indeed shall never forget the luminous, eloquent, and argumentative address delivered by that honourable and highly respectable individual upon that memorable occasion; but permit me to say, sir, that if you were so far convinced by the prudent suggestions of Mr. Banks, as to believe, and to admit, that it would have tended to "fresh excitement," if relief to the able-bodied in general had been withheld immediately "after the riots," you ought also, "in fairness," to have justified our conduct as justices of the Sturminster division, for having acted up to this very doctrine, according to your own views and conceptions, when we granted the relief to the aforesaid ten paupers of Hasilbury Bryan "*soon after the riots*" in the year 1830. You go on to observe, with regard to the manner in which the evidence was recorded by you at Sturminster, "You must surely, sir, recollect, you cannot possibly have forgotten, that previous to the sitting at Sturminster, I wrote to you, and in the strongest terms, requested your special assistance and co-operation," &c.

I well remember having been honoured by such a letter from you, requesting the presence of myself and brother justices at Sturminster, and desiring us to summon the overseers of our whole division to be present at the same time and place, then and there to give such evidence and information, &c., as you might require. I did not complain of our being ignorant of the day of meeting on this occasion, but I do complain that you never sent to require or request our presence in the room, where, as it turns out, you were recording evidence and charges against us deeply affecting and involving our character; and I do complain that after these charges had been preferred and recorded, and after *our practice* and the *purity of our motives* had been assailed by some malicious slanderer, upon grounds which you yourself, sir, must now admit to have been untrue; I complain, and my brother justices complain, that when you returned into our room (where we were still engaged laboriously in petty sessions, and continued to be so for nearly three hours after you had disposed of the whole twenty parishes within our division, and had left the town of Sturminster,) you did not inform us at that moment, or at all, that you had received such charges and complaints against us; that in your opinion our system was irregular; that our "district" was the worst regulated as to poor concerns with the highest proportionate rates "in the county," and that we had done all in our power to thwart and counteract the highly respectable rector of the parish of Hasilbury Bryan from motives, which, if true, ought to lead to the erasure of our names from the commission of the peace, and to the execration of every man of honour and integrity within the united kingdom. Instead of this—instead of giving us an opportunity of de-

sending ourselves, if we could do so, from charges and complaints thus preferred behind our back—instead of sending for us into the adjoining room where you were sitting, and giving us an opportunity of meeting our calumniators and of disproving, as I trust we have disproved, the erroneous statements which they made, you are aware, sir, that on your returning into the room, you merely wished us a good morning, and shook us by the hand, and that from the 29. day of October last till the latter end of April, 1833, when we saw your report for the first time in our lives, as “published by authority,” we had no conception that a single charge, or complaint of any sort or kind had been alleged against us on that day.

The only other part of your letter that requires additional comment from me, are the words which follow, “I cannot conclude my letter without protesting against your “insinuation, that I wish to depreciate the provincial magistrates of England.” I can only say that when I find it alleged in one part of your report, that you “do not hesitate to pronounce a decided opinion that the poor of boroughs, where little or no magisterial interference takes place, are superior in moral character and appearance to the majority of country parishes,” where, of course, it does take place; and when I see such sweeping censures on division magistrates in another part of it, made, as they have been in our case, without the least foundation for them, I cannot conceive that any great desire could exist on the part of the person making those statements, to elevate the provincial magistracy to the level which they are entitled to. I will not, however, having declared already in the first edition of my “Inquiry,” “that I believe the errors and misapprehensions of Mr. Okeden to have been perfectly unintentional” and inadvertent on his part;” having thus given a proof of my desire to do justice to the motives which actuated your mind when you drew up the report complained of by myself and my brother justices of this division,—I will not depart from a principle so generous and correct, and I will therefore again declare, that if, in the expression of these opinions, or any others which I have hazarded during this painful inquiry, you conceive that I have departed from that spirit of liberality and good feeling which it becomes me to maintain and to express upon all occasions, I am ready to express my sorrow and regret at having so acted, unconscious as I am of even of intending so to do, my sole object having been, not to invade the character, to misrepresent the motives, or misstate the opinions and practice of other persons, but simply with a view to our own individual characters, to defend and to protect ourselves; especially so, when considering ourselves as a part and parcel of the

magistracy of Great Britain, whose character and influence through us we consider to have been assailed.

I have the honour to be, sir,
your most obedient humble servant,
HARRY FARR YEATMAN.

MOST CURIOUS!

I TAKE the following from a New-York paper, called the *Morning Courier and New-York Advertiser*, dated, New York, Thursday, 20. June, 1833. There is, it seems, a CANAL-JOB going on in Pennsylvania; that it is carried on by the means of money, raised in shares, as the gambling devils call it. The “property” consists of what they call “stock.” In short, it is a STATE-DEBT; a piece of “NATIONAL FAITH;” and “faith” it is of a very frail nature! However, the main thing that I have in view, at this time, is to give a list of the names of foreigners, who are the “public creditors” of the State of Pennsylvania, as relating to this “CANAL.” I dare say, that the canal itself is a mere job; a piece of pure plunder; and that, at last, the swindle will wind up with a “stop-law;” that is, to say, with a payment in paper-money, worth, perhaps, a shilling in the pound. The jobbers are bad enough here; but there, what are they then? The vile and profligate principle of stock gambling has, here, to struggle against hereditary and traditionary integrity; against that undefinable uprightness of character, which was attempted to be described in the old saying, that such a man’s “WORD” was his “BOND;” and which character, though greatly faded by the devil’s works of funds and stocks, is not yet wholly lost. But, there! why, the gambling villains would laugh in your face, if you were only to hint at being under the influence of any thing but gain. No set of sharks, assembled round a gaming-table, were ever more destitute of honesty. However, my present business is to give a list of the foreigners who are creditors in this canal; hoping, and firmly believing, that they never will see one single

farthing of their money; and this list is as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA CANAL DEBT.

A very curious document has been published in the *Harrisburgh Telegraph*, giving the names and amount of stock held by foreigners in that state debt.

The whole amount held by foreigners is 9,301,712 dollars. out of 16,463,661 dollars; or upwards of one-half of the whole. Among the curious list we notice the following:—

	Dollars.	Cents.
His Royal Highness Charles, Sovereign Duke of Brunswick	52,500	—
The most Hon. Francis Seymour Conway, Marquis of Hertford	21,200	—
John Marshall, of Leeds..	38,700	—
Ditto.....	23,600	—
Sir Charles Richard Blunt, of Heathfield Park, Sussex	20,000	—
Count de Erceville, of Paris	7,500	—
R. I. Thompson, of Kirby Hall, Yorkshire	26,609	93
Admiral Fellows, of Portman square, London ..	12,000	—
Mr. Henry Fellows, of Ramsay Abbey, Huntingdonshire	25,000	—
Whilhelmina Philippina Van Tuyl Van Serooskerken, of Amsterdam ..	—	—
Right Hon. Sir W. Alexander, of London.....	17,500	—
Samuel Gurney, of London	25,000	—
John Hey Punget, of Totteridge, England.....	18,878	47
W. Sheepshanks, of Leeds	7,604	70
Claude George Thornton, of Hertfordshire	14,000	—
Abel Tucker, of St. Thomas	20,000	—
Louis Albert de Brancas, Duke of Cereste	5,000	—
Madame Louisa Paulina de Chastellux, Countess de Dantas, of Paris	32,900	—
Major General John Maister, of Warwick, England	91,000	—
The Hon. Anne Rushout, of Wanstead, Essex, Co.	20,000	—

	Dollars.	Cents.
Andrew Service of London	32,353	56
Alexander Saunderson of Castle Saunderson, Co. Cavan, Ireland.....	20,000	—
Emanuel Victor Paurray de l'Auberredizere de Quinsonal, of Paris	20,000	—
Gowan and Mera, of London	97,400	—
Josefa Espenosia de Cuesto, of Mexico	8,038	67
Thomas Cotterell, of Birmingham, England....	17,615	38
Wm. Death, of Hensalen, Herts Co.	24,000	—
Pierre Maria Dit Durieux, of South Wales.....	6,581	41
Wm. John Hurry, of Great Yarmouth	6,480	26
Richard Bolus Hall, of Wye	21,600	—
John Hall, of do	16,800	—
John Bacon Sawny Morrit, of Rokeby Park, Yorkshire	24,000	—
Mrs. Anne Redfern, of Birmingham	25,653	23
Helene Francove Ferte Guillaume Favre, of Geneva, Anne Selona Farrer, and Lieut.-Col. Wm. Fawcett, of Bath, England	25,000	—
Johannes De Veer and Philip Disk Thompson Milton Spiri, of St. Eustatia	15,000	—
Charles Louis Count Vogere, of France	45,000	—
Robert Peel, Esq., of Park Crescent, Portland Place, London	20,000	—
Philip Louis de Peyronnet Baron de St. Marce....	6,700	—

The whole is a very amusing document; some of the names are in the highest degree unique and odd, worthy a place in a new dictionary of proper names.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BURROWS, J., Camberwell-green, bookseller.
 DAVIES, J., Liverpool, painter.
 DAVIS, S. G., Lower Milton, Worcestershire, cattle-dealer.
 HAYTREAD, J., Silsoe, Bedfordshire, innkeeper.
 NOTLEY, S., Cornhill, and Compton-street-east, chocolate-manufacturer.
 RAWLINGS, E., Bexley, Kent, tanner.
 ROBINSON, I., Doncaster, dealer.
 WIGLSWORTH, J., Skelbrook, Yorkshire, innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MACBRAYNE, R., Summerlee, near Airdrie, coal-master.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, H., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, iron-monger.
 BOND, J. B., and J. Plowright, Great Surrey-street, linen-draper.
 DENT, J., Durham, draper.
 FREEMAN, W., Edgware-road, plumber.
 GREEN, J., Colchester, tailor.
 GUNNER, J., Great James-street, Bedford-row, money-scrivener.
 LATCHFORD, J., Piccadilly, bit and spur-maker.
 PIGOTT, G., Ranby, Nottinghamshire, corn-factor.
 RANGER, J., Newark-upon-Trent, Nottinghamshire, linen-draper.
 SMITH, J., Liverpool, ship-builder.
 BUTCLIFFE, R., Butterworth-hall, Lancashire, shopkeeper.
 WRATHER, J., jun., Ripon, Yorkshire, innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ADAMSON, G., Dumfries, draper.
 ANDERSON, J., jun., Aberdeen, general-merchant.
 SPEAKS, T., Kirkcaldy, distiller.
 THOMSON, J., Gorbals, of Glasgow, cotton-spinner.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 5.—The supplies of Wheat from the home counties proved limited to this day's market, but the samples left over from the previous week caused the stands to be well filled. The millers purchasing more freely, the better descriptions moved off hand on rather improved

terms as compared with Friday, making the currency about 1s. to 2s. lower than this day so'night. Fine Essex runs obtained 61s. Some new samples of Wheat were exhibited, their quality was much inferior to the first show of last season, being thin and shabby, and appeared to have been cut green; one sample only was good. The prices ranged from 56s. to 63s. Although these specimens of the new crop are no just criterion of the general produce we have to anticipate, yet they indicate the probability of considerable inequality existing in the yield of this as well as the preceding season. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Barley was in short supply. The article meets little attention, and prices of gridding qualities were nominally unaltered.

Malt dull at the former quotations.

The receipt of Oats was limited; good fresh feed met a fair demand at rather better price than this day week.

Beans saleable at a reduction of 1s. per qr. on the previous rates.

Peas of all descriptions 1s. to 2s. per qr. cheaper; and new boilers in some instances 3s. to 4s. lower than last Monday.

Flour dull, the top quotations varying from 50s. to 52s.

Wheat	58s. to 63s.
Rye	50s. to 52s.
Barley	34s. to 36s.
— Fine	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White	31s. to 34s.
— Bullers	40s. to 42s.
— Grey	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 32s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 52s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new	—s. to 60s. per cwt.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	72s. to 73s.
— Limerick	72s. to 74s.
— Waterford	70s. to 73s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, August 5.

This day's supply of Beasts was, for the time of year, rather numerous, but in great part of middling and inferior quality; the supply of Sheep and Lambs was moderately good; off fat Calves and Porkers rather limited. Trade was with each kind of prime meat somewhat brisk, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with all meat of inferior quality dull, at Friday's quotations. About a moiety of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire,

shire, and Northamptonshire; the remainder about equal numbers of Scots, interspersed with a few Norfolk homebreds, Devons, Welsh rusts, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 lusty Town's-and Cows, a few Staffords, the Scots, &c. chiefly from Norfolk, with a few from Essex, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, the Devons, Welsh rusts, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, for the most part from our different northern, western, and midland districts: the Town's-and Cows, &c. chiefly from the London marshes.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of two of the former to five of the latter; a fifth South Down; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, polled Norfolks, and Kents, or Kentish half-breeds; with a few Horned Norfolks and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About four-fifths of the Lambs appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South Down, and new Leicesters, the latter chiefly of the Downish cross; the remaining fifth of Dorsets, with a few Somersets, Kents, &c.

MARE-LANE.—Friday, August 2.

The animals this week are large. The market dull, at Monday's prices.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 81.—No. 7.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 17TH, 1833.

[Price, 1s. 2d.]



POPAY.

Bolt-court, 15. August, 1833.

THIS affair is now come to a close. The minutes of evidence, taken before the committee, together with the report of the committee, are now before the House of Commons, and before the public, any man of whom has a right to put into print, the whole, or any part, of these minutes, or of this report. It is impossible for me to republish the whole in this work of mine. It consists of a hundred and eighty-two folio pages, exclusive of the report and the petition on which the committee was founded. I will publish the whole of the evidence by degrees, week after week, as I have room, beginning with a part of the *Register* of next week; but in the meanwhile, I wish to lay before the public, a sort of summing up of the whole; and that I shall do under the name and form of a report, such as I would have laid before the House, if I could have had my wish. I am not presumptuous enough to say, that my judgment, in this respect, or in any respect, ought to be put in competition with that of twenty other gentlemen, each of whom of much greater experience than I can pretend to; but, having laid before my readers the report which they agreed on, I have a clear right to lay before those same readers, such a report as it appeared to me proper to make, asking no one to give a preference to that which, in my judgment, would have been proper. Besides, I lay the minutes of evidence

before my readers; or shall do it as fast as I can. I request them to read with attention the whole of the evidence as fast as they get it; and, in the meanwhile, I give, in the summing up, not my *reasonings*; not my *own observations*; not any commentary, interpretation, or construction; but I fairly take extracts from the evidence itself, leaving every reader to form his own judgment upon that evidence.

I repeat here that which I have said with regard to this affair from the beginning to the end; namely, that I have a rooted hatred to this police establishment; that I hate it, because it is of *foreign* growth, and because it is *French*; that I hate it because it really tears up the government; that good-natured government, that gentle, that confiding, that neighbourly and friendly government, under which I was born, and under which my forefathers lived. Whether this hatred be well or ill founded, it is real, and it must have an influence on my mind in every thing relating to this matter. Most of the other gentlemen of the committee might be under the influence of no such prejudice: they might, on the contrary, deem this establishment necessary to the peace of the metropolis, although they might lament that necessity. This great difference in the prevailing bent of our minds, would naturally produce a difference equally great in the conclusions to which we should come. While, therefore, I impute not the smallest degree of blame to those who differ from me in regard to those conclusions, I only claim the right of laying my own before the public, through the same channel that I have already laid theirs. There is this little difference on my side. The other members of the committee were members of other committees at the same time. Sir ROBERT PEEL, for instance, and Mr. ESTCOURT, were, I believe, each of them, members of two, or three or four, other committees, that were all sitting at the

same hours that our committee was, or pretty nearly the same. This was more or less the case with every member of the committee except myself. Even the chairman was obliged to be absent twice; a part of two of the sittings. Therefore, the other members could not pay that attention to the matter which I did; for, I was never absent from any one sitting, and never one minute out of the room during one sitting. I was called away by none of those duties which called other members away; and, if I neglected my duty in this case, I should have justly exposed myself to the censure of the people at large, and, particularly of the petitioners. Some of the members of the committee might wish, and very laudably wish, the result to be different from what it was; but, I am bound to say, that I perceived in no one any desire whatsoever, to stifle the truth, or to do any thing not consistent with the strictest impartiality. I differed with the majority upon the subject of printing in an appendix to the report, the written reports of POPAY; but, I impute to them no improper motive for their differing in opinion with me upon this point; and, in conclusion of this introduction, I beg my readers to receive from me an assurance, that everything was fair, from the beginning to the end on the part of this whole committee; and I really deem it one of the most fortunate circumstances of my life-time, that the petitioners deemed me a person fit to be intrusted with their petition. I have now only to add the names of the petitioners, with this observation, that I trust, that the people will here see a proof of the *value of the right of petition*; and, that they will never suffer their indignation and disgust, however natural, to induce them to be slack in exercising this invaluable right. Sometimes petitions seem to be disregarded; but they have always their weight, if their contents be true, and their prayers reasonable. *Disgust* is but too frequently a natural feeling in our present situation; but, whenever *disgust* is pleaded as a ground for *inaction*, it is not disgust in reality, but a want of public spirit, which, how-

ever, thank God, is not yet extinguished in England; but which is still felt to that extent which will, in due time, and by peaceable means, make a suitable impression on those who govern, and produce, in the end, a restoration of that freedom and that happiness which so much national virtue and such matchless industry so well deserve. The petitioners in this case, were all, except one, working men; and that one a gentleman of real property, become such by a life of industry and care. The first thing that I endeavoured to ascertain was, whether the petitioners *got their bread by the sweat of their brow*; and, having ascertained that fact, I was not at all afraid to rely upon their word. A set of men more frank, more undisguised, more free to confess, even their own indiscretions (if they might be called such), I never saw in my life; and I believe that the whole of the committee must have entertained the same opinion of their character and conduct. Their names and places of abode were as follows:

JAMES BURRELL BROWN, shoemaker,
No. 9, East-street, Walworth.

JAMES PRICE, shoemaker, No. 2, Park-place, Walworth.

FREDERICK YOUNG, Braid-maker, No. 2, Richmond-place, East-street, Walworth.

JOHN SIMPSON, cooper, &c., Elm Cottage, Camberwell.

SHEM SHELLEY, carpenter, George-street, Camberwell.

THOMAS DEAN, clerk, Waterloo-street, Hour Glass-lane, Walworth-common.

WILLIAM WOODFORD, carpenter, No. 1, George-street, Camberwell.

HENRY HERSEN, builder, East-street, Walworth.

WILLIAM RUSSELL COLLINS, chair-maker, No. 65, Brandon-street, Walworth.

JOHN FREDERICK YOUNG, copper-smith, No. 2, Richmond-street, East-street, Walworth.

REPORT.

Tax select committee, appointed to inquire into the matter of the petition of Frederick Young and others, of Walworth and Camberwell, complaining that policemen are employed as spies, and praying that the people may not be taxed to maintain those spies, have, upon the said matter, agreed to the following Report.

Paragraph 1. Your committee, which was appointed by the House on the 1. of July, having met on the 3. and chosen a chairman and summoned most of the petitioners to appear as witnesses, met again on the 5. and proceeded in the inquiry, and again for the same purpose on the 8. 10. 12. 17. 19. 22. and 23 ; on which last day they concluded their examination of the witnesses ; and, as the foundation of the whole of the proceedings, your committee have first to state, that the petition, into the matter of which they were appointed to inquire, was in the following words, to wit :

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Camberwell and Walworth, being members of a Political Union in those villages,

Humbly sheweth,

That one William S. Popay became a member of their union about fifteen months ago ; that he attended the meetings of the union, which was called a Class of the National Political Union of the Working Classes ; that he used to urge the members of the union to use stronger language than they did in their resolutions and other papers, which he sometimes altered with his own pen, in order to introduce such stronger language ; that in his conversation with one of your petitioners particularly, he railed against the Government, damned the Ministers for villains, and said he would expel them from the earth ; that he told one of your petitioners that he should like to establish a shooting gallery, and wanted some of them to learn the use of the broad-sword, and did give one lesson of the broad-sword to one of your petitioners ; that he subscribed towards the expense of providing a banner ; that he subscribed for music at a meeting of the working classes at Kennington Common, held for the purpose of petitioning against the flogging of soldiers ; that he attended and took an active part in a procession of the working-

classes to Copenhagen House in July last, to celebrate the anniversary of the French revolution, when he walked among the foremost, arm-in-arm with one of your petitioners, who was a member of the union ; that in or about the month of August last he went with one of your petitioners and other persons to visit a class of the Political Union at Richmond, where he paid out of his own pocket the expenses of the day, making the division and settlement at night, though the day before he had represented himself to this petitioner as so poor as not to have the means of getting food for his family ; that he used to take notes of the speeches made at the divers meetings ; that in the last autumn he walked in processions with one of your petitioners at the funeral of Thos. Hardy, and that while the procession was moving on, this your petitioner perceiving several men whom he knew to be policemen disguised in private clothes, he noticed this with marks of indignation, to Popay, who told him to " hush," and used every effort to restrain him from speaking aloud ; that while the oration was making over the grave Popay placed himself on a tomb-stone, and took notes of what was said ; that he constantly represented himself as in a state of great poverty and misery, and thereby got himself and his wife into the houses of some of your petitioners, and received food and drink and entertainment from them ; that he represented himself as having been deprived of his due by some persons in authority, and as having been brought to misery from such cause, and his tales of woe to some of your petitioners and their wives were such as to bring tears in their eyes ; that he generally carried a bag or portfolio with him, representing himself as an unfortunate person, picking up his bread by miniature and landscape drawing or painting ; that he enrolled himself in the union class under the name, first, of A. B., and afterwards under the name of " Pearce," alleging that he declined using his real name, lest his respectable connexions, amongst whom he named Alderman Wilson, might be offended if they knew that he belonged to a political union ; that all this time, wholly unknown to your petitioners, he belonged to the " police," having entered that service about twenty-two months ago ; that he wore the uniform for about four or five months, and was stationed on what is called a " beat," at Brixton ; that at the end of those four or five months, or thereabouts, he ceased to wear the uniform ; that he was further promoted about a month ago to be a deputy-inspector, and is now acting as such at Park House, Park-place, Walworth ; that he was amongst the people at Calthorpe-street meeting, dressed in common private clothes, and was there seen and spoken to by one of your petitioners ; that in or about the month of February last, some of your petitioners had heard that he belonged to the police ; that they found him at the house of one of your petitioners, and charged him with the fact, which he most positively and vehem-

mently denied to be true; that G. Furzey was the man who first made the discovery of this important fact, and that this same George Furzey went, along with two others of your petitioners and preferred the charge against him. That your petitioners are men faithful to their allegiance, and laborious in their lives; that they contemplate with indignation the fact that they are compelled to pay for the maintenance of spies, under pretence of their being persons employed for the preservation of the peace, and the protection of their property and their lives; while the business of this man evidently was to delude the thoughtless into the commission of crimes, to bring misery upon their wives and families, and themselves to deaths ignominious. That some of your petitioners have frequently seen those whom they know to be policemen disguised in clothing of various descriptions; sometimes in the garb of gentlemen, sometimes in that of tradesmen or artisans, sometimes in sailors' jackets, and sometimes in ploughmen's frocks. That thus feeling themselves living amongst spies seeking their lives, and sorely feeling the taxes heaped upon them for the maintenance of these spies, they make this appeal to your honourable House, and implore you to be pleased to make inquiry into the matter, being willing and ready to come forward with proof of all the facts that they have stated; and beg leave to express at the same time an anxious hope that the result of such inquiry will be some act of your honourable House to afford them and their families and fellow-subjects protection against such wrongs and such perils for the future.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Par. 2. Your committee, deeply impressed with the importance of the subject, an investigation of which has been committed to their charge, and knowing the anxiety of the House to do justice at all times, and, in this particular case to give contentment to the people, and to remove from their minds all cause of alarm; and, considering, moreover, the effect which the result of this inquiry may probably have in securing willing obedience to the laws in the metropolis and in exciting, throughout the kingdom, confidence in the House, and respect for his Majesty's Government; your committee, thus impressed with a sense of the duties imposed upon them, have spared neither time nor attention in their endeavours fully to discharge those duties.

Par. 3. To this end your committee have summoned to appear before them, as witnesses, nine out of ten of the petitioners; namely, Frederick B. Young,

John B. Young, John Simpson, Shern Shelley, William Woodford, Henry Hersee, William R. Collins, James B. Brown, and James Price; and, as having been pointed out by these petitioners to give evidence in support of their allegations, Michael M'Henry, Charles Parr, Jonathan Hawkins, George Hawkins, William H. Sturges, James Parker, and George Fortzer; and, in behalf of the police, your committee have received the evidence of William S. Popay, of the superintendent, Andrew M'Lean, of the police commissioners, Charles Rowan, and Richard Mayne, and of Mr. Phillips. Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. Besides this oral testimony, your committee have caused to be laid before them, the written reports, forty-nine in number, made by Popay to the superintendent M'Lean, communicated by him to the commissioners, submitted by the commissioners to the Secretary of State, and by them delivered to your committee, along with three other written reports from officers of the police appertaining to districts in Middlesex.

Par. 4. The petition above recited, contains matter which your committee conceive may be conveniently considered under eighteen distinct heads, the sixteen first of which, relating more especially to Popay and to the manner of his being employed, and the two last, to complaints of a more general character, and relating to things of more extensive effect; each head containing a distinct allegation, and the allegations being as follows:

- I. That, during nearly twelve months, William S. Popay, while being a policeman, went about in a dress different from that of the police, and got acquainted with the petitioners as being not at all connected with the police.
- II. That, at the end of about a year, and sometime in the month of February last, he was discovered and detected by some of the petitioners, amongst whom was George Furzey (lately tried and acquitted at the Old Bailey), the man who first made the charge; and that

Popay denied the fact, in the presence of five of the petitioners.

III. That, very shortly after this his detection, he ceased to wear private clothes; that is to say, clothes such as are worn by persons in private life; that he now openly resumed the policeman's uniform, and that he was almost immediately promoted to be a clerk, and very soon after to be a deputy-inspector, or sergeant.

IV. That, during the above-mentioned space of nearly a year, he became, and continued to be, a member of the National Political Union of the Working Classes; and that he attended their meetings accordingly.

V. That he was enrolled in their lists, first under the name of *A. B.* and afterwards under the name of *Pearce*; and he gave as a reason for such fictitious enrolment, that, by the use of his own name in the lists, he might possibly give offence to his respectable connexions, amongst whom he mentioned Mr. Alderman Wilson.

VI. That, the better to disguise his real calling, he pretended to get his living by miniature painting or drawing of landscapes; and that he carried a port-folio, or sometimes a bag, about with him, under that pretence.

VII. That, he took a zealous part in all the proceedings of the union, and that he walked arm-in-arm with one of the petitioners, in a procession to Copenhagen-house in the month of July, 1832, to celebrate the anniversary of the last French Revolution; and that, to show his joy on account of the event, he was not behind the most zealous.

VIII. That, sometime after the procession to Copenhagen-house, he walked arm-in-arm in the procession to Hardy's funeral; and that he stood upon a tomb-stone at the interment, and took notes of Mr. Thelwall's oration.

IX. That he suggested to one of the

petitioners, that it would be desirous to establish a shooting-gallery, and wanted to teach some of them the broad-sword exercise, and gave a lesson to one of them.

X. That he subscribed towards a banner and music for the use of the union, and went with the union to Kennington-common, to petition against the flogging of soldiers.

XI. That, in the month of August last, he went with one of the petitioners and other persons to visit a class of the Political Union at Richmond, when he paid out of his own pocket the whole of the expenses of the party for the day, making the division and settlement at night, though the day before he represented himself to one of the petitioners as so poor as not to have the means of getting food for his family.

XII. That he used to take notes of speeches made at the meetings of the Union.

XIII. That he used to urge the members of the union to use stronger language than they did in their resolutions and other papers, which he sometimes altered with his own pen, in order to introduce such stronger language.

XIV. That in his conversation with one of the petitioners in particular, he railed against the Government, damned the Ministers for villains, and said he would expel them from the earth.

XV. That he constantly represented himself as in a state of great poverty and misery, and thereby got himself and his wife into the houses of some of the petitioners, and received food and drink and entertainment from them, representing himself at the same time as having been deprived of his bread by some persons in authority.

XVI. That he was amongst the people at the Calthorpe-street Meeting, and was there seen and spoken to by one of the petitioners; and that he was then dressed in private clothes.

XVII. That the petitioners feel that they live amongst spies, seeking their lives.

XVIII. That the petitioners are compelled to pay for the maintenance of those spies, under the pretence that they are employed for the protection of their property and their lives.

Par. 5. Your committee having thus stated the allegations contained in the petition, would proceed, now, to lay before the House a summary of the evidence in support of each allegation, and also of that which was adduced on the other side; but, before they enter upon this summary, they have to observe that, to the full extent of their power, they granted to Popay every indulgence and advantage; that a manuscript copy of the evidence of the petitioners was permitted to be furnished to the office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, even before that evidence was printed for the use of the members of the committee, and that Popay himself had been informed of the nature of this evidence previous to his coming before the committee; that the petitioners had given their evidence on the 5. and on the 8.; that Popay came before the committee, for the first time, on the 10., and that it appears, from the following evidence, given by him, on that day, that he had been with Commissioner Mayne on the 9., and had conversed with him, and had been questioned and cautioned by him relative to the inquiry before the committee, and particularly as to the pistol, which had not been mentioned in the petition, and only in the evidence, a copy of which had been sent to the Secretary of State.

1704. *Since this petition has been presented to the House by Mr. Cobbett, have you had any conversation with Mr. M'Lean, your superintendent, with reference to the circumstances detailed in the petition, before to-day?*—I have repeatedly called on Mr. M'Lean, in order to induce the commissioners to take some active steps towards the redeeming of my character; I called on him when the letter appeared in the *True Sun*, for the commissioners to allow me to prosecute. I have called on Mr. M'Lean to know what was to be done. I drew out a string of questions, which I sub-

mitted to the commissioners last Monday week, begging that they might be submitted to you, and that you would put these questions to the witnesses here to elucidate the truth. I think I have seen the commissioners three times. I was directed not to request an interview with the commissioners at this particular time, for fear it should be whispered that there was any collusion going forward.

1705. Did you leave those questions with the commissioners?—Yes.

1706. I am to understand, that you have had no conversation with Mr. M'Lean, with reference to the evidence you are now giving?—Not with respect to the evidence, decidedly not.

1707. Neither has he attempted, directly or indirectly, to influence you in the evidence you are giving?—Most clearly not.

1708. Have you seen the commissioners lately?—Yes.

1709. When?—I saw Mr. Mayne last night.

1710. What passed?—On the subject of my general defence respecting my character, whether I should send down to Yarmouth to bring up persons to come before this committee to testify of my former conduct; that I was incapable of such conduct as I am charged with by the petition.

1711. Did you see Mr. Mayne at your own desire, or by his order, last night?—By his own order. I had repeatedly asked permission to see Mr. Mayne on the subject, that I might be better prepared for what was going forward.

1712. Tell us what Mr. Mayne said with reference to the petition, or any matter connected with it?—My application to see Mr. Mayne was, that I might adopt some plan to appear in the light I have formerly appeared in the eyes of the world.

1713. What passed between you and Mr. Mayne last night, as to the petition, and the evidence you are giving?—As to the evidence I am giving, nothing, not a word passed, only in the general way of directing me to keep my spirits up, and not suffer my nerves to be depressed, as I have been unfortunately much hurt during the time I have been so libelled, and not a word spoken in my defence. To appear before you and speak in the same way as I was doing to him; asking me the real state of the case; if I had told any thing that was untrue as to the story of the pistol; advising me, if I had committed myself in any way, that I would tell him candidly and openly of it; assuring me that it was of no use disguising the matter.

Par. 6. On the 12. Popay came before the committee again, when, as appears from the following, he had seen and read all the evidence.

1849. Have you seen the evidence given by the other witnesses?—I have.

1850. You have seen it all through?—I have read it all through carefully.

1851. Have you anything to suggest upon that, as to calling any of the parties or otherwise before the committee?—I must beg that they, each and all of them, are called, if you please.

Par. 7. On this occasion Popay was asked whether he wished to call any witnesses, and he answered as follows:

1857. Do you wish to call any witnesses?—I do.

1859. Will you give in their names?—I beg you will allow me time for that purpose. I can produce witnesses that are of very essential consequence to this case.

1860. Do I understand that you could produce essential witnesses to this case, if you have a delay?—Yes, to the case generally.

1861. What delay do you ask for?—Could you give me a week.

1862. I presume that all the witnesses relating to the case, having any knowledge of the circumstances into which the committee is inquiring, live within Walworth or Camberwell?—Yes, with the exception of those I would call to my own private character; all the rest are living within the neighbourhood.

1863. Can you tell us of any names at present that occur to you?—I have had communication with a gentleman who is, I believe, well known to two of the gentlemen present, and he is of opinion that one of the persons who now impeach my character, is deranged; I should wish to bring proof to that fact.

1864. What is the shortest time within which you could prepare yourself to give the list of witnesses; do you think by Tuesday? The evidence is very voluminous. Many of the cases it would be very difficult for me to disprove, almost impossible to disprove; I want to look over them with care and caution; they are false, decidedly false.

1868. Do you presume that your friend will come forward for you voluntarily?—I have no friends; I have been living unfortunately among persons to whom I am a stranger; I must draw the facts of this case from the lips of my opponents.

1869. You are to call such persons as you think proper; and if they will not come voluntarily, you will give a list of their names, and they will be summoned?

Par. 8. Your committee have here to state that, in order to give him an opportunity of bringing forward his witnesses, they resolved to adjourn from this day, Friday the 12. to Wednesday the 17., thus giving him five days for the purpose of determining as to who should be his witnesses; that he never did bring any witness, and never did apply to have any one summoned as a witness from first to last; that, on this same Friday, the 12., he requested the committee to permit him

to have a barrister to cross-examine the witnesses who had come against him; that he was (after the committee had consulted on the subject) informed by the chairman, that he would be allowed to have a barrister for that purpose; but that he never brought any barrister before the committee.

Par. 9. Your committee having thus given an account of these preliminary matters, now proceed to lay before the House that summary of the evidence, of which they have spoken in paragraph 5 of this their report, taking the allegations one by one, in the order in which they stand under paragraph 4, and stating the evidence in the manner described in paragraph 5.

ALLEGATION I.

Par. 10. This allegation is, as far as relates to Popay's wearing private clothes and his getting acquainted with the petitioners by that means, asserted by all the nine of them who have been called, to be true; and this is also asserted by the seven other witnesses, named above, as having been brought by the petitioners to sustain their allegations. The fact is also acknowledged by Popay himself and by McLean, the superintendent of the division P, to which Popay belonged, thus:

1327. [To Popay]. Is your general order that you shall at all times appear out of dress in your uniform, except you have orders to the contrary?—I believe I have stated the very words used, that we shall at all times appear in our police uniform.

1328. But if you have instructions to the contrary, you appear in other sort of clothes?—Yes.

1329. By other sort of clothes, do you mean plain clothes?—Yes, that is what I suppose is meant.

1330. A plain black or blue coat, or something of that sort?—Yes.

1331. Have you appeared in any thing else but plain clothes, such as any thing of disguise, as a sailor's dress, or a frock, or any thing of that sort?—I certainly never did; nor did I ever see any one so disguised since I belonged to the force.

1332. You have had on a plain dress, as any other individual would wear?—Yes, exactly so.

1333. When did you begin to wear a plain dress from the police dress?—When I had been removed into the Walworth division; I think it was but a few days, and



received directions to go to a certain meeting in private clothes.

1334. Who did you receive those directions from?—Mr. M'Lean, the superintendent of the division.

1098. [To M'Lean]. Have you ever appointed Popay to discharge his duty in plain clothes?—I have.

1099. For what purposes?—First, I have employed him to attend political unions, and to look after characters suspected of intent to commit felony.

Par. 11. With regard to that part of this allegation which relates to the length of time, during which Popay was thus employed, M'Lean says (question 1068) that he entered the police in September, 1831; that he at first was on duty at Streatham and Brixton (1074); that he was removed to the East-lane station in April 1832 (1076); that he was promoted to be sergeant in March, 1833; and all the petitioners and other witnesses, in their evidence, make the period of his being seen in plain clothes to extend over nine or ten months, beginning with the spring of 1832.

ALLEGATION II.

Par. 12. This allegation, which is made and supported by the evidence of James Brown (114 to 126, inclusive), by that of F. B. Young (561 and 566 to 569, inclusive), and by John Simpson (722); and is acknowledged to be true by Popay himself in the following extract from his evidence.

1375. How long did you continue to visit with your wife at Young's?—Up to the time at which I was clerk in Mr. M'Lean's office.

1376. Did George Furzey, Simpson, and Thomas Dean, come and find you there on Sunday night, and accuse you of being a policeman?—They did.

1377. What did you say in answer to that?—I felt it necessary to suppress the knowledge of the fact, from knowing the persons whom I was with.

1378. How did you suppress a knowledge of the fact?—I cannot say that it was by positively denying it. It was by a stratagem: a few days before, Simpson and myself had had some warm words. I was not charged with being a policeman; but Thomas Dean asserted that he had some knowledge of me, having been a policeman at the same time that I was. In answer to it, I turned to Simpson, and charged him with having raised the report merely to injure me.

1379. Did you not go further; what else did you say; did you still continue to deny being a policeman?—I did.

1380. And you always associated with them as being an indifferent person, not connected with the police?—As an indifferent person and not connected with the police.

ALLEGATION III.

Par. 13. By examining the dates, the committee find that Popay began to wear the uniform clothes again, and that he was promoted to be a sergeant almost immediately. These facts appear in the following extracts from his evidence.

1393. I am asking you when you began to wear again the same clothes you wear now, after having left off those clothes?—At the time of becoming clerk in Mr. M'Lean's office.

1394. When was that?—The 3. of March.

1395. How long was that after Furzey charged you with being a policeman?—Very near the same time.

1396. How long after?—I really cannot tell; but there could be but a very few days. I was in Mr. M'Lean's office assisting to make up the books, as the clerk was about leaving, having obtained a situation in the Brazils; on his embarking I was appointed clerk in his stead: the few days that I was there settling the accounts square was the time when I was seen in Mr. M'Lean's office, and this conversation took place between Furzey and Simpson.

1397. It was just after that that you resumed the dress you now wear?—Just so.

1314. What rank are you in now?—A sergeant.

1315.—You were in the first place a private?—I was.

1316. When did you cease to be a private, and become something else?—I think in the month of March last.

1317. Is not every man who enters the police establishment police clerk or private?—I believe they are.

1318. Is there any rank between private and that of sergeant?—None.

1319. What is the difference in the pay?—The pay of a private is 19s.; the full pay of a sergeant is 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Par. 14. Thus, then, it appears, from Popay's own evidence, that he was detected, and that he was charged by Furzey and others, late in the month of February; that he then began to wear the uniform clothes; and that, he was thereupon promoted so as to receive 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a week instead of the 19*s.* a week which he had received before.

ALLEGATION IV.

Par. 15. It appeared to your committee to be of the greatest possible im-

portance to ascertain, beyond all doubt, the truth or falsehood of this allegation; and, therefore, they spared no pains to come at a certainty as to the fact. And here they deem it necessary to describe to the House the constitution and arrangements of this Political Union of the Working Classes. It appears, as well from the written reports delivered in by Popay to M'Lean, and by him delivered to the commissioners, as from the evidence of the petitioners themselves, that this constitution and these arrangements are as follow: 1. That the title of the association is, "The National Political Union of the Working Classes;" 2nd. That the Central Committee or body of managers, meet at a place in Theobald's-road; 3rd. That the body, or the whole of the members of the association, divide themselves into classes, after the manner of the Wesleyan Methodists; 4th. That each class has, after the manner of those Methodists, what is called a "leader," who collects the contributions, pays the expenses, and manages the business of the class; 5th. That the class-meetings are confined to the members of the union, exclusively; but, two or more classes very frequently meet at some place, and then the meetings are called public meetings; and to these meetings any person whatever might be admitted. These divisions and these customs of the union are necessary to be kept in view, in order clearly to understand the evidence relative to the allegation, to which the committee is now endeavouring to draw the attention of the House, and which alleges, that Popay became, and continued to be, a member of this union, during the time before specified.

Par. 16. The whole of the petitioning witnesses asserted, most distinctly, that Popay was a member of the union; that he attended the meetings with more regularity than almost any other member; and that he was a member of great activity and usefulness. Popay, on his part, has positively denied this fact, as in the following manner:

1344. Were you instructed to go to political union meetings?—I was.

1345. Were you instructed to get to be a

member of them?—Certainly not; but I had a positive order to the contrary.

1346. Were you ever a member of one of them?—Never, never, Sir.

1347. Did you ever make any motion, or amend any resolution, or any thing of that sort at these meetings?—Certainly never. The resolutions which are usually discussed at those meetings I had attended, had been previously drawn out and written by some person in the committee or council of the union. They are then read from the chair, and discussed by the persons present at the meeting, those who belong to the class in the neighbourhood. There are itinerant speakers, men whose names are published, and who attend there for the purpose. I never, during any meeting at which I was present, to the best of my knowledge, saw a resolution altered or amended.

1348. Did you ever speak at any of these meetings?—Certainly not; certainly not.

1349. You were neither a member, nor spoke there?—Certainly not.

Par. 17. Being asked whether he ever saw any person but himself at their class-meeting; any persons who did not belong to the union, he answered, "It is difficult to say; I cannot name any of them." Then being asked, whether any one not a member could attend those class-meetings, he answered: "The meetings are always open."

Par. 18. Your committee think it necessary, this evidence being so positive on both sides, to state to the House that, in a report of Popay, made to M'Lean, indorsed by Commissioner Mayne, and dated 30. July, 1832, he tells M'LEAN, that "*all their class meetings are strictly private.*"

Par. 19. This passage of his reports admitting of an interpretation which would confine it to the thirty-fourth class, it may not be wholly unnecessary to take an extract from his report of the 30. August, in which he gives a general description of the practice of the classes, and which is the more worthy of the attention of the House from its having been shown to Lord Melbourne, and from his lordship having written in pencil on the back of it (as was proved to your committee by Mr Phillips the Under Secretary of State). "This information is not unimportant, and should not be lost sight of." In the passage here alluded to, POPAY gives a sort of general description of the pro-

ceedings in the classes, which description is in perfect correspondence with the report before mentioned relative to the thirty-fourth class.

Par 20. To this may be added, that of his written reports, eleven relate to the proceedings in class-meetings. But, after long endeavours to come at positive proof of his having been a member, over and above that proof which consisted of the repeated assertions of all the nine petitioning witnesses, Simpson, during his cross-examination by Popay, produced, as an instance of his perfect membership, the circumstance of his having on one occasion, actually been chairman of a class-meeting. This circumstance, if established in truth, appeared conclusive; and, therefore, the committee, as far as related to this important circumstance of membership, now proceeded to investigate that point. Popay most positively denied the fact, which was insisted on by Simpson with equal positiveness; when Shem Shelley, one of the petitioners, was called in, and when the examination, of which the following is an extract, took place:

2 33. Upon any occasion, when you have been at meetings of political unions along with Popay, have you seen him in the chair as chairman?—Yes.

2834. Where was it?—At the Red Cap, and Duke of York too.

2835. When did you see him in the chair at the Red Cap?—I do not know the night it was exactly.

2836. As nearly as you can recollect?—I do not know the night that it was, but it can be ascertained; he has been appointed chairman.

2837. Was there a motion made that he should take the chair in the usual way?—Yes, by Mr. Simpson.

2838. Was the motion seconded?—Yes; I do not know who it was by: he took the chair.

2839. You are sure Mr. Simpson moved he should take the chair?—Yes; and every one of that opinion were to hold up their hands.

2840. Mr. Simpson said that?—Yes.

2841. Do you know the subject discussed?—No, I do not.

2842. Do you recollect what he said?—No; but I am sensible, sure of it; I can take my oath of it, and I dare say other people can swear it.

2843. Did he sign any of the resolutions?—Yes; he has drawn them up, and signed them.

2844. Did you ever know any person take

the chair who was not a member of the union?—Certainly not.

2869. Would any person be allowed to take the chair at the meeting of a class, or at a public meeting, who was not a member?—No, certainly not; it was not allowed except he was a member of the union, as I have always understood.

Par 21. After this, Shelly was cross-examined further by the committee and by Popay; and Popay was asked by the committee,

[Committee].—Do you deny that you ever took the chair?

[Popay].—Most decidedly.

[Committee].—Are you prepared to say that what these persons have said is untrue?

[Popay].—Yes.

[Committee].—You mean to say, that you did not take the chair at any of the class-meetings, or the public meetings?

[Popay].—Yes.

[Committee].—You wish to be understood that you stake your character upon that point?

[Popay].—Yes; at the meeting of the National Political Union, either at class or general meetings, I never attempted to take the chair; and that I have been there often times, perhaps a score of times, when Mr. Simpson has proposed I should take the chair, and I have always declined doing so.

Par 22. Hereupon, Michael M'Henry was called in, and underwent the following examination:

2875. When you have been present at the political unions and Popay has been there, have you seen him take the chair?—Yes, and I have documents in my pocket to prove it; I was elected a committee-man on the same night, the 4. of September. [The witness delivered in a book.]

2876. What is that document?—The minutes of the proceedings, and it shows who was in the chair.

2877. Does it state that Popay was in the chair?—Yes, and it states every other chairman up to the time at which the book ends.

2878. How came it to be in your custody?—I went to our secretary and got it.

2879. Who is he?—The man at the Duke of York; he was secretary then.

2880. What is his name?—Parr.

2881. In whose handwriting is that?—Parr's; he was secretary at the time.

2882. Was it made at the time?—Yes, that very night.

2883. Have you any doubt it was made at that time?—No doubt.

2884. You are sure that Parr would certify that it was made within two or three days?—On that very night.

2885. Do you speak from recollection?—Yes, and Popay knows it, and Mr. Parker, the man that I work for, and me, were elected that very night.

2886. You recollect seeing the writing at that very time?—Yes, I recollect the book and some papers.

2887. What was the subject for discussion that night?—It always appeared in the "Poor Man's Guardian" that comes out on Sunday; Church Property and things of that kind. The subject was never entered in the book, which you can see from the beginning.

2888. Was any notice of motion given on that evening?—I cannot say as to that.

2889. You were chosen committee-man that same evening?—Yes, me and Parker, the master tailor I work for; I was his man, and we both went into the meeting at the same time and place, and him and me were chosen to attend the committee at Theobald's-road to represent our class, No. 46.

2890. This was a class-meeting?—Yes, the 46th class.

2891. Was it a very full meeting?—Yes, there were more than twenty on this night.

2892. When you say that Popay was in the chair, do you mean that man opposite you?—Yes; there are two men I can bring forward to prove it, Mr. Wilkins of No. 2 in the Clapham-road, smith and farrier, and Mr. Parker of Cold Harbour-lane.

2893. Did you see Parr write these minutes?—Yes, I sat next to him.

2894. Did he write the proceedings of each evening on the evening that they occurred?—Yes, just so.

2895. Were they signed by any person?—No, no more than by himself.

2896. Were they signed by himself?—I do not know that he signed his name to them, unless money was collected and handed over, and then he signed his name to it.

2897. Did he sign his name to these minutes?—That I cannot say.

2898. It was not usual for the chairman to be called upon at the end of the proceedings to sign the minutes?—No.

2899. This is the minute: "4. Sept. 1832, "Mr. Popay in the chair; the proceedings of the preceding meeting are read and confirmed, when the subject for discussion, as appeared in the 'Poor Man's Guardian,' was put and carried unanimously; Mr. M'Henry and Mr. Parker were nominated as committee-men to the 46th class; Mr. Alchin gave notice that on Tuesday fortnight he should move that the committee sit three months instead of one month, one half to go out in rotation, eligible to be re-elected." What was this meeting?—The Political Union.

2900. A class-meeting or an open meeting?—A class-meeting.

Par. 23. M'Henry was afterwards questioned by the committee as follows, and gave the following answers:

2921. Have you any doubt whatever, that on the night you were admitted a member you saw this person acting as chairman?—I have no doubt that I saw him myself, and

what made me go and look after this document is, that the police have got a sort of gazette, which they call the "Police Gazette," and through that they cast every slur upon our character that they can, and I thought it right to get this document.

2922. You deliberately affirm that you were present and saw Popay in the chair?—Yes, I do, candidly and honestly.

2923. Is that Parr's handwriting?—Yes, it is.

2924. You say Mr. Parker was present?—Yes, he was.

Par. 24. There now remained Parr and Parker to be called with regard to this point, Popay having denied the authenticity of the book produced by M'Henry. On the 22. they came, and Parr was examined first. After having told the committee that he did not now belong to the Union, but that he had belonged to it until his wife died, in the fall of the year, he was asked and answered as follows:

2930. Did you officiate as secretary?—Yes, we were forming a fund of benevolence for the purpose of any little money that might be wanted for any little emergency, and I kept the account of it a long while, till Mr. Alchin took it.

2931. Did you officiate as secretary?—Yes.

2932. And took down minutes of the meeting?—Yes.

2933. What meeting was this?—It was the meeting of the political union; more than one class met; mine was the forty-sixth class; the ninety-first class used to meet there.

2934. Just look at this (handing to the witness the book which had been produced on Friday) book.—Yes, I recollect this.

2935. Is that your handwriting?—Yes.

Par. 25. Having given answers relative to other meetings recorded in the book, his evidence proceeded thus:

2945. What is the date of the next entry?—September 4, 1832, Mr. Popay in the chair, I proposed him to the chair.

2946. Did you make that minute?—It is my hand writing.

2947. Did you make it after the proceedings of the day were over?—I made it at the time, to the best of my recollection.

2948. Did you make that last entry?—Yes; Mr. Fox was in the chair.

2949. You were not appointed secretary at all the meetings?—No; I did it of my own free will; I had nothing for it, and I undertook to do it while they were forming this fund.

2950. What was the object of this meeting when Popay was in the chair?—It would appear in the *Poor Man's Guardian*.

Par. 26. After this, Mr. Parr was asked whether the subject of discussion

for the evening was political or not, and whether, if the *Poor Man's Guardian* were put into his hand, he could point out the subject that was discussed that evening. Having looked at the *Guardian*, and having had read to him the following article, he said, "that he had no doubt but that was the subject." His evidence relating to this matter was as follows:

2962. The entry is this, "That this union, feeling at this important time the necessity of expressing their opinions of the conduct of the present administration as compared with the former, do hereby call upon the people of this country to beware of pledging themselves to support any candidate during the ensuing elections, who may belong to the treacherous, cowardly, and malignant Whigs, or the no less tyrannical Tory faction. And that we further call upon the people to exert all their influence, to secure the return of all candidates, who are willing to carry into effect the principles of the National Union of the Working Classes, as set forth in their objects and laws." I have no doubt that was the subject.

2963. You think that was the subject?—Yes.

2964. It was discussed when Popay was in the chair?—Yes.

2965. Do you know whether it was carried in the affirmative or negative?—It was carried unanimously.

2966. Are you in work now?—No; I am doing nothing at present.

2967. You have left the union?—I withdrew from it after the death of my wife; I go sometimes to some of the meetings.

2968. Did you meet Popay at the class-meetings on more than one occasion?—Several.

Par. 27. After this there came Mr. Parker, Mr. Hawkins (the landlord of the Duke of York), Mr. Hawkins's brother who lived at the Duke of York and served there as an assistant, and John B. Young, all of whom stated that they had seen him in the chair, acting as chairman. As John B. Young was the last amongst those who gave evidence relative to Popay being in the chair, that evidence is here cited in conclusion of the statements relative to this fourth allegation, first giving insertion to the evidence of Popay himself with regard to the character of Young, with whom of all the petitioners and witnesses Popay was most intimate, and at whose house he and his wife and children most frequently visited.

1525. Is that J. Young or F. Young?—F. Young lived with his brother.

1526. Were these men of bad character?—Most decidedly not. I had, and have now to this very hour, although we unfortunately differ as we do, a very high opinion of F. B. Young.

1527. You believe them to be persons of great worth and integrity?—I believe them to be very honest men.

Par. 28. The following is the evidence of J. B. Young:

3251. You knew him (Popay) a considerable time?—Yes.

3252. Was he ever at your house?—Very frequently.

3253. And his wife?—Yes, and children.

3254. Did they frequently eat and drink there?—Yes.

3255. Did you know him very well?—We were very intimate; particularly so; we always considered him a friend.

3256. Was he a member of the Political Union?—I have always considered him as such; he used to attend all the union meetings.

3257. Did you ever see him take an active part there?—Yes, very; I always considered him a very active member.

3258. Did you ever see him in the chair?—I have frequently seen him in the chair; I cannot say whether it was the union nights, but I have seen him in the chair.

3259. At these meetings, is any body allowed to enter but the members of the union?—At the weekly meetings they are; at the public meetings any one is allowed to enter.

3260. Did you ever see him at any of those meetings, when none but members are allowed to enter?—Yes, I did.

3261. Very frequently?—Yes, very frequently.

ALLEGATION V.

Par. 29. In support of this allegation, the petitioner, Simpson, who was the class-leader of the class to which he asserted Popay belonged, produced one paper, containing a list of the names of members, and an account of the money paid by them; there was the name "A. B." with the sum placed against it; and, in another paper (both papers being manifestly written long ago) there appeared the name of "Pearce." The authenticity of these papers was denied by Popay, and Simpson did not pretend that Popay had ever written in them in his own hand. It appears, that each member of the union received a card from his class-leader, as a sort of passport for admission to the union upon all occasions; and, that these cards

were taken out afresh every quarter of a year. Simpson declared that he had furnished Popay with suitable cards, and received payment from him for the cards. Popay acknowledged that he had received cards from Simpson; but said that he got them *as specimens to be shown by him to other persons*; but this was positively denied by Simpson, who was corroborated by James Brown, who had, upon one of these occasions (he being a class-leader of another class) lent Simpson a card to give to Popay. By referring to questions 163, 632, 827, 2543 of the minutes of evidence, the House can have no doubt upon this point. Popay being questioned with regard to the friendship of Mr. Alderman Wilson, answered as follows :

1307. Have you a daughter going to live with Alderman Wilson?—The eldest went to live with Alderman Wilson till some short time since.

1308. How did you get acquainted there?—During the time she was living at Streatham, Mrs. Popay worked at her needle in the ornamental way, for some ladies at Streatham, who took some considerable notice of her.

1309. You considered Alderman Wilson as a friend, did you?—Most decidedly so.

Par. 30. This acknowledgment of the mention of Alderman Wilson, which was confirmed by the positive assertion of so many witnesses, and which, on that account, was absolutely undeniable, was a strong proof of the truth of this allegation; because, without the motives imputed to him, or some similar motive, your committee can perceive no reason whatever for Popay's mentioning this circumstance relative to Mr. Alderman Wilson, a circumstance which these petitioners could, in all human probability, never have learned, except from Popay himself.

ALLEGATION VI.

Par. 31. This allegation is supported by the most positive assertion of James Brown, James Price, John Simpson, and, more particularly, by Mr. Sturges. By referring to questions 14, 158, 372, 3356, 3388, of the minutes of evidence, the House will perceive abundant proof of this allegation; but, indeed, the fact was confessed by Popay himself in the following terms :

1851. Have you any thing to suggest upon that, as to calling any of the parties or otherwise before the committee?—There is not only one question or answer, but a whole line of questions, which, although they are answered truly, I believe leave a different impression on the mind of the committee than I wish they should arrive at. It is those questions regarding my being in the capacity of a drawing-master. It is the impression on the mind of the committee that I assumed that dress for the exclusive purpose of imposing on the union. I judge so from the other evidence. To me it does appear to be of very material importance. I beg leave to set myself right in the eyes of the committee: after I had attended many of the union meetings, I became acquainted with Mr. Sturges, of the Camberwell New-road, as I before stated. He asked me to his house, and introduced me to his wife; and I felt that, in my then circumstances, it would be very desirable indeed that I should introduce Mrs. Popay, who was in a very weak state of health and mind. I thought I could not with propriety do it unless I assumed some active habits; therefore, that was the first origin of my carrying the port-folio, in order that I might appear to him to have some rational occupation.

1852. That was done with an intention to deceive?—It was done decidedly as I have stated. I had one of two alternatives; either, of candidly and openly confessing to Mr. Sturges who and what I was as connected with the police, or that I might have some other means of keeping myself. I was fearful it might be impressed on the committee, that I assumed this dress for the purpose of deceiving the union; had it not been for the purpose of introducing Mrs. Popay, I never should have taken those steps.

1853. Did you hesitate to communicate to Mr. Sturges, that you were a member of the police-establishment, under the idea that if he was aware of your being in that situation, he would consider you were not holding a sufficient rank in life for you to have been acquainted with Mrs. Sturges?—He would have looked on me as holding a situation such as he would not have liked to have had any sort of intercourse with.

1854. He being a member of the political union himself at that time?—He being a member of the union at that time.

ALLEGATION VII.

Par. 32. By every one of the witnesses, not only by the petitioners, but by Mr. M'Henry, the two Messrs. Hawkins, Messrs. Parr, Sturges, Parker, and Fortzer, some of them not now belonging to the unions, and one of them never having belonged to any union, this allegation is, all through, as to Popay's general zeal, sustained by the

most positive assertions. With regard to the specific fact of his walking arm-in-arm in the procession to Copenhagen-house, James Brown and James Price are both positive, he having had Brown by the arm. Popay himself speaks of this in the following manner :

1557. Did you go to the meeting at Copenhagen-house?—I did.

1558. Did you walk arm-in-arm with James Brown?—Some part of the way I think it is very likely I did. I believe I did.

1559. Did you so walk arm-in-arm past Scotland-yard?—No.

1560. Where did you walk at that period of it?—I believe on the foot-way; it was only after we crossed the road that I jostled in with the procession.

1561. Brown was a violent young man, too?—Brown was warm in his politics and in his mode of expressing himself.

1562. You did not think he was too warm for you to walk arm-in-arm with?—I believe all the written documents that have ever fallen from my hand have described Brown as a man harmless in his way, for want, if I may so term it, of ability, although he was of great republican principles.

Par. 33. At a subsequent examination, he acknowledged that he danced with Simpson's wife a part of the evening at Copenhagen-house, and the House will observe, that this is that same John Simpson with whom he, in his written reports, says he went to the grand committee at Theobald's-road, and from whom he, in the same written reports, says he obtained a knowledge relative to the female dirks, and other matters of that kind. The House will not fail to observe, that this was John Simpson, the class-leader, from whom he obtained the cards above-mentioned, and with whose family he denies an intimacy, though, in the following manner, he acknowledges having danced with Simpson's wife at the celebration of the anniversary of the last French revolution.

3684. How often were you at Copenhagen-house?—Once in my life.

3685. That is the meeting at which you danced with Simpson's wife?—Yes.

ALLEGATION VIII.

Par. 34. This allegation is supported by the testimony of Collins and Frederick B. Young, as will be seen by reference to questions 596, 993, 1000, of the

minutes of evidence; and it is spoken of by Popay himself in the following manner,

1539. You did not walk arm-in-arm with Collins to Hardy's funeral?—No.

1540. You are quite positive of that?—I am confident that I did not take him by the arm to walk with him: whether in the bustle he took hold of my arm, I really cannot positively say.

1541. It is very particular. Endeavour to recollect yourself: had you Collins by the arm or not, in the procession walking to Hardy's funeral, in any part of the town?—To the very best of my recollection, I had not.

1542. Were you with him in the procession?—I do not remember him in the procession. I remember F. B. Young; that he had hold of my arm is very likely. We three left the procession at Newgate-street, and went off to Bunhill-fields.

1543. Then Collins did not speak to you, as you were in the procession; you cannot recollect his being near to you?—He did not speak to me in the procession; after we left the procession, we conversed together as we went along.

1544. You were by the side of him then?—We three left the procession: Collins, F. B. Young, and myself.

1545. When you got to the place of interment, did you stand on a tomb-stone and take notes?—I did.

1547. Did you go after the funeral to a public-house with Collins?—I did, and with F. B. Young.

Par. 35. The House will not fail to observe, that the Collins here spoken of is that same Collins whom Popay describes as a very violent young man; as a man always going armed to public meetings.

ALLEGATION IX.

Par. 36. This allegation is supported by the evidence of Frederick B. Young, of James Brown, and of Collins, as far as relates to the proposition relative to a shooting-gallery; and by Brown and Frederick B. Young, relative to the broad-sword exercise. Popay denied that this proposition about the shooting-gallery had any thing political in it; and he asserted that it was a lesson on the single-stick, and not on the broad-sword that he gave to Frederick B. Young, relative to which matters, his statement was as follows.

1604. Do you remember James Brown and you walking together towards Paddington, and your pointing him out a shooting-gallery there?—Yes.

1605. Did you say you should like to establish one at Walworth?—No. I will explain what is meant by the shooting-gallery. The one that struck our view was the shooting-gallery used for archery. I stated, that when I lived at Harlston, there were large premises that had formerly belonged to a gentleman of great note, which house had been taken down, and the pleasure-grounds let out, and that archery there was one of our favourite sports. I think I said I had, once or twice, been in the gallery and shot there.

1606. You did not express a wish to have one at Walworth?—I knew that Walworth was a place where, from the lowness of the neighbourhood, had I been at liberty to open a shooting gallery there, it would not have answered.

1607. Did you ever give a lesson on the broad-sword exercise?—No; I have played at single-stick with Frederick Burking Young on one occasion; I have too good an opinion of him to suppose that he would charge me with the fact of teaching the broad-sword; we did play one day for a few minutes at single-stick.

1608. Was it proposed by you to play, or by him?—I believe that I had stated on some former occasion that I could play at single-stick, and that begat a wish on his part to play with me, and on one occasion we did.

1609. Did Young understand it at all?—No.

1610. Then you broke his head, I suppose?—No, I played with him as a brother would with a brother.

Par. 37. But, these questions, relative to arming and learning the use of arms brought out, incidentally, new facts. Woodford, Shelley, and Collins, asserted that Popay proposed and subscribed towards a depôt of arms; that they subscribed sixpence each, and that Furzey subscribed half-a-crown; but, that, thinking of it the next day and coming to the resolution that it was not a proper thing, they told Simpson the class-leader, who had the money, to apply the money towards paying for a banner, which was, at that time, prepared for the use of the union. Simpson says, that he was not present when the proposition was made, but that the subscribers told him that Popay made the proposition, he, Simpson, having spoken of it as a wrong thing; but Simpson added, that he heard Popay speak in favour of the proposition. It came out also from the evidence of the petitioners, that a pistol had been produced by the chairman at one of the meetings, and that Popay eagerly took hold of the pistol, would have purchased it if he had

had change, and recommended to the members to provide themselves with pistols of the same sort. This fact, as well as the fact of the depôt of arms, was denied by Popay, in regard to the arms, positively denied altogether, and with regard to the pistol, denied as far as related to the recommendation to members. On this subject your committee have to add that they find in the written report of Popay of 11. October, 1832, an account of this pistol, and a representation of the views of the union with regard to it, to which report is attached an original card containing the precise address of Mr. Yearly, the chairman, who produced the pistol at the meeting. It also came out, that Popay offered to subscribe five shillings towards a prize of five pounds which had been offered in the *Poor Man's Guardian* for the best shooter in the union. This came out on the cross-examination of Price, who, at the same time stated, that Popay suggested to him that his (Price's) garden would be a good place to put up a target for learning to shoot. James Brown related that, being at Popay's house, he showed him some sword-sticks, and, pointing to them, significantly asked Brown whether they would not be good things. Mr. Sturges in his evidence stated to the committee as follows.

3417. Have you had any reason since to know that his stories of distress were feigned?—Yes, I do think so now; I find he has been introducing himself into my family for espionage, and there is one circumstance which I consider very improper; I exceedingly regret that any man should introduce himself into my house as an armed spy; he had a sword-stick with him upon one occasion; upon looking at it, I observed it opened; he said yes, and he drew it out and showed me it was a sword-stick.

3418. Did he give you any reason for having it in his possession?—Not any.

Par. 38. Popay denied the allegations as to the five-pound prize and as to the target; but acknowledged that he had had sword-sticks; and put no question to Mr. Sturges when he gave the evidence just cited. Upon this subject of arming and using arms, the committee refer to the questions 40, 57, 78, 366, 603, 652, 682, 690, 695, 731, 781, 866,

875, 901, 918, 1004, 1994, 2007, 3298. But, with regard to this matter of arms and of arming, your committee think that they should not discharge their duty to the House if they did not here refer the House to the whole of Popay's written report of the 20. July (No. 31).

Par. 39. This report having been shown to Popay, he acknowledged that it was his handwriting. Being asked what he did with the knife here mentioned, he said that he had given it to M'Lean. M'Lean being asked what he had done with it, he said that he had carried it to Scotland-yard. Price being asked about the knife, positively denied that he had ever showed a knife to Popay of any description whatever, while he acknowledged that he had a pistol and a sword, and that he kept them for the purpose of defending his house and asserting his political rights. Your committee cannot refrain from observing here that this was that same James Price who went with his wife along with Popay as mentioned in allegation XI, on a friendly and family party to Richmond, in the month of August succeeding this 20. July.

Par. 40. Another most interesting matter connected with the arming came out before the committee, from an examination of written reports of Popay. In his report of the 23. of August, your committee find that he represents that, in a desultory conversation with Price, Simpson, and Matthews, he learned that an arming was intended, and that arms were to be purchased at half-price in Middle-row, Holborn. This report is indorsed as having been shown to Lord Melbourne, and there is a memorandum that his lordship caused a gun to be purchased in Holborn. This story, which engaged the attention of the Home Office, requires a statement from the evidence of Simpson and Collins, as follows:

691. Did he advise you to go and look at a pair of pistols?—He did; coming once from Theobald's-road institution from a meeting of the union, somewhere near Gray's Inn Lane, he said to me, "I have been to look at a pair of pistols to-day; the price is 36s., and, if you are a judge of these things, having been in the navy, and travelled a good deal,

"I should wish you to go and look at them, pass your opinion on them, and purchase them for me." I was astonished for two or three minutes, and I then recollected other circumstances that did not altogether please me. I said "No, it is better you should look at these things yourself." He said, I might get them cheaper. I told him if he wished to go to the most economical place, that I understood there was a depot in Holborn at which they sold second-hand arms.

Par. 41. The evidence of Collins is to the same effect, as the following specimen will convince the House:

1003. Did you go with Simpson and Popay to Theobald's-road?—I met them, on one occasion, going to Theobald's-road.

1004. Did you converse about arms at that time?—They were conversing when I met them. I overheard Popay say to Simpson that he had seen something which he thought would suit him; that there was a pair that was 36s., and, as he was a judge of them himself, he would like him to look at them.

1005. A pair of pistols, you mean?—He said "a pair;" I suppose he meant pistols.

1006. Did you understand, that Popay was about to arm himself?—I considered that was his motive for asking Simpson to look at them.

1007. What do you suppose he meant by arming and the use of arming himself?—If I am to speak my mind honestly from conversations that had taken place at various times, we considered that we were oppressed, and kept down by force of arms, and that it was necessary to protect ourselves against such attacks as had been made on the people at Clitheroe and various other places.

1008. Was that your opinion or the opinion of Popay?—That was my opinion, from his conversation, that it was necessary to have them, as I heard him express similar sentiments.

1009. From his conversation you gathered that he thought it was necessary for you to have arms to protect yourselves?—That was my opinion.

Par. 42. The committee have to point out that Simpson and Collins could not by any possibility have known anything about the Holborn affair, as stated to Lord Melbourne, because they gave this evidence on the 8. and the reports of Popay were not delivered into the committee until the 10.

ALLEGATION X.

Par. 43. This allegation is asserted to be true by Simpson, Brown, and others. Popay himself acknowledges that he has thrown money into a hat when it has been going round for purposes similar to those mentioned in the

first part of this allegation. He also acknowledges that he was at Kennington-common on the occasion here mentioned, and that he was in the van; and M'Lean acknowledges that he saw him there.

ALLEGATION XI.

Par. 44. This allegation was not denied by Popay, except that he said there was no meeting of the union at Richmond, which was explained by Brown, F. B. Young, and Price, to have arisen from a mistake on the part of their friends at Richmond: except also, as far as this allegation relates to his having described himself as so poor as not to have the means of getting food for his family. The rest of the allegation he acknowledges to be true, and describes the party as a friendly and family party, though consisting, as the House will observe, partly of Brown and of Price, whom he describes in his evidence as well as in his written reports, as violent men, men entertaining republican principles, and Price as the man who gave him the desperate weapon, the knife, which he thought it to be his duty to carry to M'Lean, and which M'Lean thought it his duty to carry to the commissioners. This family and friendly party having taken place, in two or three weeks after this report relative to the desperate knife was made.

ALLEGATION XII.

Par. 45. All the petitioners and all the witnesses they brought asserted the truth of this; but the committee found all other proof on the subject unnecessary, when, on the 10., the commissioners delivered in forty-nine reports, written in Popay's own hand, several of which reports contained an account of what took place in the class-meetings and other meetings of the union.

ALLEGATION XIII.

Par. 46. This allegation is maintained by Brown, by Simpson, by Shelley, by George Hawkins, by F. B. Young, and by several other witnesses; and Simpson states positively that he drew up a resolution for him, con-

demning the conduct of the metropolitan police; an extract from his evidence is in the following words:—

699. Did he ever advise you to go to Peckham and set up a union there?—The last time he was in my company was in the Albany-road, where the class met on the Monday night. He said, "Friend Simpson, I want my card;" as I was delivering the cards to the new members, he said, "I want my card;" "Well," said I, "what name?" Now I began to look around me; he said, "Pearce;" I said, "Am I to put down Pearce; I must be answerable for this card?" It was agreed, and he gave me two-pence. "Now," said he, "Simpson, you are doing no good in this place; you had better go down to Peckham" (Peckham I knew was particularly obnoxious to police); "go down there, and I will come to your elbow and assist you on all occasions." I thought that he considered the neighbourhood too respectable, and that there were not many of the working classes. I told him I should not move; that it was a very comfortable room, and the place was very respectable. He begged me to go down into Peckham, where he would assist me, and said we should do some good in Peckham.

Par. 47. Simpson being asked whether Popay had not consented to draw up a resolution to be proposed at a meeting of the union, condemnatory of the police, he answered as follows: •

704. What did Popay say?—He said, I will draw it up for you; you call at my house; I called for it and said, "I am going up to the committee, I will propose it to-night." After some time, he drew it up and I took it to the committee, but it was not brought forward that night, as there was more important business.

705. Did he draw up the resolution?—He drew it up.

706. What was the tenor of the resolution?—It gave a vote of thanks for the good conduct of the city authorities in trying to outvie and assist us in keeping order and peace in the city, to show the difference between the two parties.

707. Did the language express it?—I cannot call to mind the words.

708. Did the resolution find fault with the metropolitan police?—It found fault with them, and praised the opposite party.

709. Do you mean to say, that Popay wrote out a resolution condemnatory of the police?—He wrote out this motion that I was to lay before the committee and move.

710. With his own hand?—With his own hand.

711. Did you see him write it?—I did, in the presence of his wife.

Par. 48. Frederick Young being asked what he knew respecting Popay's

language, and the advice he gave at the union meetings, answered as follows :

552. Can you remember that he made use of any expressions, either approving or abusing the Government?—He used generally to coincide with the speaker, but I cannot recollect any particular expression. I recollect his taking part in a meeting that was held at the Champiou, when he suggested an amendment. It was called a "meeting of the Borough and Lambeth election association."

553. Was it at an election meeting?—Yes, it was; a proposition was made to publish a list of all those members who voted in favour of Mr. Hawes. It was published to know friends from enemies. It was considered that the proposition was not strong enough, and I believe he suggested from our "*most determined and inveterate enemies*."

Par. 49. John B. Young states that he (Popay) drew up a report to the committee for the purpose of raising money to retrieve the pecuniary affairs of the union, and your committee find one of his written reports, to which is attached a letter he sent in to the commissioners through M'Lean, upon which subject your committee cannot forbear from laying the evidence before the House as follows :

3666. Here is a letter, attached to a report of yours, shown to you yesterday; is that (report) your handwriting?—Yes.

3667. Where did you get this letter?—It is not clear to my mind, but this is my present impression, that, after the meeting, it was left lying upon the table, and that I took it from the table after the business of the meeting was over. It was left by those who had it in charge. Mr. Burking Young gives a very different version of the affair, but I have no knowledge of it.

3668. You took it from John Young's table?—Most decidedly not; had I that impression on my mind, that I came by it in that way, I should have considered it a breach of confidence. It might have been handed to me at the time, but if it was, it was returned again. This is the impression on my mind, that the letter was produced at the time, and it was left lying on the table and I then took it. I thought it of no consequence, and I made the use you see of it.

3669. You did not take it from Mr. Young's table?—No; I know what Young says upon the business.

3670. Having got it, you carried it to Mr. M'Lean?—Yes.

3671. Did Mr. M'Lean make any observation upon your delivering him that letter?—I do not remember that he did.

3672. He did not disapprove of your taking it and bringing it to him?—He would have disapproved of it if I had come by it as Mr.

Young accuses me; the thing is of no use or value, and I could have had no inducement to commit a thing of the kind.

3673. Mr. M'Lean asked you no questions, finding fault with you for bringing it?—No, if he had found fault it would not have been preserved; it would have been destroyed.

Par. 50. M'Lean being questioned upon this point, said that he had no recollection of the letter.

Par. 51. Mr. Young said that this letter, which was a letter to Simpson from Chalan, relative to money-matters connected with the union, was shown by Simpson to him, Young, while Popay was in the room; that Simpson left it with Young; that it was lying on the table, and was afterwards missing; and that he saw it again for the first time in the committee-room attached to a report which Popay had sent in to the Government.

ALLEGATION XIV.

Par. 52. This allegation is asserted to be true by Simpson, by Brown, by Hearsee, by Price, by Shelley, and by Collins, and also by M'Henry who was not one of the petitioners. Simpson says that he spoke of the "*damnable Government*," as having deprived him of part of his coal-duties. Brown and Collins say, that he called the Government "*villains*" and the like; and Price being questioned upon the subject, answers as follows :

344. Relate any of the conversations you might have had with him, and the sort of language he used?—The conversation used to be political; on coming home, it generally turned upon that. In common conversation we used to give each other ideas concerning things, and once or twice I told him I did not think I should speak at any more of the meetings, because one or two of my acquaintances had said that I was too hasty, and that I did not put my words properly together; now, one or two have said that I spoke too harsh, and he has several times told me that I was *not half harsh enough*. He said that they were a set of *villains*, or something to that purpose, and "*they would expel them from the earth, damn the villains!*"

345. Who were?—Meaning the Government; I took him to mean the Government; we were talking about the Government.

346. Who did you understand him to mean by the term "*villains*?"—The Government.

347. What do you mean by Government?—The Ministers.

348. Persons in authority?—Those who

have the framing of the laws, and so on. He appeared to me a gentleman who had been entirely ruined by Government.

349. Did you learn that from his conversation?—He told me that he had given 500*l.* for a coal-meter's place, and he had not enjoyed it two months before it became worth not 40*l.* a year, and he was a ruined man.

350. Now did he use the precise expressions, "I will expel the villains from the earth?"—Yes, I am positive.

Par. 53. Mr. Hersee said that Popay's language was very violent against the Government, and such as he himself should not have thought of uttering. The remaining witness on this head was M'Henry, who came before the committee voluntarily, from having read the petition in the newspapers. This young man is a journeyman tailor, who lived at Camberwell at the time when he belonged to the unions, who has quitted the unions since, and now works for a master in Bond-street. His evidence was as follows:

1024. You met Popay one day in the road: explain to the committee how that happened?—I was doing some tailoring on my own account, and I had a bag in my hand in which was a coat for Miss Gay's coachman. Popay was coming down Denmark-hill at the time, with a man with him. The man was rather shabbily dressed, and Popay wore a blue frock with an old-fashioned white hat. I crossed the road to shake hands with him; we got talking; I had not been at the union for two or three of the meeting nights; I asked how they were going on, and we got talking about different political things that had occurred some time previous. He turned the subject to the state of Ireland, and to enumerate the number of widows and orphans made by Stanley, and said it would be a damned good thing if some one would take and assassinate that bloody villain Stanley. That was the expression he made use of.

1025. This was Popay, was it?—Popay.

1026. Did he say anything to you about the number of Irish living in and about London?—That it was a pity that more of the Irish did not belong to the unions; he believed there were not less than a hundred thousand, in and about London, and said that I was the only Irishman that belonged to the 46th class.

1027. How came you to tell me of this?—I was horror-struck at reading the petition that was presented at a man's trying to entrap me and put my life in danger, if I had sided with him on the attack he would have made on Stanley.

Par. 54. Popay being questioned as to this point, two days after M'Henry

had given his evidence, answered as follows:

1617. Do you know a young man of the name of M'Henry?—I have seen him a long time since.

1618. Where did you meet him?—The last time I met him was on Herne-hill or Denmark-hill.

1619. Where did you see him any time before that?—It was not for a considerable time; he withdrew from the unions.

1620. You saw him at the unions?—I have seen him at the Duke of York.

1621. Was he a member?—I cannot speak to that.

1622. You met him there frequently?—Yes.

1623. Did any thing pass between him and you on Denmark-hill about Mr. Stanley?—No, our conversation was one of very few minutes at that time.

1624. You did not tell him it was a pity some one would not kill Mr. Stanley?—Certainly not.

1625. Assassinate him, or some word of that sort?—Oh, dear, no; on the affairs of Ireland, in private, when I have been talking politics, I have, *certainly, regretted the state of Ireland*; when conversing with him as to assassination of the leaders I have endeavoured to show these men the danger and folly of it.

1626. You did not say that there were a hundred thousand Irishmen in and near London, and regretted that more of them did not belong to the union?—No, certainly not.

Par. 55. It is to be observed, that M'Henry was, afterwards, face to face with Popay, before the committee, giving evidence as to Popay's having been in the chair, and that Popay did not put any question relative to the project of assassinating Mr. Stanley. Further as to this allegation relating to the violent language of Popay, the committee refer to questions 344, 673, 878, 914, 934, 2162.

ALLEGATION XV.

Par. 56. This allegation is sustained by the positive assertions of all the nine petitioners, as well as by most of those persons whom they called in support of their evidence; and particularly by Mr. Sturges, who gives the following account of the matter.

3368. Did he plead great poverty and pecuniary distress?—He did.

3369. Did he thereby get those little civilities from you and your wife that such a representation would naturally bring from you?—Yes, he did.

3370. Did he get any articles of dress for any part of his family?—On occasions when

his wife has been visiting Mrs. Sturges, on going home late, she has borrowed a shawl to keep her from the inclement weather, and they have been returned; but I have heard Mrs. Sturges say, that there are two trifling articles not worth mentioning, that are still in her possession.

3411. Did you ever suspect him of pretending distress to extort charity?—No, I did not; I thought it was real and unfeigned.

3412. How did you ascertain that it was real?—Merely from his own confession. I thought it was.

3413. Did you ever visit at his house?—Yes.

3414. Did that indicate distress or comparative comfort?—It indicated distress, very much so. I was surprised to observe that when out, he appeared to spend money very freely, but at home his family seemed to be in want of the very necessities of life.

3415. Did you ever remark upon the inconsistency of his leaving his family in want and spending money abroad so freely?—No, I did not, for our friendship did not subsist any length of time afterwards. (On one occasion Mrs. Sturges went to visit Mrs. Popay, she represented to me, because Mrs. Sturges had known we always endeavoured to treat them as well as we could in our circumstances; she said she had had very bad tea, and at supper she was asked to partake of a few slices of cold potatoes warmed upon the gridiron, and she observed to me that that showed the poverty of the place; whether real or feigned, I cannot say.)

Par. 57. The account given by James Brown (97, 168), and the account of the two Youngs, especially by J. Young (questions 3291 to 3292), your committee think well worthy of the attention of the House, as being strongly characteristic, not only of the proceedings of Popay, but of the characters of these petitioners. Your committee would wish to impress upon the attention of the House, the fact that this John Young belonged to the thirty-fourth class; that this very man, who actually entertained and fed Popay and his family, was a member of that 34th class of the union, which Popay in his written report of the 20. July, above recited, denounced to the Government as being denominated the fighting class, and as having arms which were monthly inspected by the class-leader. Besides these witnesses, there were several others who spoke to the same point, particularly in answers to the questions 361, 468, 559, 583, 626, 734, 895, 904, 2023, 2374.

Par. 58. Popay denied that he feigned

poverty (question 1511); he said that he was poor, but that it was very seldom that he had not five or six sovereigns in his pocket.

ALLEGATION XVI.

Par. 59. This allegation is by Woodford asserted to be true; and acknowledged to be true by Popay himself, who says that he was directed to go to Calthorpe-street, by Commissioner Rowan, himself, who had an interview with him on the occasion at White Horse-yard.

ALLEGATION XVII.

Par. 60. A spy being, according to Dr. Johnson, a "person sent to watch the conduct or movement of others," there needed, on the part of the petitioners, nothing in support of this allegation as far as related to Popay; the fact of his having been for nearly a year employed for this purpose being acknowledged by Popay himself, by M'Lean, and by the commissioners, and the fact of some of his reports having been laid before the Secretary of State being proved by evidence written as well as oral. And, as to the spies in the plural number, several of the petitioners assert that they have seen many policemen in different dresses; M'Lean says that he had, and has, in his division always two and sometimes twenty in plain clothes, and the commissioners acknowledge that they authorise this and authorise the employing of policemen in plain clothes to go to public meetings of all sorts; to mix with the people at Epsom Races; and when the King goes to the Houses of Parliament; to mix with the people at the Bible meetings at Exeter-hall: to mix with them at the church-doors, and even in the churches themselves.

Par. 61. When, however, the commissioners were before your committee the first time (10. July), they gave the following account of the authority as to this species of employment.

1817. Is Lord Melbourne acquainted with the fact of your employing the police to attend in plain clothes at political meetings?—Not at political meetings nor at political unions; it

was one peculiar system of union; nobody ever attended on our part any political union except the National Union of the Working Classes.

1818. Was it within your knowledge that either Popay or any other person attended any election meetings?—There were never any orders given to attend any election-meetings whatever; I believe some were attended with a view, as it was afterwards stated, to know whether it was likely there would be any breach of the peace; we never sent to any place with any other view than that of preserving the peace.

1819. Were your instructions to attend public meetings, such as a meeting Mr. Hume would preside at?—No, certainly not.

1822. I wish to know, whether with your approbation, any of your people out of uniform were desired to attend any public meeting out of doors or in doors?—Certainly not; Mr. Alderman Wood will remember, that at a meeting of the Crown and Anchor, when some police were there, some excitement was created. I ought to state why we sent them there: the secretary of the meeting said he was apprehensive of a disturbance, and we sent as many police as he requested.

Par. 62. This was the evidence of the commissioners on the 10. On the 23. they were examined again relative to Popay's reports, several of which related to public meetings and to parochial meetings; and then the following questions and answers were put and given, relative to these reports, made by Popay from public meetings:

3893. Here is a report of what took place at the Town Hall in the Borough, where there were several speakers, and one of them a member of Parliament: did you approve of a report like that being made from this policeman?—I should think he had better not have wasted his time in attending such meetings or reporting any such speeches. We had no wish to have reports from meetings of that sort; as commissioners of police, we should not have employed them to attend if we had understood beforehand the character of the meeting.

3894. Did you reprove the man for making such a report?—No, I did not; I have no recollection of ever having read it; it is marked by me, but if there was nothing in it relating to a public meeting, I should have marked "seen" upon it, that it might be put away.

3895. You do not mean that you have read it?—No, there were many I did not read.

3896. You have no recollection of having read it?—None whatsoever.

3897. Is it of a description likely to impress itself upon your mind, if you had read it?—Yes, it is; there was something of the same kind reported in the newspapers, and I may have some recollection of it from them.—[Rowan]. But the commissioners would not

have approved of anything of that kind being reported.

3898. Have you any recollection of a report being made to you from a meeting where Mr. Hume was in the chair?—[Mayne]. In the Regent's Park was it?

3899. No, Montpelier House, Walworth.—I have no recollection of it.

3900. There is the report (handing it to Mr. Mayne).—I have no doubt that this has been read, because it is marked that it was shown to Mr. Phillips.

3901. Whose handwriting is that?—It is marked by me, and also Col. Rowan has marked "put away."

3902. Then you approved of this man being sent to a meeting like that and making a report of it?—No, I do not say that; I do not know what the report is; it seems to be of a meeting of the Political Union of the Working Classes; if the meeting was not of that description, he ought not to have attended it. The general directions were, that he should attend public meetings of the National Union of the Working Classes.

3903. Did you ever desire to have reports of the public meetings except such as you might think dangerous to the public peace?—[Mr. Mayne]. Certainly not; I should not approve of any others had they been made. [Col. Rowan].—Nor should I.

3904. Should you approve of reports being made to you of meetings, except such as you considered might be dangerous to the public peace?—[Col. Rowan]. Certainly not.

3905. Nevertheless there was a public meeting at which Mr. Hume was in the chair?—It was our practice to send a policeman (one or two) to public meetings, without any intention of their reporting what they heard to the commissioners. We did so, because, whatever good intentions the parties might have, who called the meeting together, or however legal their object might have been, the meetings were likely to be attended by others with a different view, who might commit a breach of the peace, and we generally had, at the nearest police-station in the neighbourhood, some men in readiness, in case they should be wanted, or if it became necessary further to be called upon to preserve the peace.

3906. Sometimes these men were not in policemen's clothes?—Sometimes they were not, and sometimes they were.—[Mr. Mayne]. Some of them were in plain clothes.

3907. On those occasions do they make reports?—Sometimes; we frequently find that they make reports that we do not want.

3908. Nevertheless, this report was shown by you to Mr. Phillips?—It was.

3909. Here is a report of the speech of Mr. Hume upon the occasion?—[Col. Rowan]. I am quite sure I have not desired the report to be made, nor read the report of the speech of Mr. Hume, or any other member upon the occasion; I should not conceive it to be within the line of our duty.

3910. You would read it before you showed it to Mr. Phillips?—I do not know that I read it.—[Mr. Mayne]. It was probably reported in the newspaper.—[Col. Rowan]. But if it was taken to Mr. Phillips, that would exonerate us from all responsibility.

Par. 63. With regard to the latter part of this allegation of the petitioners, your committee having pointed out to your attention the denunciation of Popay against Price, in the report of 20. July recited above; his proposition relative to the depôt of arms, in contradiction of which he never put a single question to either of the witnesses; his temptations relative to the shooting-gallery, the broad-sword, the five-pound prize, the pistol, and the sword-sticks; his being present in plain clothes at Calthorpe-street, and Furzey, who had been the man first to charge him with being a spy, being brought to trial on a charge arising at that place; his conversation with M'Henry on Denmark-hill about assassination, in contradiction to which he put not one question to M'Henry: your committee having pointed out these things to the attention of the House, leave it the House to determine, whether the petitioners were founded in their allegation, that they were "living amongst spies, seeking their lives?"

ALLEGATION XVIII.

Par. 64. There can now be no doubt that those petitioners were and are compelled to pay for the maintenance of policemen who are employed as spies; but, it is the duty of your committee to show to the House, that the people are taxed for the purpose of giving extra money to the policemen thus employed; or, at least, to this particular spy. Both Popay and M'Lean denied this at first, but afterwards confessed the fact.

[To Popay.] 1716. Did you receive any extraordinary payment for such service?—Nothing.

1717. You were ordered to do it, and you found it necessary to obey the orders?—Decidedly so.

Par. 65. But, some considerable time afterwards.

[To Popay.] 1775. Were you put to any expense attending these meetings?—Yes.

1776. To any considerable amount?—No, very small indeed.

1777. Can you recollect any expense you were put to: did you keep a memorandum?—I have been, perhaps, at the expense of 3d. 4d. or 6d. in an evening.

1778. Have you charged that to your employer?—Yes, I charged that to Mr. M'Lean.

1779. As an expense incurred at the meeting?—Yes.

1780. Do you know to what amount?—It would not make above 22s. or 23s. in the course of three months.

1781. By whom has that been paid?—By Mr. M'Lean.

[To Mr. M'Lean, on 8. July.] 1145. Was he (Popay) allowed any extra money for going to the union?—Not a farthing.

1146. Does he have no extra allowance for wearing his own clothes?—Not a penny.

1147. Do you find him in plain clothes?—Not at all.

1148. It would be rather a punishment than an advantage?—I should consider it a very hard task for a man to be supplying his plain clothes, while at the end of the year his uniform would go into store nearly as good as when it came out.

1149. If the duty is well performed, it generally leads to promotion?—It would be impossible to promote every man whose conduct merits it.

1150. But he has been promoted?—Not on those grounds. My clerk that I had then obtained a situation to go to America, and I took Popay into the office, as I saw he was a person fit for it.

1151. What pay did he get then?—A guinea a week; now he has 17. 2s. 6d.

1152. Having allowed him to go to the union to learn what he could, did you not think he would be put to some expense?—I never dreamed it would have cost him twopence.

[To M'Lean, on 23. July.] 3727. Popay has told us he got money from you to pay his expenses at those union meetings?—Not to pay his expenses that I am aware of; he did give me two or three bills, which I delivered in and got money for them; I believe it was merely to clear whatever little expense he might have been at, perhaps a pint of beer or anything of that kind that he said he had.

3728. You gave him some little matter for attending the unions?—I do not know that it was because he attended them; he was money out of pocket.

3729. In what way?—In consequence of his attending the unions.

3730. Then he did get money for attending those unions; I should suppose to was for that he gave in a bill; perhaps a few shillings.

3738. Was he paid any expenses for that day (the day he went to Copenhagen-house)?—He never got any thing by that day that I am aware; he tendered me, I think, two or three small accounts; the whole did not amount to above two or three pounds; but, what it was on that day I cannot say.

3790. Little or much, out of what fund did

the money come?—That I cannot say, what fund it came out of; there are funds in Scotland-yard, but where they come from I do not know.

[To the commissioner, 23. July]. 3977. Popay has told the committee he has received money from the superintendent, and he has acknowledged that he gave him extra money for attending those meetings; do you recollect in the account of the disbursements of the superintendent that such sums were charged?—[Colonel Rowan]. Yes, there are such charges.

3978. For money given to this man on account of his attending those meetings?—[Mr. Mayne]. No, it was for expenses incurred; 2d. 3d. or 6d. at a time.—[Colonel Rowan]. Some of it was for stationery.

3979. For expenses he incurred in attending those meetings?—Yes.

3980. What is the utmost sum that has been paid?—[Mr. Mayne]. I think four or five pounds.

3981. Do you mean that four or five pounds is the total sum paid?—Yes, throughout the whole course of his attending.

3982. Do you recollect the length of time?—Between two and three years.

3983. During that time the only sum paid to him is under ten pounds?—Yes, it is under that.

3984. Paid in small sums?—Yes.

3985. The money does not come out of the police-rate levied upon the metropolis?—No.

3986. Whence do you derive the funds for that purpose?—From the Home Office; it is not paid out of the police establishment; it is paid by the Home Office through us.

3987. Of course all these payments have been sanctioned by the cashier of the Home Office?—By the Under Secretary of State.

Par. 66. Your committee having thus laid before the House as clear a statement of the evidence as they have been able to make, think it right to observe, before they proceed to submit their opinions with regard to the prayer of the petition, that, though every opportunity was allowed for the purpose, not a single witness was brought, either to rebut the evidence or to impeach the character of any one of the witnesses, all of whom except one, were house-keepers or living with relations who were, and that one, working for a most respectable master, while some of them were either master-tradesmen or carrying on business on their own account; all of whom, and all the connexions, and all the lives and conversations of whom, were well known to Popay, and

to the whole vicinage, in which he, as well as they resided; and on no one of whom was there to be found the means of affixing spot or blemish.

Par. 67. With regard to the prayer of the petition, your committee request the House, first to cast their eyes over the ten months' deeds of this most indefatigable and unrelenting spy; to survey the circuit of his exploits from the Borough Town-hall to Blackheath, and from Copenhagen-house to Finsbury-square; to behold him dancing with the wife of a man whom he had denounced in his reports, and standing on a tomb-stone writing down and then reporting the words uttered over the grave of a departed reformer; to trace him going from meeting to meeting and from group to group, collecting matter for accusation in the night, and going regularly in the morning bearing the fruits of his perfidy to his immediate employer, to be by him conveyed to the Government; to follow him into the houses of John B. Young and of Mr. Sturges, and then see him and his wife and children relieved and fed and warmed and cherished, and then look at one of his written reports, and see him describe Young's union class as armed to a man, and, at another, see him describe Mr. Sturges as the teacher of a doctrine that "fitted man for the worst of offences," and see Lord Melbourne writing on the back of this report that "it is not unimportant, and ought not to be lost sight of;" to look at him making the hearts of these honest and kind petitioners ache, and bringing tears into their eyes by his piteous tales of poverty, and hear him now brag that he was seldom without five or six sovereigns in his pocket; to contemplate his profound hypocrisy, his assumed melancholy and distress of mind, his affected inclination to self-destruction, and his putting his wife forward as an auxiliary in the work of perfidy: your committee request the House to cast their eyes over these ten months of the life of this man, and then to consider whether it be possible for a Government to preserve the affections of a frank and

confiding people, unless it, at once, and in the most unequivocal manner, give proof of its resolution to put an end, and for ever, to a system which could have created such a monster in human shape.

Par. 68. And your committee neither can nor will pass in silence over the conduct of his employers, who, having, as stated by the commissioners on the 10. July, given instructions to men thus employed, to confine their attendance and reports to meetings and proceedings of the unions of the working classes, receive from this spy written reports of public political meetings, of election meetings, and of parochial meetings; who, after having received from him a report, saying that all the class-meetings are strictly private, and excluding all but members of the union, received from him reports of the proceedings in class-meetings, while they assert that they did not know that he was a member; who, while they treat with scorn the thought of having ever sanctioned reports of private conversations, receive and preserve reports of such private conversations; who, at the end of many months, when the spy is, at last, discovered, detected, and exposed, reward him for his services by immediately raising him in rank, and by raising his pay from 19s. to 22s. 6d. a week; and who, with all this in proof before the committee, came before that same committee, and expressly claim to be regarded as gentlemen and men of honour.

Par. 69. In conclusion, your committee observe, that a government, which resorts to the employing of spies, must of necessity be a hated government; that it must, therefore, be a government of mere and direct force; that it, in reality, declares war against the people, invites their hostility, and rests its existence on its power of keeping them forcibly in subjection; that, in such a state of things, there can be no willing obedience even to just and good laws, and no obedience to any laws except from the principle of fear, which, in whatever degree it produces submission, in that same degree en-

genders revenge; that as to the people of this country in particular, renowned and justly honoured throughout the world for their blunt sincerity, their confiding disposition, and their abhorrence of all disguise, what must their pleasure have been, when, over the grave of Hardy, they heard Mr. THREWALL exclaim, "*Where are your engines of perjury now; where your SPIES so thickly lain, that in the hurry to hang those for whose hanging they were employed, you handsomely rewarded them with a halter, and an executioner to increase the gift;*" and, what their shame, what their indignation, when they see, in the reports delivered to your committee, that there were *two spies*, taking down the words from his lips, and conveying them to the Secretary of State, and that he thought it worth while to write with his own hand on the back of one of these reports!

Par. 70. The House is the guardian of the peace and confidence, as well as of the purse of the kingdom; to the House these petitioners appeal for the adoption of such measures as shall protect them against such wrongs and such perils for the future; and your committee, in laying before the House the results of the inquiry committed to them, have endeavoured to show the nature and extent of those wrongs and those perils, leaving it to the wisdom of the House to suggest, and to their justice to apply, those remedies which the case may appear to them to demand.

BANK MEETING.

A general Court of the proprietors of the Bank of England was held on the 13. instant, on especial affairs relating to the charter, Mr. Rajkes, the governor, in the chair.

The minutes of the proceedings at the last Court having been read,

The GOVERNOR stated that the Court had been called in order to lay before it a correspondence between the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Government,

since the last Court day, relative to certain alterations which had been made in the House of Commons, with the assent of Ministers, in the Bank charter Bill, and the withdrawal of other parts of the bill. The hon. gentleman then read the correspondence, which related to matters already fully discussed in the House of Commons, and to the remonstrances made by the Court of Directors to Lord Althorp as to some of the amendments.

Mr. LLOYD said he little expected that it would have been the governor's duty again to assemble that Court to consult on the renewal of the Bank charter, for he had considered that all the points relating to that subject had been finally decided—(hear, hear)—but still less did he expect such a violation of a positive engagement as had now been committed, and of which he had as great a right to complain as of the injustice of the act itself. (Hear). In the original proposition of Lord Althorp upon the renewal of the charter, the main and striking feature was that the Bank should have continued to them exclusive privileges as they then existed, and accompanying that were some subsidiary propositions, and for those together, jointly and severally, the Bank was urged, and at last induced, to make to the Government a very large concession. Of those subsidiary points there were two of great importance—first, the engagement on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make Bank of England notes a legal tender; and secondly, that a bill should be immediately brought in to regulate country bankers, the provisions of which were to be such as to hold out an inducement to the establishment of joint-stock banks, that would not issue their own notes. The first of those engagements had only been partially fulfilled; he admitted that among well-informed men a very great difference of opinion might exist as to the propriety of making Bank of England notes a legal tender: but by a happy infelicity the measure had been so contrived that it would expose the Bank to the inconveniences of both the systems, while it

would not secure to them the benefits from either. Still the engagement if it had been fulfilled, would have been a benefit to the Bank, and it was one of the advantages which had been held out to induce them to accede to the propositions of Ministers.—They had, therefore, great right to complain that that part of the bargain had been but partially fulfilled. But not only had it been imperfectly fulfilled, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his official character, standing in front of the Treasury benches, had declared that that clause formed no part of his bargain with the Bank. Now it was important to that community (the Bank proprietors), and to the people of England, that they should fully understand what was the view which the Chancellor of the Exchequer took as to the nature of a public bargain—(hear, hear)—and for that purpose he (Mr. Lloyd) would read a part of Lord Althorp's letter. The honourable proprietor read that part of his lordship's letter referring to this part of the subject, in which his lordship said, that after considering the subject, and conferring with his colleagues, his Majesty's Government had directed him to make the following proposals, the third of which was, that Bank of England notes should be made a legal tender, excepting at the Bank of England or any of its branches; that his Majesty's Government had directed him (Lord Althorp) to call the attention of the directors to the advantages which the different propositions would confer on the Bank, tending as they would to the extension of the circulation of its own notes, and that in consequence his Majesty's Government had a right to expect considerable advantages from the Bank in return. The hon. proprietor then said, that in the face of those propositions, and of that letter, Lord Althorp said, that making Bank notes a legal tender formed no part of his bargain. (Hear). It was well known in the city of London, and among all mercantile men, bargains were held in the highest respect, and were considered inviolable; and yet this was the way Lord Althorp viewed the subject. That

point required no further comment. He would now proceed to the next point of the bargain, which was, that a bill should be introduced to revive the country banks, and to hold out an inducement to the establishment of joint-stock banks, who would not issue their own notes. He knew not whether the strict letter of that part of the bargain had been fulfilled or not. Lord Althorp considered that he had discharged his part of the bargain, and certainly a bill had been introduced respecting it, but it had been departed from, and the bill had in it such various absurdities and incongruities, that it was not a matter of wonder that a minister should be anxious to withdraw from it. The result, however, was, that this court had been deprived of one portion of a bargain, by which they were induced to make large concessions. That, therefore, was the second instance in which the bargain had not been fulfilled. (Hear). How could the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with any degree of justice, state that he felt himself obliged, by the strength of public opinion in the House of Commons, to submit to the hard necessity of abandoning that which he had promised, or rather sold, to the Bank? (Hear, hear). Such a consideration, he should have thought, would have made that noble Lord peculiarly jealous in securing to the Bank those exclusive privileges on the granting of which rested the main foundation of the Bank. That part, however, of the exclusive privilege of the Bank of England, that no stock bank established within a certain distance of London was to be taken from them—in this the Chancellor of the Exchequer departed from a clear agreement, as had been shown from his own letters. Now, he believed, the rule laid down on interpreting a contract was, that it was binding on the party making it, in the sense in which that party understood it. That he believed to be an established principle, and he would venture to say, that no honest man, unless, indeed, it was his Majesty's Ministers, would depart from it. (Hear). The Chancellor of the Exchequer acknow-

ledged that he understood, as the Bank had understood, that one of their privileges was protection from the rival action of joint-stock banks in London and its neighbourhood. That noble Lord had admitted that such was his understanding; viz. that the privilege had been sold to the Bank for a pecuniary consideration; yet he now stated that he thought it right no longer to adhere to that part of the bargain, and said that he would not allow the Bank to retain it. On what grounds did the noble Lord support such conduct? Why, he stated that doubts having been raised, as might be upon every subject upon that point, he had submitted the case to the law officers of the crown, who had given it as their opinion that it formed no part of the privilege to the Bank formerly, and therefore it ought not to do so now. When, he would ask, was the case submitted, and the opinion of the law-officers taken upon it? He had asked whether the directors had seen it, and had been told they had not. Was that just—was it any more than just, that they should have been put in possession of that case and opinion? (Hear). And as it was for the interpretation of a supposed doubt, he would ask whether the Bank had not a right to have been heard, to explain by its own law-officers their interpretation of the contract. No such thing was done, and all the notice the Bank had upon the subject was the sending of a clause at twelve o'clock, demanding an answer with respect to it at three o'clock. Such a proceeding, in his opinion, was unreasonable, unjust, and unconstitutional. (Hear). It appeared to him that Ministers were determined to use the language, "Give me your watch and your purse—in deeds of this nature delays are dangerous—give me them directly, or I will take your life. (Hear, hear). What was it that they had stated? We admit that we agreed to sell you certain privileges, but we are determined, our legal advisers having given us their opinion that you had them not before, to take some of them from you; we now demand your immediate acquiescence in them; Parliament to show

ing to a close; and if you do not instantly accede, the session will be ended, the whole arrangement will go for nothing, and your situation in the country will be a rather unpleasant one." In his opinion, eternal shame was the portion of a government who could adopt and sanction such a course. It was not that which, in the history of the country, that the Bank had a right to expect, and it would justify them in stating, that for fidelity in engagements they must cast back a longing, lingering look, to by-gone times. (Loud cheers). He felt that he ought to apologize for having detained the court so long in uttering sentiments which he could not but feel ought to actuate the breast of every man who was anxious to keep up his own dignity, and the important interests of his country. (Hear, hear). Upon a former occasion, he had urged the court to adopt the proposition of Ministers, upon the ground that the final and immediate settlement of this important question was of the last and greatest importance to the country. He felt the necessity for it in a tenfold degree at the present moment; and he would appeal to all present, if it was not notorious, that a conviction that the question was settled, had produced an altered tone in the public mind, and a new range of prices had been established on that understanding. (Hear). If such was the case, and he defied denial, what frightful consequences would not result from having the subject re-opened, and the whole matter again set afloat? (Hear, hear, hear). Yet with all the evils he had pointed out attending it, with all its injustice to the community, his Majesty's Government had periled it. It was for that court to act as it thought best to secure its own rights and privileges; but as he thought it would be better to accede to the proposition of Ministers, rather than to place the public welfare in jeopardy, he should hold up his hand in favour of that proposition, at the same time strongly protesting against the vacillation of purpose that had now become so characteristic of the present Government, and their departure from solemn contracts, of

which the court had so lamentable a display that day. The worthy proprietor, after paying a high compliment to the late governor, and regretting his absence, or he was sure he would have supported him in the views which he took, concluded by submitting the following resolutions for the adoption of the court:

"First—That this court feels itself bound, in justice to its own character, to protest against the treatment it has experienced at the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has, in the opinion of this court, most improperly and unjustly departed from the terms of his own proposition; and after having engaged to grant certain privileges to the Bank, on consideration of stipulated pecuniary concessions, has determined to withhold from the Bank some of the most important of those privileges, without making a corresponding statement in the pecuniary consideration.

"Secondly—That although this course of procedure fully satisfied the Bank in rejecting the arrangement, this court, considering the extensive injury to the public interest that might be the result, and considering that a new range of prices had been made upon the conviction that the question was settled, is unwilling to assert its undoubted rights, and authorises the court of directors to submit to the arrangement.

"Thirdly—That the governor and deputy governor should wait on the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the resolutions, and that the papers that had been that day read should be printed, for the use of the Court of Proprietors."

Mr. SMITH said he would second the motion, in order to show that they were ready to sacrifice, at what they thought the shrine of public interest, their own interests and their own private feelings.

Mr. YOUNG moved a resolution to the effect that it was the opinion of the court that the renewal of the Bank charter should be rejected, unless upon the terms of the letter of the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, of the 2. of May, 1833.

Mr. WINTER concurred in every word that had been uttered with reference to the conduct of the Government towards them. It was for the public benefit that they should all have time to consider of the subject, and he should therefore propose that the meeting adjourn to this day week.

After a short discussion, Mr. Young withdrew his amendment, and the first resolution was put and carried.

The GOVERNOR then proceeded to put the second resolution, but was interrupted by Mr. Blackburn; and it was ultimately resolved that the Court should adjourn till Friday.

I beg my readers to pay attention to the following article from the *Morning Chronicle*, which is a defence of the grant of *sixty thousand* a year, out of the public taxes, towards the expense of the spy-police system; and also to the letter of Mr. ROGERS, which the *Chronicle* has not yet published. I have no time this week for any comment on the matter. Mr. ROGERS is a gentleman of great experience in parochial matters; and whose judgment with respect to the matter of his letter, is worth more than that of all the *doctrinaires* in the world.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 9. inst.)

IN a committee on the Metropolitan Police Acts, Mr. Spring Rice moved a resolution, that 60,000*l.* yearly be granted out of the consolidated fund in aid of the metropolitan police-rate. This grant was objected to, on the ground that every town should support its own police. Lord Althorp, however, truly observed, that the metropolitan police was in some measure a general police. "The metropolis," his Lordship observed, "differed from other towns, because the police of the metropolis was important to that of other towns, which was a reason that they and the country should contribute to the ex-

pense of the metropolitan police. That police was, besides, often sent into the country, and employed there as well as in London."

The police of the metropolis is under the command of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and is, in truth, a *political* as well as local police. For political purposes, large bodies of the police are occasionally drawn from the various parishes comprehended under the Metropolitan Police Act to the Court or the Houses of Parliament. It would not be more reasonable to throw the charges of the regiments of Guards of the metropolis, because they do duty there, than to throw the expense of a police force, applicable to national purposes, on the metropolis. What, for instance, have the inhabitants of Greenwich locally to do with St. James's, or the neighbourhood of the Parliament? Yet the parishes of Greenwich and Deptford are at present obliged to pay for a police for the purpose of preserving order in Westminster during periods of excitement.

One great cause of the unpopularity of the police with the householders is, the grievous addition made to their burdens by that force, especially in the poorer parishes. The loss of patronage to parish boards, and the necessity of pensioning many of the old watchmen, who could not be turned off to starve, whereby a double burden was imposed, in some parishes, might, no doubt, have something to do with the unpopularity. But we are satisfied that the main cause is the additional burden. For it is impossible to compare the new police with the old system, without being *struck with the great superiority of the former*. Justice will, ere long, be done to the new police. It will be admitted, that no system can be so perfect, as to exclude the influence of the ordinary infirmities of our nature, and that the errors of individuals prove nothing in the question between one system and another. Is the security of the metropolis better provided for than it was? Is order better enforced? *He must be a bold man, indeed, who answers these questions in the negative.*

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

SIR,—In your paper of Friday last, I observed one more article in favour of the half-Tory half-Whig doctrinarian system of police. In this article you at last admit, that which we Radicals have always asserted, namely, that the metropolitan police is a political body, applicable to, and used for, political purposes; and you take care that no expression of yours shall indicate your disapproval of such an employment for such a body.

This, then, is the English version of that *gendarmerie*, the endurance of which for so many years made the French people the scorn of Englishmen. Our Gallic neighbours wiped away the reproach at the commencement of their first revolution. The return of the despotic principle again fixed it on them: again they threw it off: and now it is attempted to be fixed upon Englishmen, while the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* sanctifies and vindicates its adoption.

When, in August 1829, the commissioners of police invited me to a consultation, preparatory to the introduction of their disguised spies into the parish of which I happened to be warden, Col. Rowan declared to me his desire to assimilate the police here as much as possible to the police of Paris, which he said was, for its perfection, the admiration of all Europe: and, when the indignation which rose in my countenance, showed him that he had let out too much, he very adroitly exclaimed, "But then the French fellows don't mind being knocked about." Sir, within eleven months from that day, the French fellows knocked the *gendarmerie* about; and perhaps it would have been wiser for the English imitators of the Bourbon-police to have then given up their experiment, and not have waited for the recent exposure by the Calthorpe-street Jury, and the now coming exposure of the Popay scoundrelism, to provoke one universal burst of indignation from honest *English fellows* against the spy system and the abettors of that system.

But I come to the main purpose of my letter. You say: It is impossible

to compare the new with the old system of police, without being struck with the superiority of the new: and further, you say, that he must be a bold man who denies that the security of the metropolis is better provided for than it was.

You do not explain what you mean by superiority. If you mean superior expense, I freely grant that its superiority is very great indeed; if you mean superior brutality, I am not inclined to question it; but if you mean that the new police is of superior advantage to the residents in those parishes (and there were many such), in which there were local day street-keepers, I deny it altogether; for a long residence in one such parish convinces me of the superiority of the old system at from one-half to two-thirds of the expense of the new. Again, you say, "Security of the metropolis." If you mean from foreign invasion, or from rebellion, I have nothing to say, except that I thought that the great end for which police was established, was the security of property; and I am perfectly satisfied, that in my neighbourhood property is far less secure than under the old system; formerly at any time of the day or night we could call in a known officer in three minutes, now no one knows where to find a policeman unless he goes to the station-house, giving the intervening time for the escape of the thief.

But the old police had an advantage which the new has not, or can ever have, without producing great evil—I mean that discretionary power of removing annoyances, and of preserving the peace in minor matters, hardly cognizable by the law. This discretionary power was safely exercised by the old day street-keeper, because he acted under the eyes of the housekeepers, who knew him well, and who were at once his security and a check on his conduct. The ingenious theorists, who write so fluently about every thing, and know so little of that which they write about, may make themselves merry about the "Charlies" and the "Charley system," but they may depend upon it, that the only healthful and effective, as

well as least expensive protection for property, is a local police, if that must be the name, formed indeed on general principles, but immediately paid by and accountable to the housekeepers of the district which it watches.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
GEO. ROGERS.

58, High-street, St. Giles's,
Aug. 12, 1833.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

COLLIER, J. J., Manchester, calico-printer.

BANKRUPTS.

BIRKS, T., Marlborough-road, Chelsea, tal-low melter.

BRIDGER, G., British Hotel, Jermyn-street, Piccadilly, hotel-keeper.

DANCE, William, Redditch, Worcestershire, maltster.

DAVIS, J., Birmingham, victualler.

DURBAN, J., Bristol, cheesefactor.

LOCKETT, J. G. and J., Manchester, calico-printers.

MURPHY, J., Liverpool, builder.

PALMER, W., London-wall, stationer.

WELMAN, C., Bridport, Dorsetshire, linen-draper.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNETT, J., and J. Devey, Wolverhampton, factors.

EMANUEL, H., S., and E., Leman-street, Goodman's-fields, furriers and cap-makers.

ENGLISH, H., Compton-passage, Compton-street, Clerkenwell, iron-founder.

HOWARTH, H., Greave, Rochdale, Lancashire, coal-dealer.

JONES, J., Chippenham, Wiltshire, grocer.

LAMBERT, J., Manchester, distiller and merchant.

MAGGS, S. and J., Cheltenham, mercers.

PRING, J., St. Georges, Gloucestershire, and St. Philip and St. Jacob, Bristol, dealers.

PUTTOCK, R., Billingshurst, Sussex, grocer.

ROBERTS, J., and F. Woolfe, West-street, Gravesend, cheesemongers.

ROGERS, H. T., Halifax, printer and bookseller.

WATLING, J., Southtown, otherwise Little Yarmouth, merchant.

WESTON, J., Stoke-upon-Trent, apothecary.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 12.—The supplies this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, were very limited, and about a third of the arrivals consisted of new Wheat, principally from Essex. The generality of the samples were but of middling quality, and certainly inferior to those exhibited at a similar period last year. One or two selected parcels of White Essex, realized 62s. and 63s.; and a very fine lot of red, 61s.; but the runs did not exceed in value 59s. to 60s. The trade ruled heavy, and last Monday's quotations were barely maintained. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Barley met with little attention, and Monday's prices were with difficulty obtained.

Malt dull, and nominally unaltered in price.

Oats, although in short supply, yet experienced a heavy sale, at the currency of this day's night.

Old Beans proving scarce, Monday's quotations were supported.

New white Peas were fall 2s. per qr. lower; in grey or maple little doing, and prices without variation.

Flour, dull sale, at 48s. to 50s.

Wheat.....	58s. to 63s.
Rye.....	30s. to 32s.
Barley.....	24s. to 26s.
— fine.....	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White.....	31s. to 34s.
— Boilers.....	40s. to 42s.
— Grey.....	30s. to 35s.
Beans, Small.....	—s. to —s.
— Tick.....	30s. to 32s.
Oats, Potato.....	23s. to 26s.
— Feed.....	16s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack.....	50s. to 52s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new....	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new....	60s. to 62s. 6d. per barrel
Butter, Belfast....	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow.....	—s. to —s.
— Cork.....	75s. to 76s.
— Limerick....	75s. to 76s.
— Waterford....	72s. to 75s.
— Dublin.....	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, August 12.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather great; the supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, moderately good; of Porkers but limited. Trade was, throughout, exceedingly limited. With Beef and Mutton at a depression of 2d. per stone; with Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

About two-fifths of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; the remaining three-fifths about equal numbers of Devons, Scots, and Welsh runs, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 Lusty Towns and Cows, a few Norfolk

homebreds, &c. The Scots and homebreds chiefly from Norfolk, with a few from Essex and Suffolk; the Town's-end Cows from the London marshes; the Devons, Herefords, Welsh rants, Irish Beasts, &c., from our different northern, western, and midland grazing districts. Not more than thirty of the rants, mostly rants and Devons, came over the metropolitan bridges.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, and polled Norfolks; with a few old Lincolns, horned Norfolks and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

At least four-fifths of the Lambs consisted of about equal numbers of South Downs and Leicester half-breds; chiefly of the Downish cross; the remaining fifth of Dorsets, with a few Kentish half-breds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 16.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull, at the prices of Mouday.

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3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
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IMPRESSMENT.

Bolt-court, 21. August, 1833.

I BEO Sir JAMES GRAHAM to read the following letter. I have seldom seen any thing better written or more convincing. It exhibits the *practical* view of this interesting matter; and, it comes to a conclusion such as I have always come to when writing or speaking on this subject. There may, by possibility, arise cases when the sovereign power of the state may be pushed by hard necessity to resort to this mode of obtaining seamen; but these cases can only be very rare; and with regard to all cases not so very extraordinary, every argument in this letter is sound, and wholly unanswerable. It is now, in time of peace, that we should discover and adopt the means of putting an end to this crying grievance. To be sure, additional wages would amount to something; but, "*limited service, better usage, and an equitable distribution of prize-money,*" would cost the nation not one single farthing. I did, indeed, take "a very small part" in the debate to which my correspondent alludes; but that did not arise either from any want of understanding of the matter, or from any want of desire to see this great evil redressed. It arose from some of those circumstances, to set a true value upon the influence of which, a man must have been for some time in that House. I know well (and no man has complained more on the subject) what terrible sufferings have been unjustly inflicted by this odious system, which, if it were confined to *seamen*,

would deserve execration; but, when extended to landsmen, and, perhaps, left to the discretion of a boy who has got to be made lieutenant under age, is something too horrible to be contemplated without inexpressible indignation. I have seen and heard too much of these unjust sufferings, not to be as anxious as any man alive to see them effectually prevented in future; and, I have many times pointed out the very remedies suggested by my correspondent at the close of his letter; and, in addition to those remedies, I have suggested a *fair chance of promotion*, and an end being put to that poisonous patronage which has so long disgraced almost every thing belonging to the Government; and, moreover, I am satisfied, that, without an application of these remedies, we never shall dare to meet the Americans, man for man and gun for gun. I trust that the next session of Parliament will not pass over without a just settlement of this matter. A *time of peace* is the time for making the settlement: every good and sensible man in the kingdom wishes the thing to be done; and, therefore, I trust that it will be done. I would never give my consent to the abrogation of the power of the sovereign to compel all or any part of the people to come to the defence of the country, whether by sea or by land. Such power must be possessed in every state: it is founded in the principles of civil society. No nation could long preserve its independence without such power being vested in the sovereign, whether it be king, president, or whatever else. But, with regard to the cases when the power shall be exercised; with regard to the manner in which it shall be exercised; and, especially, with regard to the means of preventing the necessity of such exercise; these are all subjects for legislation; these are matters with regard to which the lawgiver is to decide; and, in our case, we ought to decide with as much speed as the case will reasonably admit of; and, whatever

be done, it ought to be done effectually. I think Mr. BUCKINGHAM entitled to great praise for having agitated the subject; and, if he did not do it at an earlier part of the session, the fault was not his. His notice of motion stood long and long enough upon the book; but it got pushed aside from those causes which it is not necessary here to describe, but which were totally beyond his control. He performed his task with great ability, and under discouragement as great as man could well have to encounter; namely, the discouragement of *inattention*; though I must do the Ministers the justice to say, that they were not inattentive to the matter.

“TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT,

“M. P. FOR OLDHAM.

“SIR,—If the newspaper reports be correct, you took a very small part in the recent debate on the horrible practice of impressment: which I suppose must be attributed to your avowed repugnance to meddle with matters with which you are not thoroughly conversant. Be that as it may, I trust, Sir, that you will afford a constant reader of the *Register*, who is also an old and unrepresented ‘*tar*,’ an opportunity of stating his and his brother-seamen’s case. The opinions of ‘*learned and constitutional*’ judges of ‘*honourable and gallant*’ commanders, may serve to lengthen an oration; but of what avail are they with regard to the real question at issue, which I take to be this: Are our seamen, in the event of a war, again to be plundered and enslaved as they have heretofore been, or not? I say, plundered and enslaved; for I am prepared, ere I finish this letter, to prove that they have been both plundered and enslaved whenever this country was involved in war; and that, too, under the pretext of inevitable necessity, the hackneyed plea for every species of tyranny to which mankind has at one time or other been subjected. To hear Lord Althorp and Sir James Graham, one would imagine that, even

“in war time, except in cases of great emergency, such as a threatened invasion, or the fact of an enemy’s fleet blockading our ports, ‘*impressment*’ is rarely resorted to; whereas from the commencement to the close of the war, there was hardly a day passed, in which the liberty and property of seamen were not violated, and brutally violated, too. Whence came the necessity of having recourse to such an abominable practice? How is it that the royal naval service, which ought to be the boast and pride of our seamen, is, of all objects, the one to which they have the greatest aversion? It is not on account of the risk and danger of battle, because they are never backward in entering on board of privateers or running ships. Oh, no; oh, no! they have no objection to fighting; but they have an insurmountable objection to *unlimited service*; they have an insurmountable objection to *cruel usage*; they have an insurmountable objection to the partial, the very partial, distribution of the prize-money; and, finally, they cannot, for the souls of them, conceive why they should be subjected to sacrifices to which no other class of their fellow-subjects are subjected. Whatever may have been the necessities of the state, the dealers in marine stores have never yet been compelled to supply the royal navy at a price fixed by the commissioners thereof. And yet, although the poor seaman could have got from four to seven pounds a month in the merchant service, he was forcibly dragged on board of a man-of-war, and there compelled to give the state the benefit of his nautical skill for about one-third of that remuneration. Now, when the necessities of the state oblige our rulers to cut down overgrown and unnecessary establishments, our ears are assailed from all quarters with, Would you violate vested interests? Would you deprive the pensioner of the pittance upon which he has been taught to calculate, no matter as to how he contrived to merit or obtain it, whether

“meritoriously or otherwise? But, when the state wants seamanship, it must have it *at its own price*, without any regard to the commonest dictates of justice! And is it never to be otherwise? Are our seamen the only class with whom the state never enters into a contract, written or implied? Are they still to be forced from home, kindred, and connexions, for an indefinite period, perhaps for ever; and while so severed from their homes and their families, to be treated like slaves of the worst description; to be flogged for smiling at ignorance, or folly, or for looking grave upon acts of oppression? Are we still to be told, that fifteen hundred pounds a year is not too much for a quill-driver; and in the same breath, that fifteen pence per day (that includes the night too) is quite enough for those ‘jolly tars,’ about whom so much has been said, and a great deal more has been sung; on whom and on whose exertions we must mainly rely in the event of a war? I trust not. But we shall see. In the mean time I do hope that the Government will be awakened to the justice, as well as to the necessity, of adopting such regulations for the government of the royal navy, as will render that service acceptable to our seamen, and thereby avert that catastrophe which must inevitably result from a perseverance in the old system. LIMITED SERVICE, BETTER USAGE, AN INCREASE OF PAY, and a JUST AND EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZE-MONEY, are all that is wanting; but so long as they are wanting, so long will impressment be necessary in time of war.

G. W. BUTLER.

“Aug. 20, 1833.”

to me that which I *have not* said; that is to say, that this same thing, called “education” is the “*foster-child of crime*.” Take me at my word, which is this, that this book “education” does not *tend to prevent crime*; and on this I am ready to meet you, and all the whole innumerable swarm of the advocates of what they call “education.” And as to my consenting to a TAX being laid upon the people for the purpose of promoting this visionary scheme, I would rather have this right hand chopped from my arm. What! I consent to tax the industrious, sober, and frugal man, who, by practising these virtues is able to put his own children to school; *I tax this man* for the purpose of providing a school for the children of the idler and spendthrift!

However, I have not now time for a treatise: when I have, I am ready to maintain my opinions to their utmost extent; but, in the meanwhile, I must say, that I did not expect from you an imputation of opinions such as I never expressed. I say not this, in order to deprecate any body’s anger; for, I despise the efforts of folly; but I say it because it is the truth; and because, in justice to me, you ought to promulgate that truth. I have well weighed this subject in my mind; and I am at all times, ready to maintain my opinions against whomsoever it may be, and whence-soever the contrary opinions may come. I think it an act of great weakness, on the part of the Ministers, to have suffered themselves to be “*feelosofied*” into the taxing of the people, on this account to the amount of twenty thousand pounds; and never will I suffer any vote of the kind to pass without my strenuous opposition. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN

Bolt court, 21. August, 1833.

SIR,—Say just what you please in the way of commentary on what I *have* said about “education,” as it is called; but, pray, be so good as not to impute

POLICE SPIES.

I HEAR that POPAY is *discharged* from the police; but the thing will not end here. A great deal more must be

done, before the public can be satisfied. I am, to-morrow (Thursday), to make a motion upon the subject in the House of Commons. The House seldom consists now of more than sixty, seventy, or eighty members present; and, therefore, to make a statement such as ought to be made upon the subject, would probably be attended as far as the House is concerned, with very little effect; and, if the Government be disposed to do what is right, as I wish they may be, there will be no necessity for any statement at all. Yet, something must be done, or said, at the least, short as the remainder of the session is, and thin as the House is, in order to satisfy the just expectations of the people. I shall say no more upon this subject, at present, except that I most decidedly disapprove of the vote of 60,000*l.* to be raised upon the country at large, on account of this police; and that I heartily concur in the sentiments of the writer of the following article, which I take from the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*.

N.B. In my last *Register*, I expressed my intention to publish, in the form of a pamphlet (price sixpence), the summary of the evidence which I published in that *Register*; but, I shall not do this, having given it to Mr. Cleave to publish it at the price of *three-pence*, by which means it will easily find its way into the hands of the working people. The article from the *Edinburgh paper*, is as follows. Its opinions are perfectly just: and on those opinions, a petition ought to come, when the Parliament meets again, from every town and village in the kingdom.

"We observe that petitions are beginning to be presented to Parliament against the metropolitan police. The atrocity of their conduct in the Cold-bath-fields affair will long be remembered; for it was from no want of inclination on their part that the result was not as bloody as the Manchester massacre. They did all the injury they could with the weapons with which they were furnished, and had these weapons been of a more deadly description, the consequences might

"have been awful. It now appears from the report of the Select Committee of Parliament in Popay's case, that the Ministry have been in use to employ the police as spies to attend public meetings; and Ministers have even attempted to defend this employment of them. The force is of an unconstitutional nature, and the sooner it is placed on a different footing the better. It is in reality an army kept on foot by Government, without the sanction of Parliament, though a great part of the expense of its maintenance is paid from the general revenue of the country. Lord Althorp's defence of this application of 60,000*l.* per annum was very unsatisfactory. He said it was of great importance that tranquillity should be preserved in the metropolis; it is of great consequence that tranquillity should be preserved every where throughout the kingdom; but the civil force for that purpose is left to be paid for by the inhabitants of the place or district where it is employed. The inhabitants of London are quite willing to pay the expense of such a civil force as is found sufficient for the preservation of the peace in the other cities of the empire; but they naturally object to the enormous expense of a half-military body, under the immediate direction of Government, and more especially when the men are employed as spies to attend their meetings, and break their heads with bludgeons. Hence, one fourth of the expense is laid upon those who have to bear without any assistance, the whole burden of maintaining peace officers in their own districts."

TO

SIR H. VERNEY, M.P.

FOR THE TOWN OF BUCKINGHAM.

SIR,—Generally speaking, it would be extremely inconvenient, to say the least of it, for members of Parliament to carry on what is called a "paper war," relative to matters which they ought to discuss in the House. But, you have repeatedly made charges

against me for things which did not at all belong to discussions in the House ; and things belonging entirely to me in my capacity of the writer and publisher of a public journal. This has been done by others also ; and, I must confess, that I do not see the propriety, the parliamentary right of calling members to account, of making charges against them, for what they may have done in their capacity as the writers of journals or of books. What would be thought of me, if I were to bring a charge against Lord ALTHORP on account of any agricultural regulation of his, which I might deem mischievous to the country in the way of example, such regulation not being brought before the House for the purpose of founding any motion or measure thereon ? In short, such meddling with men's private concerns, must, if it become frequent, totally destroy everything like order and harmony in the House ; and if you have, in this respect, only imitated others, your conduct is not thereby, by any means, rendered the more laudable.

For disputes of this sort the press is the proper channel ; and, that I may not enjoy, in this respect, any advantage over you, here are my columns open to you, not only as a channel through which to convey your answer to this letter, but also through which to convey anything which you may choose to write, relative to any part of my conduct, public or private, from the time that I was born to the present hour. I have heard, twice, at the least, in the House, *insinuations*, which I thought it beneath me to call upon the utterers to mould into the shape of assertions. Nothing is more unmanly than such insinuations, especially when those who utter them know to a moral certainty that they are false. It is very seldom that malignity has triumphed over me ; very seldom that it has escaped without condign punishment ; and the longer deferred, the severer has been the punishment. Such, it is very likely, I think, may be the case here also ; and, in the meanwhile, those who have been guilty of this conduct may take their reward in being informed, that their conduct,

in this respect, has been imputed to impotent spite ; and has, therefore, excited nothing but contempt in the public.

Far be it from me, sir, to impute this species of motive to you. I impute no bad motive to you ; but, in my own defence, I must say, that I impute to you very gross error in accusing me of a desire *to set the poor against the rich*, and, specifically, of having *pointed out to the incendiary where to apply the torch*. It is truly curious, that, the passage from my writings which you read in *proof of the former*, forms part of an article, for which the present Ministers prosecuted me, and in which prosecution they were defeated and I was triumphant ; and, it is, if possible, still more curious, that the passage which you read from those writings, in *proof of the latter*, forms part of an article, which I read and put in as evidence at the trial, *in order to show that my intention was innocent*, in publishing the article for which I was tried !

Now, sir, this is quite enough to prove to you, that you have been in error about this matter. The truth is, as I told you on the first occasion, you think evil of my actions, at least of my writings, not because you have read those writings, but because you have not read them ; not because you yourself, upon examination and reflection, think them mischievous, but because you have been told so by newspapers, and by gabblers of politics, not seeming to reflect, that about an eighth part of the people live in idleness, and unjustly so live on the labour of the other seven parts ; that it is this eighth part only that you hear ; and that nature is no longer nature, if they do not hate me more than ever rat hated cat.

Sir, I deny that I ever either attempted or desired to set the poor against the rich ; I deny, that I ever inculcated the notion, that the rich were naturally the enemies of the poor ; I deny, that I ever endeavoured to teach the ridiculous doctrine of equality either in rank or estate ; I deny that any teachings of mine ever were intended, or had a tendency, to make poor men believe, that there ought to be no ranks or gradations in

society; I deny, that I ever inculcated the notion, that there was to be found in the whole world a better form of government than that of King, Lords, and Commons: all these things I deny, and I defy any man living to prove that the denial is not true.

If, indeed, to insist that it is not just to make the widow and children and other relations of a tradesman pay legacy, probate, and administration duty on effects descending to them on the death of a father, or a husband, while the effects (being real estate) which descend to the family of a land-owner are wholly exempt from those duties; if to contend that it is unjust to make the poorer part of the people pay, in fact, 200 per cent. on their drink, while the richer part pay, not thirty per cent. on their drink; if to contend that it is most monstrously wicked to maintain the relations of noblemen and gentlemen by pensions and sinecures for which they have done nothing, and to tax the working people for the means of doing this, while those working people are compelled (if at all able) to maintain, not only their own children, but their grand-children, great-grand-children, and their grand-fathers and grand-mothers, in case any of these should stand in need of any relief: if thus to contend, be to set the poor against the rich, not only have I done this, but do it I shall to the last hour of my life, unless these monstrous wrongs be sooner redressed.

And, sir, who is the real friend of order, of law, of peace, and of the inviolability of property? Is it he, who, taking reason and justice for his guide, thus openly contends, thus calls upon the Government to redress the wrongs while yet there is time; or, is it he, who, from whatever motive, vainly attempts to hide the huge and hideous deformity, and thereby does his best to prevent all redress, until it be too late to assuage the boiling and just resentment of the people?

Leaving you, sir, to answer these questions, if you choose; or to make any new charge against me that you may think proper; offering you these

pages as a channel for anything that you may please to write upon the subject, well knowing that you will use no language unbecoming your rank and station; assuring you that that which has passed will leave no impression on my mind, other than that of a hope that you may more justly appreciate my motives for the future; and, in the language of the prayers which we daily repeat, trusting that we shall "lay aside all prejudices and partial affections," and that we shall steadily pursue the path pointed out by what we deem to be the good of that country, which it is our duty to serve to the utmost of our power; with these sentiments I conclude, very sincerely subscribing myself,

Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

BEER BILL.

THIS bill contained a provision compelling the venders of beer to find six vouchers for character in the parish, and raised the license from two pounds to five. It is laid aside until the next session; that is to say, until the day after the day of judgment; for never will there be a House of Commons at once so unjust and so stupid as to pass such a bill. It was contrary to the recommendation of the committee, in the first place, and it was founded on evidence the most monstrously false that ever was given in this world. If you believe this evidence, you must believe that the beer-houses have produced poaching, larceny, burglary, arson, fornication, adultery, *bastardy* and *premature marriages*! In this mannerly and loyal age, one might have expected *bastardy* not to be regarded as so very heinous an offence. In antiquity, SARDANAPALUS had no bastards, I believe, but he lined his carpets with tissue of gold, and shut himself up with a set of devils, some male and female, that were, at last, all knocked on the head with himself. So that a man may be

a despicable tyrant and oppressor, without having any bastards. But what perverse things these beer-houses must be to produce, at one and the same time, *bastards* and premature marriages; the MALTHUSIAN "moral restraint," and a hasty desire to enjoy conjugal felicity! In short, never was there such a heap of lies collected together in one book, except the book of the poor-law commissioners, who, to a certainty, surpass all the rest of mankind in this respect; but whose schemes will be blown into very thin air before this day twelve-months. Very well that this bill was stopped: nothing in this world so certain to have produced another batch of riots. From this we have escaped by the prudence of the Minister; and, I trust, that we shall not be exposed to it again. The repeal of the malt-tax is the only way to put an end to all the disputes about this matter; and that repeal we may, I trust, confidently expect early in the next session of Parliament. I cannot help inserting here a copy of a petition of nearly eight hundred farmers of the county of Somerset, presented the other day by Mr. TYNNE, one of the members for that great and fine county. It is as nice a petition as I have ever seen: and this is, indeed, the great grievance of the country. The house and window taxes ought to be repealed; but it is a mere nothing compared with the malt tax. The malt tax costs the people *thirteen millions* a year, while the Treasury receives only about four millions and a half. Maltsters deny this, but the maltsters do not calculate as I calculate: they imagine that all the restrictions will remain after the tax is taken off. Of about seventeen hundred persons put in jail, during the last year, for smuggling, a very large part were put there through the malt tax. It is a savage tax; an insulting tax; and, until it be repealed, no man ought to be content, except one who lives upon the tax. Malt is the great blessing of the country: it is of more importance than the flour, or, than any other one article of human consumption. The tax is the cause of the country; and there never

can be either peace or happiness as long as it shall remain. While this tax lasts, working men have *no hour*; no fireside; no family; they are driven to prow about for drink like cattle in a dry summer. In short, this tax must be repealed, or we must prepare ourselves for everlasting strife, and everlasting confusion. Tax the wine, tax the spirits, tax the sugar, tax the tea, tax anything but the malt. It is, in fact, not a tax; but a most infamous monopoly. The petition is as follows, to the prayer of which I say Amen

"To the honourable the Commons of
"Great Britain and Ireland in Parlia-
"ment assembled

"The humble Petition of the un-
"der-signed inhabitants of the
"county of Somerset,

"Sheweth,—That your petitioners
"have been taught to entertain a hope
"that your honourable House would,
"ere this, have afforded them some
"relief from their great burthens.
"That having been hitherto disap-
"pointed in that hope, they think it
"their duty to remind your honourable
"House, that, in their opinion the time
"is come, when something of *substan-*
"tial benefit should be done for the
"people; and the sincerity of profes-
"sions be tried by the test of practice.

"They further state, that, at a time
"of unexampled depression of the ac-
"tive and laborious classes of the com-
"munity, there is no tax, which, in
"their opinion, operates more inju-
"riously on industrious men, and more
"seriously curtails their comforts, than
"the MALT TAX, since, by doubling
"the price of malt, it deprives many
"families of the power of brewing, and
"very grievously raises its cost to all;
"while, by limiting the demand for
"barley, it causes a great stagnation in
"the trade in that grain, diminishing,
"and, in many instances destroying,
"the farmer's profits, and operating no
"less perniciously on the comforts and
"social condition of the trading and ma-
"nufacturing people.

"Your petitioners therefore, implore
"your honourable House to take these

"things into your immediate consideration with a view to afford some of the often-promised relief to the country by the speedy repeal of the malt tax. And your petitioners will ever pray.
"782 signatures."

BANK CHARTER.

THIS measure has passed, with all the opposition that I was able to give to it, to the very last vote. When it has passed the royal assent, there will be a law to declare, that my prophecy of 1819 was true. And now I will proceed by letter.

TO MR. GEORGE WOODWARD, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

Bolt-court, 22. August, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—The prophecy is now, by law, declared to be fulfilled. You remember, that, in 1819, in the fall of the year, I went from my house to have a gossiping frolic with you, at that spot which I baptized by the name of "GRASSHOPPER LODGE;" the grasshoppers being so abundant, at that time, as actually to eat up all the grass, and all the weeds into the bargain: you remember, that I took with me PEARL'S BILL, and the report of the committee of which PEARL had been the chairman: you remember, that, stripped in our shirts, and without stockings and shoes, and those shirts unbuttoned at the collar, how we sat and sweated and laughed, while your brother CHARLES read the report and the minutes of evidence of that committee; and, you remember, that we unanimously agreed, that, if that bill ever went into full effect, we would consent to be taken from the gentle stew in which we then were, and laid upon one of CASTLEREAGH'S gridirons, while SIDMOUTH should stir the coals, and CANNING stand by and make a jest of our groans: this bargain, which I moulded into a prophecy, and put it into print the next week, is now, by law, declared to be fulfilled. *Peel's Bill* was stopped from going into effect in 1822. Its two great objects were, to put an

end to one-pound notes, and to put an end to all legal-tender: the bill of 1822 prolonged the existence of the one-pound notes all over the kingdom: they have, since that, been abolished in England; but have always been kept up in Ireland and Scotland; and now we have a law to make bank-notes a legal-tender in reality: we are again about to be launched in the uncertain sea of paper-money; and it is impossible for any human being to foresee the ultimate consequences.

But, notwithstanding the mischiefs of *Peel's Bill*, it has, unintended by its authors, produced great good, given us a glimpse through the gloom, and inspired us with hope that better days are in store. You remember that, as soon as I got PEARL'S BILL, and at "*Grasshopper Lodge*," upon this very occasion, I said, "I will now go back to England: the fools have smitten themselves to the heart; the borough-tyranny must now go to pieces." You remember the supplications of my neighbours not to come back, saying that I should certainly be destroyed if I did. You remember my answer: "No; I know the disposition of the monsters; but the tiger has been fool enough to cut off his own claws, and file down his teeth. No longer a life of joy and of revelry for him: he will now reel along amongst troubles, snapped at by every dog, and pecked at by every bird of the air; or, by an effort to return to his former state, he will plunge into death at once." Thus it has been. The system reels along; every day of its existence it becomes feebler and feebler.

It was PEARL'S BILL, and that bill alone, which produced the reform of the Parliament. The demand for reform, on the part of the people, was ten thousand times more strong in 1817 than it was in 1830. But, at the former period, paper-money was keeping up prices; and then, dungeons and gags were at our service instead of a Reform Bill. The reform was produced immediately by the fires; the fires were produced by the misery of the agricultural labourers; that misery was produced,

not by the *injustice* of the gentlemen, the farmers, and the parsons of the country, but by their *inability* to provide well for the labourers; that inability was produced by their being compelled to give the fundholders, and other tax-eaters, two bushels of wheat instead of one; and their being compelled to give two bushels of wheat instead of one *was produced by PEEL'S BILL*: therefore, it was *PEEL'S BILL* which produced the reform, and which brought me from "*Grasshopper Lodge*," in *Long Island*, and gave me a seat in the House of Commons, on the same bench with the renowned author of that bill, and that has enabled me, rising from that bench, to stand up in that House, and claim the merit of the prophecy.

So that, after all, this *PEEL'S BILL* is not a thing for us "to sneeze at." To be sure, these consequences were not *intended* by its authors, who were mere blind instruments in the hand of a gracious Providence; but still we are not to be angry with them; and have only to take care not to confide in their judgment for the future. You will observe that certain predictions have now been made by Lord ALTHORP and Mr. *POULETT THOMSON*; namely,

1. That this legal-tender measure will *not produce depreciation*.
2. That it will not produce a general rise of prices.
3. That they can regulate the quantity of paper, so as to prevent depreciation, by *attending to the state of the foreign exchanges*.

These are statements to be *remembered*, observe. With regard to the latter of the three, I deny it: I know that they cannot prevent depreciation by attending to the foreign exchanges. With regard to the two former assertions, which, in fact, are one and the same, I do not pretend to know what will be the result; but, my argument is this; that the measure will afford *no relief*; or, it will produce *depreciation*. So that, either great disappointment to the nation must come; or, there must be a general virtual violation of contracts, and an indirect reduction of

the interest of the debt. On the third reading of the bill, I moved for its being read *that day six months*. On a division there were 25 who voted with me, and 97 who voted with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, every man of which 97, the Chancellor and Mr. *POULETT THOMSON* excepted, did, I firmly believe, expect from the measure great depreciation of money, and a consequent great rise of prices: so that, here the world has had to witness, in this assembly, whose proceedings really affect all the world; here the world has had to witness this strange spectacle; 97 members voting with the noble Lord, because they believed him to be in *error* as to the effect of his measure; and the same 97 members voting against my amendment, because they believed my opinions to be correct.

However, here we are, just launching forth into the sea again, and, in all likelihood, destined to encounter fresh storms and buffetings; fresh ups and downs; more laws about the currency; and, having nothing in this world to rely upon for safety, but the unsubduable industry and the inextinguishable integrity and mutual confidence of the people. No man can tell what is to be the end of this paper-money: it is possible that it may let the thing down by degrees, without producing convulsion; but (and you know it well), it is possible that it may go to pieces at last, amidst the conflict of claims and the wreck of all the laws of property. Before I dismiss this matter, I must mention to you the curious circumstance of the Messrs. *ARTWOOD* and all the partizans of paper-money, voting with the Chancellor of the Exchequer who had so severely condemned their paper-money projects. So that they will be disappointed, at any rate, if the noble Lord's views should turn out to be correct. Indeed, and I assure you of the fact, that I have not spoken to one single gentleman who voted with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has not declared in the most undisguised manner, that he would not have voted for it, if he had not expected it to produce a rise of prices. Thus, then, stands

this matter; and you will have your eye upon the workings of the measure.

I thank you for the book of Mr. GOUGE, who, I say, ought to be called GOCOKA. I have published it with an introduction of my own, and with a dedication to the Speaker of the House of Commons, price *four shillings*. Mr. GOUGE's *philosophy*, and also his logic, and his grammar, are very bad: he seems to be a poor soul of an author; or, to use the negro-term, a "*soul*"; that is to say, a poor pitiful soul. But, he has grubbed about, whether by thumb-nails or finger-nails, and raked together a great mass of *very valuable facts*. Though these facts are presented to us pell-mell, as if shaken out of a bag, they are before us; they show us, that even the absence of taxation cannot prevent poverty and crime from sweeping over a country, which suffers itself to be afflicted with that dreadful curse, called *paper-money*. Therefore, I have entitled the book, "*THE CURSE OF PAPER-MONEY AND BANKING*." Mr GOUGE calls it, "*A short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous Effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the Industries of the Community.*" I have sent a copy of the book to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the book ought to be read, not only by every Member of both Houses of Parliament, but by every landowner, every merchant, and every manufacturer in England; for, in this book we see, that ruin and beggary can be produced throughout a country, without taxes to any considerable amount; and that, to, without any design on the part of the paper-money makers themselves: here we see the happiness and morals of a country absolutely destroyed; we see crime come and overspread a country, where innocence and security formerly reigned with unbroken sway. Now, here is a lesson which every English gentleman should read, and well ponder upon: the lords and great landowners, above all men, ought to look well to this. The industrious part of the nation suffer; but their sufferings have their

limits. To the great landowners, destruction complete may come from this source of inexhaustible mischief. If *paper-money* have ruined the landowners and farmers in America, what may it not do here! Some think, that the debt may be got rid of in reality, by depreciation of money. Ah! let the great landowners take care how they entertain that hope! That is a very delusive hope: if the debt be expunged in *that way*, I would not give much for their estates.

Now for another matter. To my utter astonishment our Government has sent out persons to inquire into the effects of the excellent prison discipline in the United States. Not one single creature will they come nigh, except by mere accident, who will not stuff them with lies; and we here shall have to pay for a budget of transatlantic commodities, surpassing the wonders of BARON MUNCHAUSEN himself. Now, you, who know all about this humbug, and who do not wish us to be humbugged, will be so kind as to send me, if you can, the following things, or some books or printed papers, out of which I can obtain the information.

1. An account of the number of criminals, committed, for trial in the state of New York forty years ago; or, for as long back as you can.
2. The number of criminals committed during the last year; or, in the last year that you can get an account of.
3. Similar accounts for the city of New York.
4. Similar accounts for the state Pennsylvania, and for the city of PHILADELPHIA.

If you apply to some friends in Philadelphia, they will readily assist you. Any books, or any papers relating to the matter, will be of great use, and I shall want them before the Parliament meets again; so pray get them sent to me as soon as you possibly can. Send me also an account, or accounts, the best you can possibly get at, about the progress of *schools*, and of "*education*." I can remember when such a personage as what is called "*a girl of the town*," was unheard of either in PHILADELPHIA or

NEW YORK ; and, Mr. OWEN tells us that there are now 20,000 of these personages in the city of New York alone, which, if true, certainly does not speak very highly in favour of the moral effects of "education" as it is called. Now, pray, do not neglect to send me these things. Speak to Mr. DOYLE to recommend to you what books and papers to send. He, who re-publishes all my books, I see, will, I dare say, easily make the collection for you. Let me know, also, the progress of the paper-money; and send me any papers or books relating to it; for, this is the real devil; this is the tyrant; this is the seducer; this is the destroyer of the peace, happiness, and morals of mankind.

In answer to your letter, begging me to finish the "*History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*," I have to say, first, that no man can split himself in two; next, that this will be done, in less three months from this day, if I be alive and well. I had a great deal more which I intended to say to you, but I must reserve it until next week, or the week after. In the meanwhile present my kindest respects to all friends whom you know in Long Island and at New York, particularly Mr. JOHN TREDWELL and his family, and Mr. GEORGE CLARK. Tell TREDWELL that I have a better crop of corn this year, than ever stood upon his beautiful farm; though it is not so lofty and so magnificent to the view. Tell him, that I will send him some peas before planting time, such as no Yankee ever yet tasted, and will tell him how to have green peas all the summer, even in the months of July and August; not nasty little things with a stinging bug in every one of them; but fine large peas, which he may plant about the beginning of May, and which will remain fresh as a locust-tree till the peas are ripe and fit to thrash. Planted in the last week of May, he will have them in perfection all through July; and planted in the last week in June, he will have them through August and September; and, if he give any of the seed to anybody but an Englishman, or

to some of my well-known friends in Long Island, I shall not forgive him. This is a pea for a hot-country, in which the little early pea can serve only for about a week, or a fortnight; and, therefore, it is a real discovery for America, which is not at all calculated for the common pea. If you have got a garden, as I hope you have, you will, of course, take toll for your trouble. Remember me kindly to your father, and all the family; and believe me always to remain

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LOCAL COURTS, &c.

LETTER II.

SIR,—At the latter end of my former letter, I impliedly assumed that the necessity for additional courts was granted. I was, perhaps, rather hasty in this, inasmuch as in the late article in which you scattered to the winds the Lord High Chancellor's rejected "Local Courts Bill," you adverted to the cases of servants and workmen, and observed, in substance, that these persons are already provided with cheap and effectual means of recovering their wages before justices of the peace, and that they therefore can stand in no need of local courts. I go along with you to a great extent in this, but I do not infer from your observation, that you have formed a matured or deliberate opinion against the necessity altogether of establishing additional courts for the cheaper and more speedy administration of justice, and for bringing it within the convenient reach of all persons, at least in matters of smaller concern, whether arising out of contracts, or for wrongs wholly independent of contract. Servants and workmen, doubtless, may often be in need of a more expeditious remedy for the recovery of their wages than it would be practicable, or, at any rate, than I shall think it practicable, and propose to furnish by means of the new courts. I would therefore leave to

justices of the peace their present jurisdiction in cases between masters and their servants and workmen. Nor, by-the-by, do I propose to interfere with the jurisdiction of any courts already established, any further than in affording to suitors an opportunity, if they please, of resorting to the new courts in preference. But as I am not fully persuaded of the considerateness or evenhandedness on all occasions of the law and justice of justices of the peace (having heretofore known instances of determinations by individual justices, which argued little of either considerate judgment or fair dealing), I would at least have it that the new courts should be open to the claims of servants and workmen, as well as of all others; and this, not only in the first instance, but also by way of appeal from the decisions of the justices, when they should have been applied to in the first instance, and have decided against the claim of the applicant. But as to the general question of the necessity for additional courts, it is needless to point out in what numberless ways small debts, as well as large ones, may be contracted between persons who do not stand in the relation of master and servant. The middling and poorer classes are, too, more exposed than the higher and more wealthy, to numerous, and, to them, serious wrongs, which have no connexion with debts or matters of contract. And, however true it may be, that, in most of or in all the plans of reform hitherto projected, there may be room to fear that what has been proposed may not, after all, have, properly speaking, been "justice," yet we must not be deterred by such failures from endeavouring in our turn something better. And so long as there is room to hope that one may possibly succeed in suggesting something which shall be likely by common consent to be thought a material improvement, whether in kind and quality, or cheapness or dispatch, on what has hitherto been vouchsafed to us, I am quite sure, from your constant and zealous labours in advocating the rights of all, and more especially the industrious among the middling and poorer classes, that you

would be the very last man to set your face altogether against any such endeavours. The old answer to the observation of the courts of law being open to all, that, "So, too, is the London Tavern," is still as just and pat to the purpose as it was at first; and the parallel, howbeit it turns on a homely and "vulgar" subject, may be usefully carried a short way farther. To say, then, that the people should be content with having only the present small quantity of high-priced law, which is administered in the three superior courts, were to say that there shall be no eating-houses or cook-shops, no mackerels at four a shilling for the poor, no herrings, no boiled beef, ready in the neighbourhood, for the witnesses in attendance at the Old Bailey. Alehouses shall be done away with as fast as can be, having regard to "vested interests." No eatables or drinkables shall be sold in any public-house, except taverns and hotels, having a dining-room 200 feet long by 150 broad, and forty feet high, to be ornamented with cut-glass chandeliers of 2,000*l.* a piece, and not to be less than fifteen in number. Each chandelier to consume per annum from 8,000*l.* down to 5,000*l.* worth of oil-gas, or wax candles. No tallow candles to be permitted. No ale, beer, or porter, shall be sold in these taverns, or elsewhere, except at wine prices. No gin to be on any account anywhere sold except in apothecaries' shops, and "not to be drunk upon the premises." But it shall be free to all persons to take as much of French, German, or Hungarian wines of the first qualities, as they please, only paying for the same. If the taverns be full, the parties coming too late to depart for that day, and to come again to-morrow in better time. Laws are made to subserve only to the watchful, not to persons asleep. Provided nevertheless, that these lawfully authorised taverns and hotels shall be shut up from the middle of the third week in July till after the 24. of October, in order that the head cooks and cellar-men, in the mean time, "may go to Rome if they please."

The expediency and necessity of pro-

viding additional courts, being, then, granted, it becomes necessary to consider; 1st, Over what causes of action the new courts should have jurisdiction; 2ndly, What number of additional courts will be required, or to put it in another form, within what distances the places to be appointed for holding the courts should be situated from each other; 3rdly, How frequently the courts should be held for the trial of the causes; 4thly, Out of what materials the courts may be best constituted; 5thly, In what places the business of the suits, from the commencement of the action to the trial, may most conveniently and in the best manner be conducted and carried on.

There will be many other material, and scarcely subordinate subjects, for consideration; such, for instance, as limiting the number of steps or stages of proceedings in the course of a cause; but with which I shall not venture to intrude upon your columns. Before proceeding, however, to the first of these heads of inquiry, I beg to remind you, that I am submitting only my general notions on these matters, without intending to enter minutely into details, and without caring to say, just at present, whether I could fill up my outlines better than any other person.

1. With respect, then, to the causes of action over which the new courts should have jurisdiction, I see no reason why a local court should not be as competent to decide on a debt of 1,000*l.* as on a debt of 50*l.* There is not necessarily any greater difficulty in the one case than in the other. To argue the contrary would be to argue that a poulterer may be competent to sell a chicken but must not be trusted with the sale of a capon. It seems, however, to be on all hands, taken for granted, that the jurisdiction of any new courts should be limited in point of amount of debt or damages. Be it so, then, and I care little whether the amount to be fixed on be 100*l.* or 50*l.* But by whatever rules it may be fixed, so long as ~~FEES~~ OF COURT, to be paid by the parties, shall remain not wholly abolished in the courts at Westminster, I would fix the

amount at double the sum that I would afterwards. And this, not from any wish to curtail the business of the superior courts, or to leave them without full employ, but in order that the public should have the cheaper justice of the new courts for the recovery of debts or damages to a larger amount than might be called for after the costs of actions in the superior courts shall have come to be only the before-described natural costs and expenses of a suit at law.

But there are certain classes of cases which frequently involve nicer and more difficult questions of law than others, and which are at the same time, to a certain extent, more removed from the ordinary occasions and business of the bulk of the community; and these, it may be fit to leave exclusively to the superior courts. Among these may be ranked, more particularly in our present state of one branch of law, which Bentham would have called, and, perhaps, has called "conveyancers-made law," all cases involving questions as to the title to real estates in lands, or in incorporeal hereditaments, including, of course, tithes, markets, tolls, ferries, commons of all kinds; so, too, all corporation matters, quo warranto, mandamus, bribery and all offences connected with the return of members to Parliament, with a host of others that do not much concern the common and everyday business or affairs of the bulk of the people. But the new courts should have jurisdiction over all matters of debt and contract, all torts or trespasses to persons, or with the exceptions hinted at, to personal or real property; such as malicious prosecutions, libel, defamation, criminal conversation, seduction &c. of daughters and servants, nuisances to house or land in possession, obstructing of lights, obstructing or diverting water courses, disturbance of pews in churches, &c., assaults, false imprisonments, replevin (with certain exceptions), trespass to cattle or goods (except in certain cases of distresses), or to house or land, where no question as to the right of possession really arises. But I must not run on here too fast, lest some learned friend should discover,

as perhaps he already may have, that I am giving jurisdiction to the new courts over some matters in relation to which I have already denied them jurisdiction.

As to some, if not a considerable number of these causes of action, many persons may probably stoutly object to placing them within the jurisdiction of local courts. For instance, the action for criminal conversation. In the very great refinement (greater, perhaps, in profession and theory than in practice) of the present age, many may object that a cause of action, in its nature coming so home to the very tenderest and most sensitive feelings of the human breast, a cause of action, in giving occasion to which, Milton's "mysterious law" and "sole propriety in Paradise," must have been invaded, should be submitted to the jurisdiction of a local and "inferior" court. The eloquence of the counsel practising in such a court may be thought not likely to take so correct a flight, or to be so touching to a reader of a newspaper, as that which must be supposed to belong to a leading counsel in one of the superior courts. But I have heard of an Irishman, who being the plaintiff in an action of this nature, after having listened to the depicting of his manifold and grievous wrongs by his counsel, quietly remarked, "Tis all very true, but I did not know I was half so much injured before." So, I know of no valid reason, why a country shop-keeper, mechanic, or day-labourer, who has been injured in this way, if he be content to lay his damages at the 100*l* or the 50*l* to which the jurisdiction of the court should be limited, should not be permitted to seek his redress in a local court. But I cannot stop just now to discuss, or most points for differences on matters of detail, and I would rather wait to hear what objections are in fact made.

It will be necessary, however, to make some particular provisions in regard to causes of action arising partly within and partly out of the jurisdiction of the local court. In some former scheme, it was, I believe, provided, that, in every case, the action should be

brought into the local court within the limits of which the defendant's place of residence was. It was overlooked that no good reason could be assigned, why, if a glass-maker of Newcastle-on-Tyne sold goods to a glazier in Devonshire, he should be obliged to bring his witnesses from Northumberland into Devon. A cause of action so arising might be tried more conveniently and at less expense in London; and, if found best, in a local or inferior court there. Causes of action arising partly in one district, and for the remainder in an adjoining district, may perhaps, inasmuch, as upon the plan I shall suggest under the next head, there could never, in such a case, be any great distance for the parties and their witnesses to travel, be fitly brought in the local court of the district within which the defendant resides. If a local district should intervene between that in which the defendant resides, and another in which the plaintiff resides, or a part of the cause of action has arisen, it might be the most advantageous plan to bring the action in the court of the intervening district. If more than one local district intervene, and the place of residence of the parties and their witnesses do not exceed a certain distance, suppose 60 or 70 miles from London, as the means of conveyance to London are so much cheaper for the distance, and more expeditious, than through cross country roads, in such cases it may be more convenient that the action should be brought in a London local court, though no part of the cause of action has arisen there. And for actions arising in different districts with more than one intervening district, at remoter distances from London, but still wholly arising in some quarter of the kingdom so situated as that London would be quite out of the way for the witnesses to come to prove the different parts of the cause of action, it might be very practicable to fix on the local court of a district centrally situated between the extreme points at which the different parts of the cause of action arise. But I must not run into the danger of raising a *pons asinorum*, by putting cases too compli-

cated for the immediate comprehension of all persons.

2. With respect to the number of additional courts that will be required, or, in other words, within what distances the places to be appointed for holding the courts should be situated from each other. On this head, the most perfect rule in theory to go by, and one at the same time easily practicable, is, as it seems to me, to take care that no market-town shall be at a greater distance from the place of holding some one of the courts than what may be reasonably computed as one day's journey on foot, for the parties and their witnesses to go and return the same day. This rule, it must be admitted, can only completely attain its object in cases in which the cause of action arises wholly within the jurisdiction of one and the same court. For other cases, it is evidently impossible that the same advantage can be provided. But why I would measure the distance by a day's journey on foot to and from the session town, is because it ought to be a chief object of these courts to administer to the recovery of the smallest demands, and the redress of the least important wrongs, as well as demands of a more considerable amount and injuries of a more serious extent. In many cases of this description the parties may be very competent and be desirous of conducting their causes themselves, without the employment of either attorneys or counsel. They may, too, be without the means of travelling otherwise than on foot; or the matter in dispute may not be worth incurring the expense of any other mode of travelling. How, for instance, could a day-labourer, with wages of 9s. or 10s. a week, pay for horse-hire or travelling by stage-coach? Or, if the defendant be a day-labourer, what prospect would the plaintiff have of obtaining repayment of such expenses in the shape of costs? Or how far could it be reasonable that such a defendant, owing a debt of a few shillings, and withholding payment (as would be the case nine times in ten) from inability, or pressing inconvenience, rather than positive dis-

honesty, should be mulcted in an amount of costs, which, under the law as it is at present (but which I shall propose to modify), would take the flock bed from under him, and take away the joint-stools on which his children sat at breakfast to eat their teakettle broth?

But supposing the rule I have suggested to be adopted, a day's journey on foot from home, to be travelled back again the same day, allowing the parties to rise early and to reach home again in good time for bed, after staying in the court, if necessary, till its usual time of rising, which we may suppose 5 in the afternoon, may, in the present improved state of the roads be fairly taken at about 12 miles. And thus the remotest market-towns from the session town, within the jurisdiction of a local court, would be about 12 miles.

Let me, for elucidating the effect of thus locating the new courts, suppose such a court to be established at Bruton in Somersetshire, which place I instance, as being situated in a part of the country with which I am pretty well acquainted. This court would include within its limits the city of Wells, the towns of Glastonbury, Shepton Mallet, Nunny, Frome, Warminster, Mere, Wincanton, Shaftesbury, Stalbridge, Milborne Port, Sherborne, Yeovil, Somerton, Ilchester, and Castle Cary, (all of which places are within 13, and all but two or three within 12, miles of Bruton,) and a large number of perhaps from 100 to 150 populous parishes, chiefly agricultural, but in part manufacturing. I suppose the next court to this at Bruton in one direction (the north eastern), to be fixed at Melksham in Wiltshire. The Melksham court would include Westbury, Bradford, Trowbridge, Devizes, Bath, Calne, Chippenham, East Lavington, with, of course, all the intermediate and adjoining parishes. Let the next court, in the opposite direction from Bruton, be fixed at Taunton. It would, I apprehend, include Wellington, Bampton, Daberton, Wyveliscombe, Nether Stowey, Bridgewater, Langport, Ilminster, Chard, Crewkerne, besides the neighbouring village parishes. See, then,

what a large extent of the most fertile and (with the exception of the largest towns in the manufacturing districts) the most populous part of England would be comprehended within the limits of three courts alone. Three courts will thus extend over all the market-towns within a tract of 72 miles long by 24 wide, but to which tract must be added a further space, both in length and breadth, for rural villages lying beyond the farthestmost market-towns within the jurisdiction of each court. Supposing this additional space on an average to be four miles in each direction from each court, the three courts will cover a space of 96 miles long by 32 wide. By the same rule six courts will extend over a space of 192 miles by 32, and about seven times six will, perhaps, reach over all England.

But I have furnished quite sufficient for most persons' reading at one spell, and must, with your permission, beg leave to trouble you again.

I am, Sir, with many thanks for your insertion of my former letter,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,

J. GEORGE.

Temple, August 14, 1833.

Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

PETITIONS.

I HERE publish a list of the petitions which I presented on Monday last, in order that those who have done me the honour to intrust them to my care, may see that I have presented them. I am sorry that I have been unable to present some of them sooner; but it was quite impossible for me to do it before, without neglecting my duty as a member of the select committee on the POPAY-affair; and that was too important a matter to trifle with.

1. INHABITANTS OF OLDEHAM. Sets forth their grievous disappointment at the effects of the Reform Bill; and prays for universal suffrage, annual parliaments, vote by ballot, and no property qualification for members.—7,000 signatures.

2. GODALMING POLITICAL UNION. Prays for vote by ballot, and repeal of the Septennial Act.
3. NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION. Complains of the gross partiality of taxation, particularly of the legacy and probate duties; and prays for a speedy adjustment of the same.
4. INHABITANTS OF NOTTINGHAM, BASFORD, &c. Complaint and prayer the same. *Two very able petitions.*
5. JOSEPH RUSSELL, BIRMINGHAM. Complains of the vindictive conduct of a self-elected body of commissioners, in prosecuting him for printing a hand-bill for another person.
6. HUNSTON, Sussex. Prays for the abolition of the malt and hop taxes. *Signed by every man in the parish.*
7. OLDHAM. *From persons who took part in taking Seringapatam in 1799.* States, that they have received the first division of their prize-money, and have made repeated applications for the remainder without effect: prays that the House will cause the same to be paid them.
8. MANCHESTER. Prays that the legacy and probate duties may be laid equally on *real* as well as personal property.
9. EDWARD BYRNE, SURGON, RATCLIFF. Prays for a law for the better recovery of small debts in the Tower Hamlets.
10. MR. FOLSCH, BURLINGTON ARCADE. States that there can be no prosperity nor happiness in this country while the National Debt remains, and prays that the House will appoint a Select Committee, before which he is prepared to lay a plan for the extinction of the Debt, without injustice to any one.
11. WM. NORRIS. Complains of the treatment which he has received from the Stamp Office, after having hunted up several thousand pounds of legacy.
12. *Chairman of a Meeting at Manchester.* Complains of the treatment of Wm. Simmons, late a private in the Foot Guards, in being discharged with disgrace for read-

- ing an unstamped newspaper, and prays for a Committee of the whole House to investigate the matter, and grant justice to the said Wm. Simmons.
13. *Mr. Bluzland, Leamington.* Prays that the House will not grant the twenty millions compensation to the West India proprietors.
14. *Public Meeting of the Working Classes of Edinburgh.* Prays for an inquiry into the spy-police affair.
15. *Mr. FOSTER*, late editor and proprietor of the *Leeds Patriot*. Complains that, in consequence of his advocating the Ten-Hour Bill, he was made the subject of a vindictive and vexatious prosecution for alleged libel; that he appeared at York Assizes prepared to refute the charge; but that, the charge being so frivolous, the Judge recommended the withdrawal of a juror. That petitioner's counsel submitted to this recommendation, rather than proceed in direct opposition to the Judge, although he was certain of a verdict had the trial proceeded: that, by this arrangement, petitioner was saddled with enormous expenses, amounting to nearly 300*l.*, and that for having committed no offence against the laws: prays that the House will adopt measures to prevent other persons being made the victims of spite and caprice.
16. *Mr. GRIFFIN.* Prayed for some pecuniary compensation on account of some improvements, which he had suggested, having been made in the army dress, &c. *Not received.*
17. *JAMES LUSH.* States, that about two years ago, he kept cows at Peckham Rye; and that he was robbed of the milk by a sergeant in the police; that he clearly proved the charge at the station house; that the sergeant not only was not punished for the theft, but that he was still employed as a *sergeant*, being removed to another district. Prays for an inquiry
- into the same; and that justice may be impartially administered.
18. *Mr. WM. DEAN.* Sets forth that he entered the police three years ago; that he was, soon after, appointed a clerk; and subsequently to be a police-sergeant, doing the duty of a deputy-inspector; that he continued as such until May last, without having a single fault laid to his charge; and that his promotion was obtained solely by his meritorious conduct: that in May last, he was dismissed by the commissioners of police for having condemned the conduct of Secretary Viscount MELBOURNE; and for having called the *Callthorpe-street jury noble men*: that he was not, from first to last, confronted with his accuser; was allowed no opportunity of defending himself; nor even hearing before the commissioners: complains of the arbitrary and unjust conduct of the commissioners, and prays, that the House will take steps to prevent such acts of gross injustice for the future.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

SIR,—Seeing in the *True Sun* of last night, that a meeting of the "Metropolitan Political Union" is to be held on Saturday evening next, for the purpose of taking into consideration the means of obtaining for each parish the management and control of its police, and that I have accepted an invitation to attend the same, I have to state, that I did accept the invitation, and should have attended; but finding that money is to be taken for admission to the meeting, I shall not attend.

I am, Sir, your most obedient

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Bolt-court, 22. August.

POLICE.

Thursday evening.

✓ To-day (for the Parliament has got to sit by daylight at last) I made a statement in the House relative to the conduct of POPAY, of M'LEAN, and of the commissioners, abstaining from making any motion upon the subject; expressing my hope that the Government would do justice in the case; but promising that if justice be not done before the next meeting of Parliament, I would then bring it forward. I trust that the Government will do justice; and that will be a great deal better than making a stir to inflame the minds of the people, already too greatly and too justly inflamed. I have been particularly offended with the commissioners for their conduct to Mr. W. DEAN, who is a very worthy young man, who was a sergeant and clerk in the police, got promoted solely by his merit, was two years without committing a single fault, and who was dismissed on the charge of having said, relative to the CALTHORPE-STREET affair, something highly disrespectful of Lord MELBOURNE, having censured the police for their conduct there, and having praised the verdict of the CALTHORPE-STREET jury. Now this was indiscreet on the part of Mr. DEAN; it was a great fault in him to speak disrespectfully of Lord MELBOURNE if he did so speak, which he denies; and, in his situation, it was not prudent for him to speak, as he probably did, about the conduct of the police and the jury. But, allowing the charge to be true to its fullest extent, what was DEAN's offence compared to that of BARILETT, who milked LUSH's cows, and who, though charged with that offence, was still kept in his post as sergeant by M'LEAN and the commissioners! I grant, that the commissioners must possess the absolute power of dismissal, without cause assigned; but, *if there be a cause assigned*, then the party is entitled to a hearing; and this hearing the commissioners did not give to Mr. DEAN. I was sorry to hear Mr. LAMB say something about the commissioners thinking Mr. DEAN "*wad*" Accuse anybody belonging to

the Government of something that they cannot answer, and immediately some *immorality* is imputed to you; and if you be spotless as snow, then you are mad! I was sorry to hear this from Mr. LAMB, because I have never seen in him any proneness to foul play. Mr. DEAN is a sober, conscientious, and clever young man: he drew up the petition for his neighbours at WALWORTH; and he attended solely at my request to give evidence relative to the complaint about milking the cows, he having been present when LUSH made the complaint; and LUSH living at too great a distance to be conveniently brought to the committee. I never saw, or heard of, Mr. DEAN before this affair. I seldom do things by halves. I have thought it necessary to make strict inquiries into his character, as well as his origin; and better testimonials of good character are not possessed by any man living. Mr. DEAN has thus been thrown out of employment, he having a wife and three small children; and I cannot help thinking, that if Lord MELBOURNE would but consider what it is for a man to be thus situated, who has no means of support, but that which is to come from the use of his talents in writing, or as a teacher (the capacity in which he was before he entered the police), I cannot help thinking, that he would endeavour to find out some mode of mitigating the injury thus done to Mr. DEAN; and especially, when the indiscreet offence was committed against himself. I know that I should do it; and it does not become me to suppose, that this nobleman is less magnanimous or less merciful than I should be. We have not, all of us, at all times, complete command of our tongues, "no, nor of our PENS either," his Lordship will say, nodding his head on one side. Granted; but, if a fellow, with a pen in his hand, at the end of forty years, lets slip out "that potatoes and salt won't burn," and such-like indiscreet phrases, what allowance is to be made for a young man, who, amidst the hubbub of popular excitement, lets out a hasty expression about the conduct of his superior! Besides, Mr. DEAN denies having either spoken

or thought disrespectfully of his Lordship; and Lord MELBOURNE ought to overlook, and I trust will overlook, this little and only instance of misconduct, and will take Mr. DEAN's case into his consideration. If Mr. DEAN could make shoes or coats, or lay bricks, or put on tiles, or make boxes, or door-frames, I should think nothing of the matter; but, having none of these to resort to, he has, in fact, been most grievously injured by this proceeding; and I once more express my hope, that Lord MELBOURNE will do something for him. I insert here below the petition of Mr. DEAN, and the newspaper report of what took place on Monday last, when I presented this petition.

The next petition was from a cow-keeper at Walworth, who stated that he, several mornings, on going out to milk his cows, found they had been milked before he got them. That he was for some time unable to discover who the offender was, until one morning, on going out as usual to milk his cows, he saw a police sergeant of the name of Bartlett, of the P division, with a pot in his hand—(laughter)—who, on finding he was discovered, laid down the pot and ran off. The plaintiff found that the pot was worn, and that there was a small quantity of milk at the bottom of it. The petitioner stated that he was at a station at Peckham Rye; that he was in the habit of milking the cows and giving the milk to the policemen.—He was removed from Peckham Rye to Walworth, and there continued to do duty as a policeman. The hon. Member then presented a petition from an inspector of police, complaining of the conduct of the commissioners in dismissing him from office, and without having been guilty of any misconduct. Mr. Cobbett contrasted the two cases with great force. Subjoined is the petition:

"That your petitioner was born at Shepton-Mallett, in the county of Somerset, of respectable parents, his father being a landowner and brewer in that place, and that he received his edu-

cation at the grammar-school in that town.

"That in October, 1830, he entered the Metropolitan Police, recommended by his last employer, Mr. Dawson, of the Mausion-house, Camberwell, whom your petitioner served as a classical teacher in his academy; also by the Rev. Dr. Lindsay, of Dulwich College, and other respectable gentlemen.

"That your petitioner, in two months after he joined, was appointed to act as divisional clerk; that in September, 1831, he was promoted to the rank of sergeant-clerk, with the pay of 1*l*. 1*s*. per week. That your petitioner was made full sergeant in February, 1832, with the pay of 1*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*., and was then appointed to do duty as an inspector, in which capacity your petitioner remained until he was dismissed, on 26. May, 1833.

"That your petitioner begs to assure your hon. House that his promotion, as before stated, was obtained solely by his meritorious conduct, never having had any interest made by any friend whatever for his promotion.

"That your petitioner was highly respected by the inhabitants in the parishes of Camberwell and Walworth, never having had any complaint made against him except once, by the writer of an anonymous letter, who made a charge against your petitioner, which was brought before the commissioners, and, the case being so contemptible, was dismissed.

"That on the 22 May, 1833, the superintendent M Lean, of the P division, ordered him to his office; that there and then Maisey the inspector read to him a report for a charge that was made to the commissioners against your petitioner; that this charge was in the following words:

"For boisterous and improper conduct in Camberwell watchhouse on the 21 instant, in condemning the conduct of Secretary Viscount Melbourne and the police force generally, and for applauding the jury for their verdict relative to the murder of Culley; and that for this cause your petitioner was informed that he was suspended until

further orders. That on the 26. of May, your petitioner received a letter from Walters, the inspector, informing him that he was dismissed by order of the commissioners.

"That your petitioner never was, from first to last, confronted with his accusers; that he was never called upon for any defence, answer, or explanation, and that he never had from first to last, any hearing on the subject, either before the commissioners or any other person in authority, connected with the police establishment.

"Finally, your petitioner humbly prays that your honourable House will adopt such measures, with regard to the Government of the metropolitan police as shall prevent such arbitrary, inquisitorial, and truly un-English-like conduct on the part of the commissioners for the future, and as shall secure to every man a fair and just hearing, before he is dismissed with injury to his character. And further, your petitioner prays that your honourable House will cause inquiries to be made as to the truth of your petitioner's statement, and will take such steps for redressing your petitioner's grievance as your honourable House may deem fit.

"And your petitioner will ever pray."

TO THE

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 23. August, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,—I, yesterday, in my place in the House of Commons, made the motion which you will see here below, which motion was agreed to by the Ministers, without either hesitation or reluctance. We shall, therefore, have these papers before us properly authenticated; and, you may be assured, that I shall then take those steps (in the next session), which there was no possibility of taking in the present session. As I told the people at MANCHESTER, and as I told you, I will never do, or propose to do, any thing which can possibly be imputed to a feeling of vindictiveness. Let the conduct of our

bitter and unjust enemies have been what it might, I will pursue the mildest course known to the laws and usages of this kingdom. Justice demands that the *reformers* of 1817 and 1819, who suffered so unjustly, should receive from a *reformed* Parliament, a declaration that that suffering was unjust; and that the like shall never happen again. This is due to them, and to the whole people; and, moreover, something is due, in the way of atonement, in some shape or another, to the *surviving sufferers themselves*, among whom are several of my immediate constituents. I was not sent to Parliament by you to carp at, and to pick holes in the coat of the executive Government. I will never do any thing for the purpose of annoying them, be their conduct towards me what it may. Therefore, if they be disposed to do justice in this case, I shall be very happy in having been the means of bringing the matter under their consideration; but I must have a formal and solemn assurance from this Parliament, that the horrible wrongs which I complain of, shall *never take place again*; that our children shall never be subjected to those acts of tyranny and indignity, to which we, their fathers, have been subjected. The following is a copy of the motions.

"That there be laid before this House a return of all the persons who were imprisoned, in Great Britain, in virtue of the Act of 1817 (57. Geo. 3. chap. 3.), stating, with regard to each person separately, 1. his name; 2. his place of abode at the time of his arrest; 3. the prison, or different prisons, in which he was confined; 4. the date of his commitment; 5. the date of his discharge from prison; 6. the grounds of his commitment, as far as the same can be stated; and, 7. the name of the person, or persons, who signed his commitment. Also for a copy of a circular letter, which was addressed by Lord Viscount Sidmouth to the lords-lieutenant of counties, and which was dated, 'Whitehall, 27, March, 1817.' Also for a copy of the letter, which was addressed by the said Lord Viscount

“ Sidmouth to the Earl of Derby, directing the said Earl to thank the magistrates, who acted at Manchester on the 16. August, 1819.”

SEIZURE FOR TAXES AT HULL,

AND REFUSAL OF THE PEOPLE TO PURCHASE WHEN OFFERED FOR SALE BY AUCTION.

ON Monday last, the 12. instant, considerable excitement was manifested in Hull, on its being announced by Mr. Noble, printer, bookseller, and news agent, by a placard posted generally about the town, that property seized from him for refusing to pay assessed taxes would that morning be attempted to be sold by auction, at the Exchange Sale-rooms.

It was generally supposed that Mr. Hyde, the auctioneer, being a respectable man, would refuse to sell the property. In that, however, they were mistaken; Mr. Hyde pleaded *ignorance* as to their having been seized, and observed that having made entry of them he must offer them for sale.

By ten o'clock, the time announced for the sale, the rooms were crowded almost to suffocation, as also the adjacent court and passage, by tradesmen and shopkeepers generally, all firmly determined not to purchase at any price. The goods seized were five elegant portable writing desks and two sets of books.

After the auctioneer had announced the conditions of sale, Mr. Noble addressed the persons assembled, of which the following is an outline:

“ MY FRIENDS,—You are both the Judge and the Jury in this case. Mr. Hyde has opened the proceedings, and it will be my business, as briefly as I can, consistently with the duty I owe myself, and my obligations to you, to state the case to you.

“ You are perfectly aware of the business which has called us together; you have been informed of it by my placard; namely, the seizure of my property for the non-payment of taxes, and the announcement that

“ that property is this day to be attempted to be sold here by auction.

“ During the unjust wars of the French Revolution—wars waged for the express purpose of exterminating liberty and filling the pockets of the aristocracy—a multitude of additional taxes were unequally imposed upon the people, called assessed taxes, granted by iniquitous and corrupt Houses of Commons to the minister of the day, on the solemn pledge that they being war taxes, they should cease and terminate with the termination of the war. But what is the real fact? Peace was ratified in the year 1815, now more than eighteen years ago—and the present Minister of the crown, the ‘*retrenching*’ Whig Althorp—the great advocate for the abolition of these imposts when out of place—he now tells you he cannot AFFORD to abate one farthing of the odious window tax, whilst he is about to give TWENTY MILLIONS of money as compensation to the West Indian slave-holders, at the very time they are admitting that free labour is cheaper than slavery.

“ It is not for Lord Althorp, or any other Lord, or any other Minister to say he cannot ‘*afford*’ to abate these taxes: it is perfectly useless for him to say so: the people cannot pay these infamous taxes, and if they could, they will soon find *constitutional* means for refusing them.

“ A Whig (said Mr. N. sarcastically) is a Whig! and saying this is saying every thing you can say which is base in political apostacy. This has ever been the case; their conduct has always been marked by hypocrisy, imbecility, and deceit.

“ When Fox came into office in 1806, his motto was similar to that of the present Premier, Reform, Retrenchment, and Peace. The first he never heartily attempted to accomplish; as to the second, he added ten per cent. to the property tax, and attempted to send an exciseman into every man’s house who brewed his own beer; and, thirdly, he abandoned the principles

"he professed out of office, and there
"was war the whole of his adminis-
"tration, and he died with Great
"Britain and France, and the continent.
"all involved in war. So much for
"his pledge of *reform, retrenchment,*
"*and peace!*"—(Immense cheering
followed this address-).

The first article offered was a portable desk—no biddings;—but, just as the auctioneer was about to pass the lot, a voice from the crowd faintly screamed out "five shillings;" every eye was turned to the place, where the sound came from, and the whole inquiry was, "Who is he? turn him out," &c. when it proved to be Lee, a constable, and the person to whom the warrant was intrusted to seize the property. The groans and execrations were now perfectly deafening; still this individual persisted in his determination, and it was knocked down to him at a quarter the cost price. On a second being offered, he was again the bidder and purchaser: after this the people would bear it no longer, and the rest of the lots were passed without his having the courage to be again the purchaser.

Mr. Noble then again briefly addressed the people. He observed it had not turned out *exactly* as he had anticipated, inasmuch as Lee had stepped in between him and them. But, as it respected the merchants and tradesmen assembled, his anticipations had been completely realized. Mr. N. then observed that a few pusillanimous imbeciles, persons who have just courage enough to sign a petition prepared at some hole-and-corner meeting, when brought to them, had endeavoured to persuade him not to persist in trying the issue of the sale, as "plenty of
"people would be found to purchase,
"and it might injure his trade by giving
"offence." To these he replied, "he did
"not believe the people *would* purchase,
"and as to the *injury* he was likely to
"sustain, no tradesman would leave
"his shop on that account. How could
"they?—when the whole of them had
"over and over again signed petitions
"for the extinction of the odious house
"and window taxes and assessed taxes

"generally. All, all had done so, ex-
"cept a few aldermen, and who were
"also the commissioners; their cus-
"tom he had never had much of, nor
"did he covet it; for the *ready money*
"of his friends he saw before him was
"of infinitely more value to him than
"an alderman's trust, *especially* if he
"pleaded the statute of limitation for
"the non-payment of his just debts."
This last observation was followed by
thunders of applause, as it was known
to every person present to whom it re-
ferred.—"He had higher game to play
"than to make it a *star qua non* whe-
"ther he should tamely submit to a
"continuance of these exactions on the
"ground of losing the custom of *alder-*
"*men*, NOT ONE OF WHOM RESIDED IN
"THE TOWN, and a very few in the
"country."

Mr. N. then closed his address by as-
suring them that he should immediately
give the greatest possible publicity in
his power to the proceedings of the
morning, and left the auction rooms
amidst the cheers and congratulations of
the assembled multitude.

EDINBURGH CHURCH TAX.

My readers have heard of the strife
in this fine city, relative to the tax by
which the clergy are maintained. The
storm was brewing when I was there
last year; and now, apparently, it has
burst forth. Mr. TAIT, the editor of
the very celebrated magazine, has re-
sisted the payment of the tax, and has
been sent to prison. In the House of
Commons, I gave an explanation of the
grounds of the quarrel, and defended, as
well as I could, the tax-payers of *Edin-*
"*burgh*, without any attempt to dispa-
"rage the character of the clergy. The
grounds of the dispute are fully set forth
in the following articles from the *Edin-*
"*burgh Chronicle*, and in the letters of Mr.
TAIT; all which I lay before my readers,
who will clearly see, that this resis-
tance to taxation has not been made with-
out just cause. We have here another
instance of the final effects of partial,
and, therefore, unjust taxation.

EDINBURGH ANNUITY TAX.

First letter of Mr. Tait from the Calton Jail, which appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* of Monday the 12. August.

To the Editor of the *Caledonian Mercury*.

Sir, — I wish to be allowed, through the medium of your paper, to explain the reason which has induced me to submit to imprisonment, rather than pay the annuity or minister's stipend. My reasons are these:

The tax was imposed by the act of 1661, and preceding acts, to raise 19,000 marks, which were to be applied to the maintenance of only six of the twelve Edinburgh clergymen, whereas a sum very much larger has been collected, under the name of annuity, and applied to the maintenance of *all* the Edinburgh clergymen, and to *other* purposes.

That collection and application of the annuity was illegal up to 1809; and was only then made legal (if legal it yet is), by a clause surreptitiously and illegally inserted in an act of Parliament, which had been introduced as one for simply extending the royalty of the city. Unless an act of Parliament, fraudulently obtained by the clergy, can make the annuity, as now collected and applied, *legal*, the collection and application are still *illegal*.

Altogether, by the annuity, ministers, shopkeepers at Leith, &c. about 21,000*l.* are collected, in the name of the church establishment, while only about half that sum is applied to its legitimate purposes.

The sum levied from the citizens of Edinburgh is not only too large, but is unequally levied and absurdly applied; 55,000 souls, in the extended royalty, having thirty churches, and eighteen ministers, to whom about 9,000*l.* per annum is paid, while 70,000 souls, in that part of Edinburgh which is called the parish of St. Cuthbert's, pay no part of the annuity tax, the two clergymen of this parish and those of the chapels of ease belonging to it, being paid by the heritors, or from the seat-rents.

The above inequality of the assessment is further aggravated by the exemption of the members of the College of Justice; also, by the tax being laid upon shops, &c., as well as dwelling houses, although the latter are the proper measures of the incomes of the inhabitants.

For those and other reasons, detailed in a petition to Parliament, and a report by the Committee of Inhabitants, the collection of the annuity has been considered unjust and oppressive. Payment has been refused by the inhabitants; and when the clergy proceeded to distrain the goods of the recusants, their proceedings were rendered ineffective by the impossibility of finding purchasers for the distrained goods. Finding their seizure of the citizens' goods inoperative, the clergy are resorting to the extremity of imprisonment. Mr. Wilson, pocket-book maker, was the first seized on. He, as was publicly announced, submitted immediately on being imprisoned

to the imposition of the clergy, on account of the state of his health. I have been selected as the second victim; and, as I have not Mr. Wilson's reason for instant submission, or what I conceive injustice and oppression. I have permitted the clergy to imprison me; and send you this statement from my place of confinement, the jail, Calton Hill.

In reference to St. Peter's name, on Savius said, "Upon this rock I have built my church." It is now seen upon what rock the Edinburgh clergy rest their establishment; the rock on which stands the Calton jail.

Let no man tell me that I ought to petition Parliament for an alteration of the law, instead of opposing this passive resistance to the law. Petitioning has been tried, once and again; and what has been the result? Why, that the Lord Advocate of Scotland, one of the representatives of our city, and a Minister of the Crown, has attempted to sanction the hideous injustice of which we complain, by a new act of Parliament, fixing down the odious annuity tax upon us more firmly than ever, with no amelioration of the injustice, except the doing away with the exemption of the College of Justice!

I believe there is no hope of redress but from refusal of payment until the extremity of imprisonment is resorted to. In that belief I have acted, and

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM TAIT.

Second letter from the Calton Jail which appeared in the *Observer*, of Tuesday the 13.

To the Reverend Messrs. G. H. Baird, James Marshall, Andrew Brown, Robert Gordon, John Hunter, Alexander Brunton, John Lee, John Inglis, R. Anderson, Daniel Wilkie, David Ritchie, A. Grant, James Martin, Henry Grey, William Muir, Thomas Macknight, and John Bruce, clergymen of the Established Church in Edinburgh.

REV. GENTLEMEN, — Since you have thought fit to lay me in jail for refusing to pay an assessment for your support, I consider it due to myself, and to the cause of truth, that I should publicly vindicate my own conduct. I is possible that some good men, under the influence of prejudice and partial views, may consider that I have acted unjustifiably, and contrary to the dictates of religion. I wish to stand well with these men; and if I do not convince them, I hope at least to mitigate the severity of their censures, and to show that, in this contest, I am not the only offending party.

I do not pretend to discuss theology with you; but I know that many of the wisest and best of men, have been of opinion that the religion of Jesus Christ can legitimately rest for its support only on the conviction of its professors; and that its great Founder has proscribed the use of all carnal weapons and worldly policy in the defence and propagation of the Gospel.

I have looked through the whole of the New Testament, and cannot find the shadow of an authority for laying an assessment on any town, city, or country, for the support of its ministers.

I read (John xviii. 36) that Jesus Christ, in answer to Pilate's inquiries, told him, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight."

I read that when the Apostle Paul was desirous that the Corinthians should contribute for Christian purposes, in 2d Cor., 9th chap. which you may turn to at your leisure, he used various and powerful arguments to induce them to contribute liberally; and in the beginning of the next chapter he says, "Now I Paul, myself, beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ: the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God." But it is needless to multiply quotations. I only ask you if you can conscientiously believe that it is the same religion that breathes in these passages, and which instigated you to send your sheriff-officers to drag me to jail, without permitting me to get to my own shop to make the necessary arrangements.

The true Christian religion is founded on the Apostles and Prophets; Jesus Christ, himself, being the chief corner stone; but what have you proved the religion of the establishment to be founded on? The bars, and bolts, and stigma of a jail. Take away the powerful support of the jailers, and where is the Kirk of Scotland?

Alas for Christianity, reverend sirs, if it had only the shining light of your conduct to manifest it.

I do not deny that you have a legal enactment for what you are now perpetrating against the religion you profess; but I maintain that the law is not only essentially unjust; but surreptitiously obtained. It is essentially unjust, inasmuch as it compels men who do not approve of the principles of a sect, to contribute to its support—it was surreptitiously obtained, as it was passed through Parliament without giving the parties interested the legal intimation; and the enactment was procured by the magistracy really for other purposes.

But I am told, that however the law was obtained, it is law, and must be obeyed. I acknowledge that the laws, while in force ought to be obeyed; but I likewise maintain that bad laws ought to be repealed. Now, my object in refusing payment of the assessment for your stipends, is, to show to the country and to yourselves, the utter abomination of this law, and the necessity for some alteration; and, in short, that no compulsory assessment, for the support of the Gospel, can be resorted to, without depending on the aid of the jailer. I have been the more induced to take this step, from perceiving that your reverend body has petitioned Parliament against any alteration of this annuity tax. You cling to the filthy lucre, with whatever injustice and heart-

burnings it may be attended. I see that nothing but decided steps on the part of the payers will procure an equitable adjustment on the part of the payees; and in the hope that I may be in some small measure instrumental in bringing about a consummation so devoutly to be wished, I have submitted to no small inconvenience and odium.

Those who resist payment of this unjust, unchristian, and obnoxious tax have been, branded as doing injury to religion; but I hope the public will perceive that there are two parties in this game, and that if you, gentlemen, had been as anxious to promote the cause of Christianity, as to increase the income of your own order, you would have imitated the conduct of the Apostles, and of the ministers of several denominations of Christians. Had you said, by law we are entitled to the 6 per cent. annuity, but rather than injure the cause of the religion we profess, and be charged with oppression and violence, we shall submit to be defrauded of part of our rights, in all probability the deficiency would have been more than made up by your congregations; but even if the opposition had diminished your incomes by 100l. or so, would you sell your master for 100 pieces of gold.

By your violent and harsh assertion of your rights, you have not perhaps injured Christianity, but you have shaken the Kirk. It is not likely that the country will long submit to the burden of a jail-supported church. The inhabitants of Edinburgh have already resolved that this annuity tax shall be abolished; and if I can be, in any humble degree, assistant in relieving them from its oppression, I shall consider myself fully rewarded for all I have suffered at your hands—I am, rev. sirs, with profound respect, your humble and submissive prisoner,

WILLIAM TAIT.

Calton Jail, 12 August, 1833.

MR. TAIT'S LIBERATION.

He stepped into an open carriage, drawn by four horses, which stood on the street, and beside him sat Mr Howden, Mr. R. Millar, Mr. Robert Chambers, and Mr. Deuchar. At this moment, one of the gentlemen in the carriage, waving his hat, proposed three cheers for the King, and three cheers for Mr. Tait,—both of which propositions were most enthusiastically carried into effect. The procession was then about to move off, when, much against the will of Mr. Tait and the committee, the crowd to look the horses from the carriage, and with ropes drew it along the route of procession, which was along Waterloo place, and Princes-street, to Walker-street—as the procession marched along, it was joined by several other trades, who had been late in getting ready, and seldom have we seen such a dense mass of individuals as Princes-street presented on this occasion. In the procession alone, there were no fewer than 8,000 individuals: and we are sure that the

spectators were more than thrice as numerous. Mr. Tait was frequently cheered as he passed along,—and never, but on the occasion of the Reform Bill, was a more unanimous feeling witnessed than on that which brought the people together yesterday afternoon.

The procession reached Walker-street, and Mr. Tait soon appeared on the balcony of his house, and addressed his "Friends and Fellow Citizens," in a speech happily adapted to the audience and the occasion, which was received with really *tremendous applause*. It was as follows:—

My Friends and fellow-Citizens.—I thank you most cordially for this demonstration of your approval of my conduct, in reference to the annuity tax. Had the tax been a just one, neither would I have refused payment, nor would you have countenanced resistance to it. But the annuity is a flagrantly unjust assessment. It is needless for me to point out the particular objections to this odious tax. You know them well: you feel them. (Cheers). You are here to express the intensity of your feelings of disgust and indignation at the conduct of the Edinburgh clergy in persisting in this exaction, in refusing every compromise with the inhabitants, in seizing the inhabitants' goods, and imprisoning their persons. My friends, I am one of those who think any compulsory assessment for the maintenance of the clergy improper, however equally levied or judiciously applied. (Loud cheers). There is no warrant in Scripture for such assessments. No compulsory provision for the clergy is authorised by the practice of the apostles, or the early Christians. The brethren were liberal in their offerings; but their contributions were all voluntary. On what does a compulsory assessment for the clergy rest? On the jail. (Loud cheering). It leads the ministers of the gospel of peace into inevitable hostility with their flocks. Either directly, with their own hands, or indirectly, by the hands of magistrates, lawyers, and messengers-at-arms, must the clergy, if they are to be supported by a compulsory assessment, seize the goods of their parishioners and sell them, seize the persons of their parishioners, and thrust them into a jail. A compulsory provision simply means, a provision supported by distraint and imprisonment. Are distraint and imprisoning fit employments for spiritual teachers? No; assuredly not. Conceive, my friends, a meek man of God seizing the goods of a parishioner who happens to be of another sect, and carrying them off to the Cross, to be roused for his stipend! Or conceive him seizing a seceder, or a Baptist, or a Catholic, by the collar, and dragging him to the jail. To bring this more completely home to our minds, conceive the Rev. Dr. Brunton loading his back with a poor widow's half-rotten chest of drawers, tucking her meal-girnel under his right arm, and her *creepy* under his left, with the porridge-pot upon his head; conceive him thus accoutred, wending his way to the Cross, and there knocking

them down to the highest bidder, pocketing the miserable sum which they bring for his stipend and expenses of seizure and sale. (Immense cheering and laughter). Conceive the Rev. Dr. Inglis, or Dr. Horning, as he is now called, going a step beyond his nickname, flourishing not a *horning* (the fees of which "go all to my son," as a recent ballad says), but a *CAPTAIN*, in his left hand, while his terrible right seizes some obdurate recusant, like myself, by the collar, and the process of dragging to jail follows the process raised by the Rev. Dr. Horning's son. Conceive that gentle and Rev. Doctor, who preaches Toryism occasionally to "Why rage the Heathen?" and other texts, should mildly take out of his waistcoat pocket not a snuff-box, but a messenger's three-inch ebony baton, tipped with silver like his own voice, saying, with a half-bow and a loving paternal air, I request you to consider yourself my prisoner. (Loud cheers). And are not all these conceptions of things monstrous, odious, and abominable? (Tremendous cheers). But is there any real difference between the clergy doing these things themselves, and employing other and ruder hands to do them? (No, no). I know that the Edinburgh clergy give out that *not they*, but the magistrates pound and imprison for annuity. The magistrates might as well say that not they, but Peter Hill; and Peter might as well say, that not he, but my captor, Mr. Thomson, the messenger, thrust me into the Calton Jail, without allowing me to go to two divisions of Prince's-street, to see my morning letters. My friends, this is an old trick of established clergy. Spain, as you know, has its established clergy, too; who have a sort of annuity, as well as our Edinburgh clergy, though it goes by another name. In times not long gone past, the Spanish clergy had recourse to something more than imprisoning those heretics whose doctrines endangered their dear annuity. They burned them. Yet, like our clergy here, they constantly said, "Gentlemen, it is not we that burn you. Far be it from our spiritual office to do such a thing. We only *hand you over to the civil power*; and this we do with a recommendation to have mercy on you!" (Great laughter and approbation). Whether this led the poor martyrs of the Inquisition, while the fire was kindling round the stake, to acquit the holy brotherhood of the burning of their bodies, I know not. But I know that the excuse of the Edinburgh clergy, that they merely hand me and other martyrs of the annuity-tax over to our civil power,—to our rotten corporation, to Peter Hill, or to the tender mercies of messengers-at-arms and jailers, will not pass with me. I look only to the prime actors. I thank Messrs. Baird, Brown, and Lee, &c. for my imprisonment. How different all this form from the example of the meek founder of Christianity! How different from the noble conduct of the Apostle Paul! "These hands," said he, with the warrantable pride of independence, "These hands

"have ministered to my necessities, that I might not be chargeable to any of you." (Applause).

But if an assessment differing widely from the annuity tax, an assessment fairly levied and fairly applied to the maintenance of the clergy, be thus objectionable, how much more a tax which has all the absurdities and injustices of the annuity to condemn it, in addition to the fact of its being compulsory. My friends, the days of the years of the annuity tax are expired. It may live in your remembrance as an old oppression; the clergy may recollect it with a sigh, as a sweet morsel which they used to roll under their tongue. But annuity shall be exacted no more. You, my friends, have said it, and who dare gainsay it? (Applause). After this grand, this majestic demonstration of your determination that this crying injustice shall cease, rash will be that clergyman who shall authorise its execution,—rash will be that magistrate, that lawyer, and that messenger, or sheriff's officer, who shall dare to lay his odious hands on the goods or persons of the people of Edinburgh. But, does any one ask are the clergy of Edinburgh to starve? Starving is not the alternative. There is not, there never was, the least chance of their starving. The proper fund for their payment is the seat rents, as at Glasgow. (Cheers). But if the magistrates refuse them the seat-rents, cannot they prosecute the magistrates as well as the citizens, and enforce their rights. Or, cannot they apply to Parliament; or, cannot they appeal to the generosity or justice of their congregations. Have they so small an opinion of their own value to their congregations as to think they would be left to starve, and be considered a good ridicule? Or could they not work with their hands, or borrow, or beg—anything but disgrace themselves by resorting to distrait and the jail. Why, gentlemen, rather than they should starve, we, who are here gathered together to show our abhorrence of their proceedings, would minister to their necessities until they could find congregations willing to support them. Do they confess that they, of all the different denominations of Christians, would alone be left to perish?

Once more, I express my confident belief, that we have seen the last efforts of the dying annuity tax. It only remains for me again to thank you for the honour you have done me by accompanying me to my home. I am sure you my captivity has sat very lightly upon me. The thought that my conduct has been approved of by you, my fellow-citizens and friends, has more than recompensed my slight sufferings. I have done the cause of religious liberty some service, and I glory in it. (Great cheering).

And now let me entreat you, as you value the success of that good cause, to abstain from every appearance of disorder, or even of irritation against the clergy. Poor fellows! they have had the worst of this controversy. We have beaten them, and can afford to

laugh and be good-natured. For you I have no fear. I expect from you, not only that you will keep the peace you selves, but that you will not allow others to break it. Consider what a matter of rejoicing it would be to our enemies that we should, by any act of violence, however trifling, disgrace our cause. One word more; good-night to the Annuity Tax. (Great approbation and cheering, which lasted some minutes).

Mr. HOWDEN, as the chairman of the inhabitants' committee, then stepped forward, to warn the assembly against giving "occasion to the enemy." It was not needed. Nothing could exceed the propriety with which the people behaved in every circumstance. The procession returned by Priuces street to the Mound, where the different societies were addressed by Messrs. Law, Sargeant, Gunn, and Taylor, and various resolutions were adopted, which we shall afterwards have occasion to notice fully.

For the sake of persons at a distance, we shall in one sentence explain the iniquitous local impost of which Mr. Tait speaks; and which has no more concern with religion, or with the church establishment of Scotland, than with that of Mahomet. It is, apart from the fraudulent manner in which it was imposed, perfectly unique in its nature: confined to Edinburgh, and to a part of Edinburgh; and again to certain of the inhabitants of that limited part, to the entire exemption of those best able to pay,—the whole body of the persons connected with the law and the courts, from the Lord President to the humblest clerk. The amount of the tax is 6 per cent. on rent; but, in certain circumstances, it may amount to 18 and to 24 per cent., or more. A silversmith, a jeweller, a candlemaker, a tinsmith, or general dealer of any kind, is liable to pay, and often does pay 18 per cent. on his rent; 6 for his dwelling-house; 6 per cent. for the place in which he fabricates his wares; and 6 on the shop where he sells them. It is grievous enough, were the whole, in addition to all other heavy burdens local and general, only 6 per cent. But what follows becomes irritating and unendurable. Step across a gutter, or turn a corner, and the tax is not leviable; and if the whole neighbourhood be connected with the law courts, then the unfortunate shopkeeper sees himself the solitary victim of the clergy. Is it surprising that people should for years have rebelled against this excessive and unequal impost? imposed by a trick at first, and levied directly in the face of the universal custom of the Kirk of Scotland, in every other parish and town in Scotland?

For several years hundreds of the most respectable people in business in Edinburgh have refused to pay the annuity. At first by silent agreement, and then by organized passive resistance, the clergy found it impossible to find purchasers for goods distrained for their stipends. The ministers have allowed themselves to be exasperated to the fearful extremity of last week. Mr. Tait's speech explains

how all compromise has been rejected, and from what source ample funds may be found, and are actually raised, for the support of the clergy.

Resistance to this tax is not a party feeling in Edinburgh. It has been refused by all parties, Whigs, Tories, and Radicals. Why Mr. Tait, bred in the church, and attending its ministry, though unwilling to submit to its oppression in this town, was selected as the first victim, it were vain to guess. He was not even a member of the inhabitants' committee, and had taken no active part in their opposition. He was much less in arrears than many of the members of his own profession, the booksellers being nearly all resisters. The tax has been refused by Mr. Adam Black (who accompanied the first process on to jail), by Messrs. Chambers, Mr. T. Ireland, Mr. Richard Millar, Mr. Howden. Even Mr. Blackwood has contended for the equalization of the impost among all classes, thus to reduce it to all. Why Mr. Tait, who was really, among the booksellers, behind in opposition, should have been chosen, is still a mystery. And ever will it be a shame, that while the Solicitor General for England is about bringing in a bill to do away with imprisonment for debt, the reverend successors of those who delivered Scotland from the tyranny of Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Sharp, should just begin to drag Presbyterians to jail for a hateful tax. The ministers and their advisers, probably, believed that he would not go to jail. Fortunately, they mistook their man. In giving him the highest triumph a citizen can enjoy, they have, as he says, bidden good night to the annuity tax.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

THE MARQUIS OF CHANDOS IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. ROBERT WRIGHT called in, and examined.

(Concluded from p. 314, No. 5.)

Do you think it would be possible to enforce it? . . No, I do not think it would, except there were a police-officer stationed in the house all day.

Do you think any police-officer could prevent another person in another name having a house opposite, and there inviting people to come in and drink, and even keeping a skittle ground in his own garden? . . Certainly not; they may do any thing if they are not public-houses.

You said that you thought it would prevent these evils, if the houses were

rated 15*l.* per annum; do you know any respectable public houses that are rated at less than 15*l.* per annum? . . I do not know any respectable public-houses; the one in my own parish is rated at 30*l.*

Do you know how many houses in your parish are rated at 15*l.* a year? . . There are four.

Do those four houses belong to persons that would be likely to open their houses for the sale of beer? . . No, I do not think they would.

Then you would exclude from your parish entirely any other beer-shop? . . It does not follow that a man of capital might not build a house that would be worth 15*l.* a year.

Do you not think that if the people that keep beer-shops were compelled to brew their own beer in their own houses, that that would insure a more respectable class holding those beer-shops? . . It certainly would, because they must have a larger house to do it in.

Are the excise officers, to the best of your knowledge, in the habit of visiting those beer-houses? . . Never.

Have any informations been laid before your bench by excise officers, touching the illegal selling of spirits in the beer-houses? . . About two years ago there were two instances where informations were laid for persons selling spirits, where they only took out a license for beer.

With reference to what scale is it that you fix upon 15*l.* a year as the proper amount of qualification for setting up a beer-house? . . Fifteen pounds a year in the country would produce such a house that no person but of respectable character would live in. In the first place, on account of the rent he would have to pay for it, and he must have some little property to furnish it.

Are you not aware that in the country villages, there is a great difference between the north and south of England? . . I cannot say; in many places I believe they almost give houses away.

How many inhabited houses are there in your villages? . . I should think about 36 or 37.

How many of those pay 15*l.* a year to the poor-rate?.. About five or six.

What proportion of the persons that now keep beer-shops would be excluded by limiting it to 15*l.*?.. I think it would exclude a very great proportion of them.

Would it not exclude nine-tenths at least?.. Eight-tenths I should think.

What is the real value of the greater part of the public-houses in the country districts?.. It is not the value of the house, but the value of selling the beer and the spirits that raises them.

Your proposition is, that no man shall take out a license to sell beer by retail unless he shall be in the occupation of a house of the value of 15*l.* a year; supposing that the rule were applied to the public-houses throughout England, how many of the present public-houses do you think would be disfranchised?.. Not one; speaking of the public-houses as distinguished from the beer-houses.

How would you propose to deal with the existing beer-houses which are rated at a less sum than 15*l.* a year?.. I would take my pen and scratch them out.

Are you not aware that there are many houses under 15*l.* a year, upon which the occupiers have expended some capital in fitting them up as beer-shops?.. No; I do not think there is a single house that 20*l.* has been expended upon.

Is not 20*l.* a considerable sum for the occupier of a house worth 40*l.* a year?.. Where that sum has been expended, I take it that that has generally been expended by the brewer; I look to the character of the people that keep them, and I look to the means that they have; that they must either have borrowed the money, or the money must have come from the brewer.

Will it not in many cases lead to their total ruin, in a pecuniary sense, to destroy those beer-shops?.. No, I do not think it would.

Do you think that the people have in many cases a larger capital than 20*l.*?.. I do not think they have any thing; there may occasionally be a man whose

house is his own, but the greatest part of them have not expended 20*l.*, or 10*l.*, or 5*l.*

You have stated that there are some cases in which they have expended 20*l.* upon their premises, and that there are very few cases in which they possess a capital of 20*l.*, does it not follow that the less capital they possess, the more likely the loss of that 20*l.* is to ruin them?.. Not at all.

Supposing the remedy you propose was adopted, of granting a license to no person to keep a beer-house unless he was in the occupation of a house rated at 15*l.* a year, would there be any objection to placing the licensed inns and alehouses upon the same footing with the beer-shops?.. No, I do not think there would, except that the magistrates have already power enough.

Would not there be this advantage resulting from that regulation, that the public-houses would be more likely to be kept by a respectable body of persons, and that the supply of the public-houses would be more likely to be regulated by the demand that the public wants would create?.. Yes; they would be better supplied, and better order would be observed.

Would not this other advantage arise, that the intervention of a justice of the peace would be rendered altogether unnecessary in the selection and licensing of the ale-houses?.. I think the justice of the peace would be hardly ever called in.

You are aware that the fines go to the county rates, what would be the effect if these fines went to the parish rates; would that have the effect of making the parish officers look vigilantly after the beer-houses?.. No, I do not think it would.

If they were given to the informer would it have that effect?.. No, it is a bonus for swearing.

You are aware that a settlement is gained by a person having a house of 10*l.* a year, what do you think would be the effect of making the amount of rate necessary for a beer-house 10*l.* instead of 15*l.*?.. I think that 10*l.* would obviate most of the objections.

At present there is only one surety in 20/, or two sureties of 10/ each, what would be the effect of having two sureties in 20/ each, and combining that with requiring that the house should be rated at 10/a year?.. Having acted as a magistrate for 30 years, I do not think I ever saw a surety called upon.

Do you think a certificate of character is of any value?.. Yes, I think it is.

Do you think that a certificate of character signed by a certain number of the rated inhabitants of the parish, or the circumjacent parishes, would be of advantage?.. No, I should be sorry to see it, because, when certificates of that description were brought forward, there has been a great deal of canvassing.

Have you also heard of fees given to parish officers for the purposes of obtaining their certificate?.. I cannot say that.

Is it your opinion, that *if a better police were established*, those beer-houses might exist?.. I do not think you can establish *any good system of police that the parishes could pay*.

If an effective system of police were established, could not such a police keep those houses in order?.. Certainly, if the law, as it at present exists, were carried into effect in all its bearings, it would do a great deal to remedy the evil, but there is *nobody to put it into force*; I think, if it were put into force, there would be *a great many broken heads*, and a great deal of ill-will.

In the convictions you have made of beer sellers, what proportion of the penalty have you awarded to informers?.. Nothing at all.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

BLOFIELD, W., Hosier-lane, Smithfield, and St. John-street-road, carpenter.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CHARLTON, C. P., Stourton, Wiltshire, dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNARD, J., Bristol, dealer in horses.
 DUDDERIDGE, J., Whitechapel, woollen-draper.
 HORNER, W., Stamford, Lincolnshire, inn-keeper.
 RAWLINSON, E., St. Helen's, Lancashire, alum-manufacturer.
 TAYLOR, H., Bristol, ship-broker.
 WHITMARSH, M., Wantage, Berkshire, corn-dealer.
 WOOD, L., Tabernacle-walk, and Eltham, Kent, cowkeeper.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

LUCAS, J., City-road, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

DELCROIX, Z., New Bond-street, milliner.
 DENNIS, T. George-road, Bermondsey, grocer.
 EYLES, H. R., Canterbury, hatter.
 HICKSON, A., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, grocer.
 LLOYD, W., Union-street, Southwark, grocer.
 PACKER, W., sen., Woolaston, Gloucestershire, tanner.
 PERRIN, W., jun., Kingswood, Wiltshire, dyer.
 PITT, T. B., Brighton, surgeon.
 ROWE, J., jun., Devonport, tailor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

ALLAN, W., Paisley, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 19.—The supplies of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, have been moderate. Several samples were of this year's growth, and though some proved fine, yet the generality were only of middling quality, and not unaccompanied with *smut*. The selected parcels realized rather more money than on Monday, say in some instances 1s. per qr., and the secondary descriptions, with a fair demand, were firm at the previous currency. Very fine parcels were worth 64s., though the runs would not have obtained more than 57s. to 59s. In bonded Wheat nothing doing.

Barley was in limited supply, and prices of Monday last fully supported.

Malt dull and unaltered in price.

Oats were in good supply. The trade ruled steady, with a moderate retail demand, on the terms of this day se'night.

Old Beans continue scarce, and good hard quality were worth 1s. to 2s. more money.

White Peas were dull, notwithstanding the purchases for the completion of the Government contract. In Maple and Grey no variation.

Flour experienced a moderate demand at former prices.

Wheat	58s. to 64s.
Rye	50s. to 32s.
Barley	24s. to 26s.
— fine	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White	31s. to 34s.
— Builders	39s. to 42s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 52s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new ...	60s. to 62s. 6d. per barrel
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	74s. to 75s.
— Limerick ..	75s. to 76s.
— Waterford ..	74s. to 76s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, August 19.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs was great: the supply of Calves good, and that of Porkers limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; full three-eighths about equal numbers of Devon, Welch roots, Herefords and Irish Beasts, chiefly from the above-mentioned and others of our northern and midland, with a few from our western districts; and the remainder Scots, intermixed with a few Norfolk home-breds, chiefly from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; about 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Suffolk Beasts, Staffords, &c., chiefly from the London marshes, Surrey, and Kent.

At least four-sixths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter: about a sixth South Downs; and the remaining sixth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, polled Norfolks, Kents and Kentish half-breds, with a few old Lincoln, horned Norfolks and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South Downs and new Leicesters—the latter chiefly of the Downish cross, with a few pens of Dorsets, Kentish half-breds, &c.

Neither the Sheep nor Beasts, though greatly improved in quality since the commencement of the month, were, generally speaking, near so ripe as at the corresponding period of the generality of years.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 23.

The arrivals this week are small. The prices as high as on Monday.

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WEEKLY TRUE SUN ENLARGED.

ON SUNDAY, the 1st of September, the *Weekly True Sun* will be ENLARGED to nearly the size of the *Atlas*—the largest of all the Sunday Papers.

The *Weekly True Sun* will, in its new form, be much larger than the *Dispatch*. The PRICE will continue to be SEVENPENCE.

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Office, 366, Strand, London.

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DAILY NEWSPAPER,

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"Sir,—I have long been subject to the Gout, and had, about seven months ago, a severe attack for a period of five weeks. My feet, hands, and knees, were swollen so much that I was frequently confined to my bed, when I fortunately heard of your Blair's Pills, and, by taking three doses only, I was able to put on my clothes without assistance; and, by continuing them for a few days, all pain and swelling subsided. On Thursday last, the 6th instant, I was again attacked, and obliged to cut the shoe from my right foot, but resorting to Blair's Pill, as before, I experienced immediate relief, and by taking only eight pills (four doses), have now put my regular shoe on, and am perfectly free from this painful disease. You will please to make what use you think proper of this testimony respecting the effects of this valuable Medicine.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"CHARLES PRICE, Waterman,

"Late of the Phoenix Fire-office.

"No. 37, St Martin's-lane, and Hungerford-stairs.

"June 14, 1833."

Sold wholesale, retail, and for exportation, by Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple-bar, and by most medicine vendors in town and country.—Country vendors can obtain them through their London agents.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 81.—No. 9.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 31st, 1833.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY.

Bolt-court, 28. August, 1833.

SIR,—In choosing to enter on the career of an author, you, of course, take upon yourself your due share of the perils of that profession; and, if it should be found that your productions merit ridicule and contempt, you will not, I hope, complain, and entertain the opinion that the epithet "*honourable*," put before your name, ought to be any protection to you against the effects of that sentence which common sense and truth shall pronounce upon your labours. You have published a pamphlet, entitled, "*A Brief Inquiry into the True Award of an EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT between the Nation and its Creditors.*" I have read this pamphlet, the object of which is, to show that the industrious part of the nation *have not yet paid the fundholders enough*, and that it pays them *too little now*! Some people would call you mad, others would put before your name epithets very different from that which you have chosen to put there: I shall do neither; but shall content myself with showing, that you are, as to these matters, a person of rare simplicity, and of profound ignorance. When I was a boy, a huntsman, named GEORGE BRADLEY, who was huntsman to Mr. SMITHER, of HALK, very wantonly gave me a cut with his whip, because I jumped in amongst the dogs, pulled a hare from them, and got her sent, upon a little common, called SEAL common, near WAVERLY Abbey. I was only

about eight years old; but my mind was so strongly imbued with the principles of natural justice, that I did not rest satisfied with the mere calling of names, of which, however, I gave Mr. GEORGE BRADLEY a plenty. I sought to inflict a just punishment upon him; and, as I had not the means of proceeding *by force*, I proceeded by *cunning* in the manner that I am presently going to describe. I had not then read the Bible, much less had I read GROTIUS and PURFENDORF: I, therefore, did not know, that God and man had declared, that it was laudable to combat tyranny by either force or fraud; but, though I did not know what tyranny meant, reason and a sense of justice taught me that BRADLEY had been guilty of tyranny towards me; and the native resources of my mind, together with my resolution, made me inflict justice on him in the following manner.

Hounds (hare-hounds at least) will follow the trail of a red-herring as eagerly as that of a hare, and rather more so, the scent being stronger and more unbroken. I waited till BRADLEY and his pack were trailing for a hare in the neighbourhood of that same *Seal common*. They were pretty sure to find in the space of half-an-hour, and the hare was pretty sure to go up the common and over the hill to the south. I placed myself ready with a red-herring at the end of a string, in a dry field, and near a hard path, along which, or near to which, I was pretty sure the hare would go. I waited a long while; the sun was getting high; the scent bad; but, by-and-by, I heard the view-halloo and full cry. I squatted down in the fern, and my heart bounded with the prospect of inflicting justice, when I saw my lady come skipping by, going off towards *Pepper-harrow*; that is to say, to the south. In a moment, I clapped down my herring, went off at a right angle towards the west, climbed up a steep bank very soon, where the horse-men, such as they were, could not fol-

low; then on I went over the roughest part of the common that I could find, till I got to the pales of MOOR PARK, over which I went, there being holes at the bottom for the letting in of the hares. That part of the park was covered with short heath; and I gave some twirls about to amuse Mr. BRADLEY for half-an-hour. Then off I went, and down a hauger at last, to the bottom of which no horseman could get without riding round a quarter of a mile. At the bottom of the hauger was an alder-moor, in a swamp. There my herring ceased to perform its service. The river is pretty rapid: I tossed it in, that it might go back to the sea, and relate to its brethren the exploits of the land. I washed my hands in the water of the moor; and took a turn, and stood at the top of the hauger to witness the winding-up of the day's sport, which terminated a little before dusk in one of the dark days of November. After overrunning the scent a hundred times; after an hour's puzzling in the dry-field, after all the doubles and all the turns that the sea-born hare had given them, down came the whole *posse* to the swamp; the huntsman went round a mill-head not far off, and tried the other side of the river: "*No! d—n her, where can she be?*" And thus, amidst conjectures, disputations, mutual blamings, and swearings a plenty, they concluded, some of them half-leg deep in dirt, and going soaking home at the end of a drizzling day.

Now, say you, what has this to do with my pamphlet? Ah! it has every thing to do with it; for some wicked fellow has led you just such a dance as I led Mr. GEORGE BRADLEY. You have been put upon a *wrong scent*; you have been hunting a red-herring instead of a hare, though, it appears, you understand *Greek*, having taken a *Greek motto* for your pamphlet; which latter circumstance is to be added to a thousand other proofs which we have seen, that, generally speaking, the learned languages, as they are falsely called, are worse than useless. With this, I conclude this present letter, promising you,

that, if you be not, on Sunday, the 8. of September, a wiser politician than you ever yet have been, the fault shall not be that of him who has the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

SIR JOHN KEY AND SON.

THIS affair must not be slurred over. It has been brought out by the spite of the two old factions against each other, and the result is, an exemplification of the old proverb, "that when such people fall out, honest men get their due." Not our due yet, to be sure; but we are put in a fair way of getting our due; and, if we do not actually get it, the fault will be our own, and will be justly imputable to us who are members of the House of Commons.

In order that my readers may have a clear and comprehensive view of this matter, it is necessary that I inform them, that there is an office under the Government, called the "*STATIONERY-OFFICE*." The business of this office is, to make contracts for paper, and other stationery, and to supply the different departments and offices under the Government; and also the two Houses of Parliament, their clerks, their committees, their printers and bookbinders, with the stationery which they stand in need of. To carry on the affairs of this office, there is a head officer, called a comptroller; under him there is a store-keeper; and after him come certain clerks. The business of the comptroller appears to be to make contracts, attend to the payments, and the like. The business of the store-keeper is that of inspecting paper and other articles, to see that they are good; or, at least, agreeable to the contract; and these parties, when they enter on their office, enter into bonds, with sureties for the due performance of the duties attached to their offices; and, of course, they must be twenty-one years of age, or their bonds and sureties are worthless in law.

Then, again, no member of the House of Commons can be a contractor under Government; nor can he have any share, directly or indirectly, in any contract; and if, while he be a contractor, or have any share, directly or indirectly, in a contract, he makes himself liable by law to pay a penalty of five hundred pounds sterling for every single day that he sits, or votes, in the House. We all know that KEY voted for the Irish Coercion Bill, and spoke for it; but, it is easy to *prove*, in a court of justice, that he sat in the House thirty or forty times.

Thus stand the establishments, the regulations, and the law, with regard to this subject. Some time ago, certain stationers of the city of London, twenty-seven in number, several of whom, be it observed, have had contracts themselves heretofore; and who, now, seeing the KEYS at the honey-pot, knowing how sweet the honey was, and, I dare say, thinking it a pity that it should be swallowed in any illegitimate manner, and, finally, urged on by the irresistible impulse of their public spirit, sent a petition to the House of Commons, alleging, that Sir JOHN KEY was the real contractor, while his brother, MUCKLESTON KEY pretended to be the contractor; and that Master KINGSMILL GROVE KEY, who had been appointed to be store-keeper and inspector of the paper at the Stationery-office, was the son of Sir JOHN KEY; and, moreover, was under age, and could not legally enter into bonds and give surties; and, that the office had been obtained for him by the father giving a false certificate of his age, which the son also knew to be false.

This is, altogether, a very pretty story. The appointments in the Stationery-office are in the hands of the Treasury. The public-spirited petitioning stationers, in their anxiety to oust the KEYS from the honey-pot, prayed the House of Commons to inquire into the matter forthwith, in order that KEY might be ousted from his seat, and his son from his office. A select committee was appointed on the 5. of

August, consisting of the following members:

Sir Henry Hardinge
Lord Granville Somerset
Sir James Scarlett
Mr. William Ewart Gladstone
Mr. Frederick Shaw
Sir Matthew Ridley
Mr. Pelham
Mr. Shaw Lefevre
Mr. O'Connell
Colonel Evans
Sir Robert Peel
Lord Viscount Althorp
Lord John Russell
Mr. Francis Baring
Mr. Robert Gordon
Mr. Attorney-General
Mr. Nicholl
Mr. Herries
Mr. Halford
Mr. Hughes Hughes
Mr. Tennyson
Mr. John Sebright
Mr. Harvey.

This committee, of which Lord GRANVILLE SOMERSET was the chairman, made their report on the 16. of August. And they attach to their first report a mass of evidence consisting of forty-seven pages of folio print. This evidence will require looking into hereafter; but, at present, I shall content myself with some remarks upon the report. I insert this report in the latter part of this *Register*; and I beg the reader to go through it with great attention; for, it does, indeed, contain a pretty fair summary of the whole of the evidence. From it the reader will perceive, that, as soon as KEY discovered that he was blown, *he quitted his seat in Parliament*; and it will also be seen, by a document in the appendix, that young KEY *resigned his office* about the same time. Thus, the "*public-spirited stationers*" fairly drove the old drone and the young drone from the honey-pot. But is that to be ALL? Is there to be nothing in the way of *example*, to wrong-doers? When a man is indicted, or informed against, *ex-officio* for a libel, the Attorney-General always winds up his peal of thunder, with rattling down upon the head of the unfor-

fortunate and devoted offender, "In defiance of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity, and to the evil example of all others in like case offending." So far from making use of thunder like this, this mild and considerate committee, after having given the House the proof, that KEY being a contractor, and also sitting and voting as a member of Parliament at the same time; and, after having given the House the proof, that KEY and his son had, by means of a false statement, illegally obtained a lucrative office for the latter; this *mild*, this compassionate, this considerate committee conclude their report in the following words: "Upon the first subject referred to in the petition, your committee do not feel called upon to offer any opinion, in consequence of Sir John KEY having vacated his seat in Parliament. Upon the second, your committee have thought the most advisable course was to present, without observations or comment, the foregoing summary of evidence, and to recommend the whole of the evidence itself to the perusal of the House."

What! and that ALL! That the "be-all" and the "end-all!" Have we no law-officers? There were some about two years ago, or little better, as I had reason to know. What! no prosecution for the sitting and voting; no proceeding for the false certificate of age! If this be the case, I should like to know why the woman was transported for anti-dating her certificate of marriage, in order to get a pension after the death of her sailor-husband. Oh, no! This shall not be the "be-all" and the "end-all," if I live to go into the House of Commons next year. Memory was not given us for nothing. There is something due on this score to the injured and burdened people; and, I trust that the House will not meet again without a resolution to do that which justice demands, if it be not done in the meanwhile by the order of the Ministers themselves.

RIDEAU CANAL.

THIS is a curious affair. It is a canal made and making in Canada. It has already cost about 800,000*l.* of English money. We have voted, this year, 40,000*l.* for the finishing of it. If the whole of this money had been taken and flung into the sea, I am of opinion, that it would have been better for this country. I have received a petition, only a few days ago, from Mr. HENRY HOWARD BURGESS, who now lives at BALTIMORE, and who was the chief clerk in conducting the affairs of this tremendous job. The petition sets forth, that immense sums of the public money have been wasted and plundered, under pretence of carrying on this canal. And it also sets forth, that the petitioner was ill treated and wronged, in consequence of his endeavours to cause justice to be done to the public.

Along with this petition I received two letters from the petitioner, and copies of certain letters to him, and concerning him, all of which, along with the petition, I put into the hands of Mr. STANLEY on Friday or Saturday last, leaving them to be kept, and read by him, if he chose, until to day (Wednesday), eleven o'clock, when I sent for them, and had them brought to me at the House of Commons. So that I took nobody by surprise: I do not like underhanded proceedings: I like to tell people beforehand what I intend to do. I kept a copy of the petition, because the petitioner is at a distance; and when once presented, it was gone from me; and I told Mr. STANLEY that I had kept such copy.

To-day, at 12 o'clock, having five other petitions to present, I presented those five, and this petition of Mr. BURGESS the last; and, now, before I go further upon this subject, I will insert the *Morning Chronicle's* report of what took place upon the occasion; in order that Mr. BURGESS may see that I did not neglect my duty.

"Mr. COBBETT said he had six petitions to present. The first was from the rate-payers of the town of Warwick against any alteration in the

“ Beer Bill—praying also for the repeal
 “ of the malt duty. The next was from
 “ the Nottingham Political Union,
 “ praying for an inquiry into the case
 “ of Joshua Hobson, and that the mag-
 “ istrates be punished for their conduct
 “ towards him. The third was from
 “ Roger Middleton, of Newcastle-upon-
 “ Tyne, complaining of the partial ad-
 “ ministration of justice by two magis-
 “ trates, who had fined him 5*l.*, and an-
 “ other person but 5*s.*, for the same of-
 “ fence; and the cause of his being so
 “ heavily fined he attributed to his
 “ having taken in a certain publication.
 “ The hon. Member said he believed
 “ that statement to be correct, from in-
 “ formation which he had received from
 “ a respectable source. Magistrates
 “ were partial in many instances, and it
 “ was the duty of the law-officers of the
 “ crown to take notice of such conduct.
 “ The fourth petition was from Thomas
 “ Murphy, of Dublin, grocer and spirit-
 “ dealer, against the spy system in the
 “ metropolitan police. The fifth was
 “ from Swansea, in favour of the Stay
 “ of Tithes Suits Bill. The sixth was
 “ from Henry Howard Burgess of Bal-
 “ timore, in the United States, relating
 “ to the Rideau Canal. The hon. Mem-
 “ ber said he believed that canal to have
 “ been one of the worst jobs of the
 “ Wellington administration, and he
 “ also believed that if his Majesty’s Go-
 “ vernment and the House did what they
 “ ought to do, they could obtain not
 “ less than 200,000*l.* to the Treasury,
 “ which would, he was sure, be a great
 “ comfort to the noble Lord opposite.
 “ The latter petition contained allega-
 “ tions of misconduct against Lieut-
 “ Col. By, and stated that the public
 “ money was misapplied to a consider-
 “ able extent. It also stated that, in
 “ consequence of those circumstances,
 “ the petitioner thought fit to withdraw
 “ from the situation he held on the es-
 “ tablishment, and to forward a state-
 “ ment to the Government, pointing out
 “ the matters of which he complained,
 “ and requesting an inquiry.

“ The hon. Member was interrupted
 “ in his speech by the entrance of the
 “ Usher of the Black Rod, who sum-

“ moned the House to the House of
 “ Peers, to hear the Royal Assent given
 “ by commission to some bills. The
 “ Speaker and several Members pro-
 “ ceeded to the House of Lords, and, on
 “ their return, the Speaker read a list
 “ of the bills to which the Royal Assent
 “ had been given.

“ Mr. COBBETT resumed. He could
 “ say that all the allegations in the
 “ petition were true; he believed them
 “ to be substantially true. It was mon-
 “ strous to suppose that hundreds of
 “ thousands of the public money could
 “ be stolen in Canada, but he believed
 “ that such was the case, from what he
 “ had seen in some of the colonies.
 “ He had resided eight years of his life
 “ in the colonies of America, and he
 “ had witnessed the enormous plunder
 “ which was committed. It had been
 “ said that this petitioner was not in his
 “ right senses. It always happened
 “ that when any accusation was brought
 “ against any official person, some im-
 “ morality was found out against the
 “ accuser; and, if no immorality, mad-
 “ ness; and if he had ever committed
 “ an assault, or had blundered into the
 “ bed of another man’s wife, it was cer-
 “ tain of being brought out in answer
 “ to his charges. Who was to believe
 “ such a man’s allegations about the
 “ *Rideau Canal*? Such charges against
 “ him failing, *insanity* is resorted to.
 “ In short, every man who accuses any
 “ branch of this Government of miscon-
 “ duct, is either a *bad* man, or a *mad*
 “ man. Mr. Burgess, having testi-
 “ monials under the hand of Colonel By
 “ himself, to prove that he was not a
 “ bad man, was, it was rumoured, to
 “ be set down as a mad man. But his
 “ (Mr. Cobbett’s) firm conviction was,
 “ that if this mad man were brought to
 “ England, and were to point out the
 “ persons and papers to be sent for by
 “ a committee of the House of Com-
 “ mons, a hundred thousand pounds or
 “ two would be recovered.”

“ Mr. STANLEY said, that before the
 “ petition from Mr. Burgess was laid
 “ on the table, he wished to say a few
 “ words. He had applied, as was his
 “ duty, to the Ordnance for such infor-

"mation as they might be able to give,
 "and he was afraid Mr. Burgess was
 "labouring under some mental delu-
 "sion, inasmuch as there had been a cer-
 "tificate furnished by the medical gentle-
 "men who had examined him, and they
 "certified that he was labouring under
 "mental delusion, and he (Mr. Stanley)
 "was sorry to say, that it was caused by
 "intemperance. His only object at
 "present, was to show the House and the
 "hon. Gentleman opposite, that, so far
 "as inquiry and investigation went,
 "Mr. Burgess had nothing to complain
 "of. In 1826 Mr. Burgess was ap-
 "pointed engineer. In the beginning
 "of 1830, without assigning any rea-
 "son, he suggested an intention of re-
 "signing the situation he held. His
 "resignation was not then accepted;
 "but in the latter end of the month of
 "March he was removed for neglect of
 "duty. He then returned to England,
 "and made many complaints before the
 "Ordnance; and in consequence of these
 "complaints, the strictest investigation
 "was ordered on the subject. In Sep-
 "tember, 1831, on the representation
 "of this very Mr. Burgess that his
 "presence was indispensable, that he
 "alone could furnish the documents,
 "and that he alone could lay all the
 "information before a tribunal, a com-
 "mittee of inquiry was appointed at Can-
 "ada, and Mr. Burgess was paid all
 "his expenses out to that place, in or-
 "der that he might be on the spot. An
 "investigation was commenced, when
 "Mr. Burgess suddenly made a com-
 "plaint that the court was not an open
 "court, and that they did not examine
 "on oath, which they had not the power
 "of doing, and without saying a word,
 "Mr. Burgess suddenly disappeared.
 "His brother had also been brought
 "from Quebec at the expense of the
 "Government, and, on the eve of his
 "being brought before the committee
 "of inquiry, he also disappeared. A
 "very long report had been made by
 "the commissioners, which consisted of
 "four volumes of evidence, which were
 "transmitted to the Ordnance, and the
 "master-general of the Ordnance care-
 "fully went through the whole of it,

"and which, if the hon. Member for
 "Oldham wished to see, he was per-
 "fectly at liberty to read from the be-
 "ginning to the end. Independent of
 "this inquiry, the whole matter of the
 "Ridenu Canal had already been the
 "subject of two all-searching com-
 "mittees of inquiry. With respect to
 "Mr. Burgess's claims for money, they
 "lay a little on the wrong side of the
 "account; the Ordnance would be very
 "happy to have an opportunity of bal-
 "ancing Mr. Burgess's account, when-
 "ever he should appear in this country.
 "The Ordnance account stood thus:—
 "There was a debt due from the Or-
 "dnance to him and his brother of 81;
 "and there was a debt set against him;
 "due to the Ordnance, of 911. But he
 "being in the United States, it was ra-
 "ther difficult to proceed against him
 "for it; but in the event of his ever
 "coming to this country, Mr. Burgess
 "might rely upon it that the first step the
 "Ordnance would take, would be to ar-
 "rest him for the 911. due from him to
 "the Ordnance, and then it would be
 "brought before another searching tri-
 "bunal, instead of a committee of the
 "House of Commons, but where Mr.
 "Burgess could make his defence.

"Mr. COBBETT, in answer to the
 "statement of the Right Hon. Secre-
 "tary, read a letter [inserted below]
 "from Colonel By to Colonel Howard;
 "saying every thing that was good of
 "this young man, extolling his dili-
 "gence, his ability, his fidelity, and
 "insisting on the justice of making a
 "permanent provision for him in some
 "place under the Government. This
 "letter was dated on the 29. of Novem-
 "ber, 1829; and the right hon. Secre-
 "tary had said that the insanity
 "produced by intemperance, became
 "absolutely intolerable in the month of
 "March, 1830; so that, in the short
 "space of four months, this young man's
 "habits, character, and mind, had all
 "undergone a complete revolution;
 "(here Mr. Stanley answered across the
 "table, they had undergone a complete
 "revolution). Well, (proceeded Mr.
 "Cobbett) but here is another letter,
 "coming from the Board of Ordnance

"in England itself, and signed by Col. Butler. This letter is dated in the month of October, 1831; and in this letter Colonel Butler informed Mr. Burgess, who was then at Liverpool, that there was a passage provided for him at the public expense to go to New York, and that the consul there was ordered to pay him money to bear his expenses to Canada; and yet we are now told, that he was certified to be insane in the month of March 1830! And did the Board of Ordnance thus send a madman to sea? In short, if they did do this, what becomes of their humanity, and what becomes of their care of the public money? He (Mr. Cobbett) believed the right hon. Gentleman was deceived by those who had described the situation and character of this young man. As to the Court of Inquiry held in Canada, he only wished the right hon. Gentleman had seen such colonial management as he had witnessed for eight years of his life. If Mr. Burgess owed 80*l.* or 90*l.* he (Mr. C.) would pay the money out of his own pocket, but his firm opinion was that the Ordnance dared not face Mr. Burgess, and dared not bring him to England. The House would do as they pleased, he had discharged his duty in the manner he thought best, and the House would discharge its duty, he had no doubt, in the manner that it ought to discharge it.

This charge of insanity, arising from a long course of drunkenness, had been instilled into the mind of Mr. STANLEY by some people in the Board of Ordnance; and backed as he was by Mr. MABERLY, who belongs to that Board, I believe, the defence seemed triumphant, till I read the letter of Colonel By, which, in justice to Mr. BURGESS, I here insert, before I go farther with my remarks.

"Royal Engineers' Office,

"Rideau Canal, 29. Nov., 1829.

"SIR,—Mr. H. Howard Burgess, a young man recommended to me by the Lord Bishop of Quebec, in August, 1826, and who has continued with me from that to the present

moment, having mentioned to me that it would afford him great satisfaction if I would give him a certificate of his good conduct during the time he has been employed in my office, I have the honour of assuring you, that no young man could have conducted himself more so my entire satisfaction; and I regret extremely, that the situation he holds under me will cease with the service on which I am now employed, about the middle of August, 1831; but should it be in my power to obtain for him any one of the situations that must be created at the opening of the Rideau Canal, I will do all in my power to procure one for him; but as these places will, in all probability, be at the disposal of the Lords of the Treasury, your having the kindness to use your interest, may be the means of securing to him the situation of collector of the lock tolls at one of the stations; a situation I think he richly merits, from the uniform good conduct and unrelaxing attention he has at all times shown since he has been employed in the Royal Engineer Department at the Rideau Canal. Trusting you will excuse this liberty,

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) "JOHN BY,

"Lieut.-Col. Royal Engineers,

"Com. Rideau Canal,

"Upper Canada.

"To Col. Howard, &c. &c. &c."

This was what we call a staggerer. This letter was written on the 29. of November, 1829; and in March, 1830, there had been a complete and total revolution in the character of this young man: from being the person described as above, he had become, in March, in just four months, to a day, a person afflicted with insanity arising from drunkenness! This was something so wonderful as for the House scarcely to be able to swallow it. But, this was not all that the House had to swallow, for, from the following document, which is a letter written to Mr. Burgess, he being at LIVERPOOL, in the month of October, 1831, directing him to go to

Canada at the public expense, and recognising him as actually in the public employ; which letter was, and is, as follows.

"Office of Ordnance,
"Oct. 4, 1831.

"SIR,—The board having received a communication from the commissioners of the navy, signifying that they have directed Lieut. Browne, then agent at Liverpool, to provide you with a passage to New York, I have it in command to acquaint you therewith, in addition to my letter of the 1. instant, and to desire you will apply to Lieut. Browne accordingly, immediately upon your receiving this communication, and that you will proceed by the conveyance which may be allotted for you by that officer.

"I am at the same time to inform you, that the British Consul at New York will be requested by the Board to pay you the sum of 10*l.* on your arrival at that place, to defray your expenses to Quebec.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed)

"G. BUTLER.

"For the secretary."

So, if Mr. BURGESS were insane, what a pretty Government was here! What a pretty *Board of Ordnance*! sending him five thousand miles, three by water, and two by land, and two hundred miles to Liverpool to begin with, and authorising him to draw money from the consul at New York; and this a man, in verification of whose insanity "two physicians had signed a certificate!" Two government physicians, I suppose! Two *Ordnance* physicians, I guess! Two physicians at *By-Town*, I dare be sworn! Two physicians that dined at the mess, I take it! Ah! Mr. STANLEY! You sit upon a bench proverbial for wisdom; and from its nature engendering cheers; you are a clever, and a frank, and, I verily believe, an honest man; and a great deal too frank to deal with these colonial devils, and a great deal too honest for them to trust you with their secrets:

you have great power and great patronage; but, if you had all the hands of BRIARIUS, all the eyes of ARGUS, and as many ears as eyes, you could not keep those people honest. You could not do the work yourself; you could not find any body to assist you, that would not league with the cheaters; all that you can do is to inspire terror; and that you can do only by attending to all complaints that are made, and by subjecting the delinquents to committees of the House of Commons. They laugh at "*boards*," at "*courts of inquiry*," and "*courts of law*"; but they, who are afraid of neither God nor devil, tremble at the thought of debates in the House, and of committees "up stairs." Of auditors and clerks of the cheque, and all that rubbish, they have seen too much to care a pin about it; but they cannot endure the terrible ordeal of St. STEPHEN'S; for there, by hook or by crook, first or last, every thing comes out.

This matter must now rest for awhile; but, I much question, if the respectable inhabitants of *By-Town* will have such sweet sleep as they have been accustomed to. I have very seldom undertaken anything that I did not go through with. I have not yet *undertaken* this matter at all; and I shall not, till I have made further inquiry. If I find grounds to proceed, which I think I shall, I will go steadily on till this matter be put to rights.

It appears that Mr. BURGESS made an application to Mr. EWART, member for LIVERPOOL, similar to that which he has now made to me. It also appears, that Mr. EWART communicated with the *Board of Ordnance*, and that that Board satisfied him that Mr. BURGESS was insane; and he, therefore, did not present his petition. Mr. EWART and I differ in the estimate of our duties. I think it my duty to present any petition which is worded in a manner respectful to the House, and containing a prayer for something that the House can grant, and which does not contain indecent expressions towards anybody else. I hold it to be convenient, proper, and fair, to show a petition, before it be

presented to any member of the House against whom it contains a specific allegation; and, if the petition allege malversation against persons in a particular department of the Government, propriety, as well as convenience, dictates the showing of such petition to the head of that department, before it be presented: but to withhold the petition, to keep it from the knowledge of the House, because the parties to whom it is shown, say that it is groundless, is what I hold I have NO RIGHT to do. The right of petition is an absolute right; and I am a wrong-doer, when a petition is deposited with me, if I do not present it, if it be in conformity with the above-mentioned rule. If disrespectful to the House, it is not my duty to present it, because I have no right to insult the House: if it pray for what the House cannot legally grant, I have a right to refuse to present it; because it is not my duty to be instrumental in the fostering of folly; but, I have no right to refuse to present a petition because any one tells me it is groundless or false.

If we were to adopt the rule, which would seem to be contended for in this case; that is to say, if we were to refuse to present petitions merely because they were said to be false by those against whom they were pointed, the "*right of petition*" would become a most beautiful farce: it would be like old ELLENBOROUGH's liberty of the press: namely, "a right to say anything that could give nobody pain." Boards! Offices! Departments! Magistrates! Police Spies! Tax-gatherers! Parsons! Show them your petitions against them; they would all swear that they are false, to be sure; and, who the devil else have the people to petition against? It is power that you have to petition against; and these are all so many powers, which you can come at by no means other than that of petition, to those who have a right to call the exercise of all power to account. For private wrong-doers there are the courts of law; there are the constable and beadle and jailer and hangman; and, if they do not deal with offenders rough-

ly enough, the fault is not theirs; but for public wrongs there is no mode of proceeding effectually, but by petition to Parliament, whose duty, and the very first of whose duties it is, to attend patiently to a statement of the grievances of the people, and to redress them to the utmost of its power. Its next duty is to spare the people's purses; and this was a duty to be performed in the present case.

I have not the smallest doubt of the desire of Mr. STANLEY to see perfect justice done in this case: to entertain such doubt would be to set reason and nature at defiance; but I may doubt, and I do doubt, his power to cause that justice to be done without the assistance of the House of Commons; and I am very sure, that, though clever and industrious and zealous and acute, he must see a great deal more than he has yet seen, before he can bring his mind to believe in the existence of so much craft, united with so much brass, as are to be found in the colonial chiefs and their underlings. It always was so, since there were colonies in the world. The utmost that any government can do, is, to check the plunderings, and keep them within moderate bounds. This RIDEAU canal job seems to have over-stepped all bounds; and, a *good sousing example* might have a salutary effect in all our colonies in every part of the world; and, if there be sufficient cause for making that example, it would be a shame, indeed, if the Parliament would not make it. For my part I shall do all that I can to cause justice to be done to the public.

The newspapers give no report of what was said, either by Mr. MABERLY or Mr. EWART. It was, indeed, little more than an exchange of compliments, tending, however, to strengthen and confirm the statement of Mr. STANLEY. I must just add, that Mr. STANLEY observed, that this matter belonged to the *Ordnance department*, and not to his. I must protest against this principle. It is an affair belonging to the colonies; and he has the sway over the colonies. If members of Parliament were to condescend to dance attendance at, or to

make applications to, subaltern departments, they would themselves be persons to be pitied rather than to be confided in. For my part, my business is with the House of Commons, and the House of Commons alone; and, if I communicate with any department, it will be because I think such communication fair and useful; but never will I, while I am a member of Parliament, communicate with any but the head of that department. In conclusion, I think it right to say, that I have a very high opinion of Mr. STANLEY's integrity and industry, and in his zeal for the public service; but that I am sure that he has been deceived with regard to this matter. For instance, the newspaper reports make him say, that "two medical men certified the insanity of Mr. BURGESS." But, in the presence of all his colleagues and about a hundred members, he did say "two physicians" had signed that certificate. I wondered how the devil two physicians got to "By-Town!" Oh! my God! I wish I could go to "By-Town," with Mr. BURGESS along with me! How soon would I rummage out that rat's nest, and get at all the hoards of peas and beans and dried meat! The two physicians, Mr. STANLEY will be surprised to find, to be a brace of regimental or garrison surgeons; their science improved by opportunities of making philosophical observations at the mess at "By-Town," I take it. But, again I say, that no human being can be a match for these people, unless he has lived amongst them upon the spot; and, even then, he must be what the Berkshire folks say of the Bristol men, "A man to sleep with one eye at a time." I am sorry that Mr. STANLEY has espoused the cause of these people; and, I am very sure, that he will have to acknowledge his error on the subject.

I think it will be the duty of every honest editor of a newspaper in the King's dominions, to publish this whole article from the beginning to the end. It is a subject of great public interest, and the publicity is an act of bare justice towards Mr. Burgess, who has thus been proclaimed throughout the world as a drunkard and a madman, and whose

only crime is, that of making accusations against persons, who, he says, have squandered and misappropriated the public money. The debt of Mr. BURGESS to the Ordnance is a curious affair. He clearly shows, that they are in his debt to the amount of 800*l.*, and they keep him from Canada by a threat to arrest him. I sent, as I observed before, all his documents to Mr. STANLEY, many days before I presented his petition; and, if I undertake to carry this matter through, every step that I take shall be made known to the public.

PETITIONS.

I PRESENTED the following petitions yesterday (Wednesday), making the last of about two hundred and fifty that I have had to present during this session; a part of my duty which I have always looked upon as the most imperative, and which I have always performed in the best manner that time and circumstances would enable me to perform it.

1. *Retailers of Beer, Warwick.* Prays that no alteration may be made in the Beer Bill; and that the malt tax may be repealed.
2. *Nottingham Political Union.* Prays for inquiry into the case of Joshua Hobson; and that the magistrates may be punished.
3. *Roger Middleton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.* Complaints of the partial administration of justice by two magistrates, W. Brandling and C. J. Bigge, Esqrs.; states that they fined petitioner 5*l.* and another man 5*s.* for the same offence, alleging as a reason, that petitioner took in the *Newcastle Press newspaper*; prays for redress.
4. *THOMAS HALPIN, DUBLIN, Grocer and Spirit Dealer.* Complaints of the conduct of the police at Dublin; that they are employed as spies; and prays the House to put a stop to such practices.
5. *SWANSEA (Wales).* In favour of the Tithes Stay of Actions Bill.

6 Mr. HENRY HOWARD BURGESS, Baltimore, United States, America. Complains of peculation in the Rideau canal job; and prays, that the House will cause the Board of Ordnance to pay him certain monies, which he alleges are due to him, and improperly withheld; but particularly prays, that an inquiry may take place into the manner in which the money has been squandered.

When I presented the petition from NEWCASTLE, Sir M. WHITE RIDLEY appeared to express a doubt of the correctness of the statement contained in the petition; and he asked the names of the two magistrates. I repeated the names, and I expected to hear something in the way of defence of these magistrates; but, I heard nothing. Magistrates, like other men, are liable to do wrong, whether from error of judgment, or bad intention. The former is always to be presumed, unless there be staring proof of the latter; and, if this were not the case, nobody would be a magistrate. It is the pressing interest of every good man, that the peace should be effectually kept. To do this there must be great power and large discretion lodged in the hands of the magistrates. It is not to be expected, that those persons, in the punishing or restraining of whom these are exercised, will be *pleased* with those who exercise them, any more than we expect an apprentice boy to be pleased with his master, when he chastises him. Therefore, complaints against magistrates ought to be received with great caution; but, on the other hand if they be not received at all, or be not attended to; if you lay down the rule, that they always do right, or, that they must be supported in what they do, whether right or wrong, you proclaim the existence of a most intolerable tyranny. And, though they may be proceeded against in the Court of King's Bench, the difficulties are so great, that, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, there is, in effect, no remedy for you. In the very flagrant case of Mr. HOBSON of HUDDERSFIELD, for instance, though there was a clear violation of law;

though it was unlawful to sentence Mr. Hobson to be put into a place, where the rules required that he should be treated like a felon, or a person guilty of misdemeanour; yet, there was plenty of scope to plead "*error of judgment*"; and, besides, there were the *delay* and the enormous *expenses*. A petition to the House of Commons, therefore, was the mode of proceeding; and, such petition ought to have been presented the moment that Mr. HOBSON was in prison. This is another proof of the value of the right of petition.

Having mentioned the case of Mr. HOBSON, I think it right to state here, that I wrote a letter to him one day last week, directed to him at the House of Correction at WAKEFIELD, Yorkshire. In this letter I told him, that I had heard, that the Secretary of State intended to order his release and the remission of his fine, in consequence of the unjust treatment that he had received; and I concluded with advising him not again to expose himself to the consequence of similar proceedings against him; that, whatever the law might be, the disobeying of it, as long as it existed, must be attended with bad consequences to himself. I hope that Mr. HOBSON got this letter; but I mention it here, because I have read, or heard, that Mr. HOBSON's letters have been intercepted.

CLOSE OF THE SESSION.

Thursday, Aug. 29.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE Speaker took the chair at a quarter to two. On our admission into the gallery, we found Sir R. Inglis in possession of the House. The hon. Baronet, after presenting the 49th Report of the Committee on Petitions, went on to state the comparative duration of the present session with the sittings of some of its predecessors. It had sat twice the number of days, and thrice the number of hours of former sessions. The celebrated reform Parliament sat 119 days; the present ses-

sion 142 days and 1,270 hours. In 1806, Parliament sat 129 days and 645 hours. In 1807, it sat 104 days, and on an average 5 hours a day, and in 1811 the average was $4\frac{1}{2}$ each day. This session had sat nine hours a day during its sittings on an average, and for much the larger half of the session, since Easter, very considerably more than 12 hours a day. The hon. Baronet considered it but justice to state these facts, being due to the labour and accuracy of the committee and its officers, who had been appointed to superintend the printing of the public petitions.

Mr. COBBETT wished to know from the Solicitor-General whether those individuals who had been illegally tried at Clerkenwell, and were now at Portsmouth sentenced to transportation, were not to undergo another trial?

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL said, those who had been tried at the Old Bailey, had been tried again by commission. He had made application as to those now referred to, and the answer was (as we understood), that their sentence should not be carried into effect.

Mr. S. RICE brought up the third report of the Commissioners of Excise.

THE EARL OF WARWICK.

Colonel EVANS said, that in consequence of the extraordinary answer which the noble Lord (Althorp) had given on the subject of the Earl of Warwick, which had been matter of astonishment to a great portion of the country, that Government was not prepared to state what course it should adopt, he considered it due to the dignity of that House and to the rights and privileges of the Commons of England, without the slightest intention of impeaching that noble Lord, and with the sincerest desire that he might be able to refute the allegations brought against him, to submit to the House the following resolution:—The hon. Gentleman then read the following resolution:—“That it appearing by the report of the select committee appointed to make inquiry into the circumstance

“of the late election for the borough of Warwick, that the right hon. the Earl of Warwick, Lord Lieutenant of the county, and a Peer of the realm, in violation of the resolutions and standing orders of the House, and of the law of the land, is deeply implicated by his agents, and the application of large sums of money in various corrupt and illegal practices during the last election of the borough of Warwick, and that Alexander Brown, the steward, and various aldermen and burgesses of the borough, were implicated in various illegal practices, the Attorney-General be directed to prosecute the Earl of Warwick, and all others named or described in the report of the said select committee, as concerned in the unlawful proceedings aforesaid.

Mr. COBBETT seconded the motion.

Lord ALTHORP complained, that he had been taken by surprise by the resolutions, and he would leave it to the hon. Gentleman himself whether, without any previous notice, and a motion being on the books for the next session, he should persevere in it. The House was called to direct a prosecution altogether without precedent, and without an opportunity of discussing the merits of the case. (Hear, hear). He had stated last night, that no written answer had yet been returned by the Earl of Warwick to the letter which had been written to him; but because he (Lord Althorp) had not been able to state what course Government, under those circumstances, meant to pursue, he was astonished to hear that this statement, which he had made yesterday, if, indeed, it were known throughout the county, could possibly have excited that dissatisfaction and alarm which the hon. and gallant Member had described. That seemed as strange a conclusion as he had ever heard any gentleman draw from such premises. Government was determined not to protect any individual in the violation of the privileges of that House, and was perfectly ready next session to deal with the matter.

Sir S. WHALLEY and Mr. C. FERGUSON spoke in favour of the resolution,

but recommended its withdrawal till next session.

* Sir R. INGLIS spoke against it.

Colonel EVANS rose to address the House, but was called to order by the Speaker, Sir Augustus Clifford having entered to summons the Commons to the Upper House.

On his return the SPEAKER read his Majesty's speech, shook hands with the Ministers, and retired.

His Majesty having concluded his speech, the Lord Chancellor, by the direction of the King, announced the prorogation of Parliament till Wednesday, the 31. of October. His Majesty appeared to be in exceedingly good health; mounted the steps of the Throne with a firm step, and read his speech with a clear loud voice.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

His Majesty having signified his intention to prorogue the Parliament in person, the usual preparations were made suitable to an occasion of so great a matter of state ceremony.

In the course of the forenoon, vast numbers of persons began to congregate on the line of the Royal procession, from St. James's Palace to the House of Lords. A great number of police were stationed on the same line to preserve order and regularity, under the superintendence of Commissioners Rowan and Mayne. Sir Frederick A. Rowe, chief magistrate of Bow-street, was also on duty, and in the immediate vicinity of the entrance to the House of Lords and Commons, Mr. Lee, the deputy high constable of Westminster, had stationed a strong party of the local constabulary of the city of Westminster, to prevent interruption to the members in their progress to those Houses.

About one o'clock a detachment of the Royal Horse Guards Blue was stationed along the line of approach, and at the same time a detachment of the Royal Horse Guards (first regiment)

dismounted, arrived, and lined the gallery leading from the royal entrance at the House of Lords to the Painted Chamber. Both that gallery, and the Painted Chamber, contained a great number of ladies of rank and fashion.

In the interior of the House of Lords the scene was very animating. About twelve o'clock the Peeresses began to arrive, and take their seats on the Peers' benches. A greater number of those ladies attended upon this, than almost upon any former similar occasion, and the effect was very striking. By the time his Majesty arrived, there must have been at least 150 ladies present, and but little room was left for the Peers, of whom, indeed, there was but a comparatively small number. All the Peers wore their robes and orders.

The gallery appropriated to strangers, was crowded at an early hour.

The Lord Chancellor entered the House about one o'clock, and after prayers were read by the Bishop of Hereford, gave judgment in the case of a Scotch appeal, the particulars of which were of no public interest. The House then adjourned during pleasure.

Most of the Judges took their seats on the Woolsack, and Prince Talleyrand, Prince Esterhazy, and nearly all the other Ambassadors from Foreign Powers occupied seats on the Bishops' Benches.

The King entered the House at a quarter past two o'clock, the Commons having been called in, and the Speaker made his speech, his Majesty said—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In opening the present Parliament, I stated that never at any time had subjects of greater interest and magnitude called for your attention.

"The manner in which you have discharged the duties thus committed to you, now demands my warmest acknowledgments, and enables me to close a session not more remarkable for its extended duration, than for the patient and persevering industry which you have displayed in many laborious in-
in-

ties, and in perfecting the various legislative measures which have been brought under your consideration.

"I continue to receive from my Allies, and from all Foreign Powers, assurances of their friendly disposition.

"I regret that I cannot yet announce to you the conclusion of a definitive arrangement between Holland and Belgium, but the convention which, in conjunction with the King of the French, I concluded in May last with the King of the Netherlands, prevents a renewal of hostilities in the Low Countries, and thus affords a fresh security for the general continuance of peace.

"Events which have lately taken place in Portugal have induced me to renew my diplomatic relations with that kingdom, and I have accredited a Minister to the court of her Most Faithful Majesty at Lisbon.

"You may rest assured, that I look with the greatest anxiety to the moment when the Portuguese Monarchy, so long united with this country by the ties of alliance, and by the closest bonds of interest, may be restored to a state of peace, and may regain its former prosperity.

"The hostilities which had disturbed the peace of Turkey, have been terminated; and you may be assured, that my attention will be carefully directed to any events which may affect the present state or the future independence of that empire.

"An investigation, carefully prosecuted during the last session, has enabled you to renew the charter of the Bank of England, on terms which appear to be well calculated to sustain public credit, and to secure the usefulness of that important establishment.

"The laborious inquiries carried on

by the committees of both Houses of Parliament for several successive sessions, have also enabled you to bring the affairs of the East India Company to a satisfactory adjustment. I have the most confident expectation that the system of Government thus established will prove to have been wisely framed for the improvement and happiness of the natives of India, whilst by the opening of the China trade, a new field has been afforded for the activity and enterprise of British commerce.

"The state of slavery in my colonial possessions has necessarily occupied a portion of your time and your attention commensurate with the magnitude and difficulty of the subject, whilst your deliberations have been guided by the paramount considerations of justice and humanity, the interests of the colonial proprietors have not been overlooked. I trust that the future proceedings of the Assemblies, and the conduct of all classes in my colonies, may be such as to give full effect to the benevolent intentions of the legislature, and to satisfy the just expectations of my people.

"I observe with satisfaction that the amendment of the law has continued to occupy your attention, and that several important measures have been adopted, by some of which the titles to property have been rendered more secure, and the conveyance of it more easy; while by others the proceedings in courts, both of law and equity, have been made more expeditious and less costly. The establishment of the Court of Privy Council is another improvement, which, while it materially assists suitors at home, will, I trust, afford substantial relief to those in my foreign possessions.

"You may rest assured that there is no part of your labours which I regard with a deeper interest than that which

tends, by well-considered amendments of the law, to make justice easily accessible to all my subjects.

"With this view I have caused a commission to be issued for digesting into one body the enactments of the Criminal Law, and for inquiring how far, and by what means, a similar process may be extended to the other branches of our jurisprudence. I have also directed commissions to be issued for investigating the state of the municipal corporations throughout the United Kingdom. The result of their inquiries will enable you to mature more means which may seem best fitted to place the internal government of corporate cities and towns upon a solid foundation, in respect of their finances, their judicature, and their police. In the meantime, two important acts have been passed, for giving constitutions upon sound principles to the royal and parliamentary burghs of Scotland, and your attention will hereafter be called to the expediency of extending similar advantages to the unincorporated towns in England, which have now acquired the right of returning members to Parliament.

"It was with the greatest pain that I felt myself compelled to call upon you for additional powers to control and punish the disturbers of the public peace in Ireland. This call was answered, as I confidently expected, by your loyalty and firmness. I have not found it necessary, except in a very limited degree, to use the powers thus confided to me, and I have now the satisfaction of informing you, that the spirit of insubordination and violence which had prevailed to so alarming an extent, has been in a great measure subdued.

"I look forward with anxiety to the

time when, the painful necessity of continuing this measure, of great but unavoidable severity, may cease; and I have given my assent, with unqualified satisfaction, to the various salutary and remedial measures which, during the course of the present session, have been proposed to me for my acceptance.

"The acts which, in pursuance of my recommendation, you have passed with respect to the temporalities of that branch of the united church which is established in Ireland, and for the immediate and total abolition of vestry assessments, and the acts for the better regulation of Juries, both as to their civil and criminal functions, afforded the best proof that full reliance may be placed on the Parliament of the United Kingdom for the introduction of such beneficial improvements as may ensure the welfare of all classes of my subjects; thus effectually cementing that legislative union which, with your support, it is my determination to maintain inviolate.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the service of the year. The estimates proposed to you, by my directions, were considerably lower than those of former sessions; and you have wisely applied the savings which have thus been effected to a diminution of the public burdens. In this course of judicious economy, combined with a due regard to the exigencies of the State, I am persuaded that you will persevere, and thus confirm the title which you have acquired to general confidence as the faithful guardians of the honour of the Crown, and of the true interests of the people.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" In returning to your respective counties you will carry with you the gratifying reflection, that your labours have been assiduously employed for the benefit of your fellow-citizens. During the recess, your attention will be equally directed to the same important object : and in this useful, and honourable discharge both of your public and private duties under the blessing of Divine Providence I confidently rely for the encouragement and support of my people in that love of liberty and order—that spirit of industry and obedience to the laws, and that moral worth which constitute the safety and happiness of nations."

" Of course, I have no time to make any commentary on this speech ; and, indeed, if I had time, sober thoughts could not be the inmates of my mind, for, at least, eight-and-forty hours after seeing the King seated on the throne with the crown on his head, and the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord High Chancellor, and the gold staff, and the great seal, and all the golden robes, and all the lords, and all the goddesses, mothers, and daughters ; after hearing those sublime words "*Le Roi le veut*" repeated so often, and with emphasis so learned ! Oh ! my honest handloom weaving constituents little thought what perils they were exposing me to. I have got home with my head upon my shoulders, 'tis true ; but to say that it is the same steady head that it was before, I cannot. Our poor Speaker, though loaded with gold enough, too, looked nothing, when he got before these gods and goddesses, and, as to us, his flock, we seemed to be looking about for some place to get out of sight. Let republicans laugh as long as they will, at what they call " nonsensical show ; " it has a great deal more sense in it than they are aware of. Fields and groves and deserts and mountains are not the

places to philosophize in ; the bar of the House of Lords with the King upon the throne, is the place to study philosophy. But I must leave off, for my head is not steady enough to proceed.

PROTEST OF THE LORDS AGAINST THE BANK CHARTER BILL.

26. August, 1833.

" **DISSENTIENT, 1st.** Because no subject who is in possession of a valuable privilege ought to be deprived of it, except by the judgment of a court of justice, after a patient hearing of his case, and by an impartial decision upon it, uninfluenced by party or popular feeling. The taking from any one a right or privilege by a declaratory law, supported only by an opinion of the law-officers of the Crown, (which opinion has never been laid before this House), and without the authority or the sanction of the judges, is an arbitrary and oppressive proceeding, and contrary to the uniform practice of Parliament.

" **2d.** Because the clause which it was proposed to substitute for the declaratory clause contained in this bill would have afforded all the protection to the public which they have ever had, and have prevented the Bank from enjoying any exclusive privilege which it does not at present legally possess. The clause in the bill takes from the Bank a privilege it has always enjoyed, and which privilege, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances of the case, it was agreed, by the promoters of the bill, and the Governor and Directors, to continue to the Bank. The altering of this bargain exposes the proceedings of the legislature to the imputation of a breach of faith.

" **3d.** Because, although the preamble of the declaratory clause itself expressly states that it is the intention of the legislature that the Governor and Company of the Bank of Eng-

"and shall continue to hold and enjoy
 "all the exclusive privileges of banking
 "given them by any act of Parliament,
 "and although by the letter and spirit
 "of all the statutes relating to that cor-
 "poration the exclusive privilege of
 "banking, which includes the receiving
 "of deposits as well as the issuing of
 "bills or notes, is secured to the Go-
 "vernor and Company, so that no cor-
 "poration or company consisting of
 "more than six partners can carry on a
 "bank of deposit or issue in London, or
 "within 65 miles thereof, this clause,
 "under the pretence of removing doubts
 "as to the construction of these acts,
 "enables corporations and companies
 "composed of an unlimited number of
 "partners, to open banks of deposit in
 "any part of England. It has been
 "repeatedly judicially declared by the
 "late Lord Kenyon, Mr. Justice Grose,
 "and other eminent judges, that, if
 "doubts arise as to the true construction
 "of an act of Parliament, such doubts
 "may be removed by contemporaneous
 "usage. There has been a uniform
 "usage in favour of this exclusive privi-
 "lege from the passing of the first
 "statute relating to the Bank down to
 "the present time.

"4th. Because, by giving a right to
 "open banks of deposit to corporations
 "and companies with an unlimited
 "number of partners, a spirit of specu-
 "lation will be encouraged, which will
 "endanger our commercial interests.
 "If banks possessing the immense
 "capitals which the proposed new
 "banks will possess succeed, they will
 "destroy the long-established and high-
 "ly-beneficial system of banking now
 "existing in the metropolis. If they
 "fail, their failure will ruin many un-
 "wary persons who may become part-
 "ners, or who may have dealings with
 "them. The great capital which they
 "hold will enable them to embarrass
 "the Bank of England in the discharge
 "of its most important duties. The
 "banks which this bill directly sanc-
 "tions must produce injury to great
 "numbers of individuals, and must
 "endanger the public interest; and on
 "these accounts it was not long since

"declared by the highest legal authority
 "in this House, with reference to the
 "statute of 6. Geo. I., c. 18, that the
 "establishment of such companies was
 "contrary to the common law.

"5th. Because the provision which
 "makes the promissory notes of the
 "Bank of England a legal tender in all
 "cases except when they shall be pre-
 "sented for payment at the Bank, or
 "one of its branches, has a tendency
 "to introduce, without any alleged
 "necessity, and in a time of profound
 "peace, the dangerous principle of a
 "compulsory paper currency.

"WYNFORD,

"BEXLEY,

"CARRINGTON, (for the 1., 2.,
 "3., and 4. reasons),

"ERNEST."

CALTHORPE-STREET BATTLE.

The following is the report of the
 committee on this affair:

"1. That it is the opinion of this
 "committee, regard being had to the
 "knowledge possessed by the commis-
 "sioners of police of the character and
 "avowed intentions of the persons by
 "whom the meeting was convened, that
 "no blame attaches to them in the ar-
 "rangements which they made for car-
 "rying into effect the instructions they
 "received from the Secretary of State
 "on the occasion in question.

"2. That it is the opinion of this
 "committee, that the conduct of the
 "bodies of police employed in the actual
 "dispersion of the meeting was not
 "attended with greater violence than
 "was occasioned by the resistance they
 "met with from a portion of the meet-
 "ing in the execution of their orders.

"3. That it is the opinion of this
 "committee, that, after the dispersion
 "of the meeting, some of the police
 "employed in clearing the surrounding
 "ground were suffered to follow per-
 "sons to a greater distance than was
 "necessary, and that, under these cir-
 "cumstances, they were not subjected
 "to that efficient control which, in a

"moment of excitement and irritation, and after much provocation, could alone prevent individual instances of undue exercise of power.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that the meeting was held with a full knowledge on the part of the leaders that public notice had been given by the Government of its being considered illegal, and that interference from the police might be anticipated. And your committee are further of opinion that resistance in case of interference was contemplated, and that, for the purpose of such resistance, offensive weapons of a dangerous nature were carried and used by some of the persons composing the meeting.

"5. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the police did not in any way interfere with the meeting until they had fully ascertained its identity with that which had been convened by a public placard, purporting to be by order of the Committee of the National Union of the Working Classes, for the purpose of adopting preliminary measures for holding a national convention; that the police then advanced in two directions only, not occupying the ground to the north or east, until after the meeting had been dispersed, and that opportunity was given for any persons, not taking an active part in the business of the meeting, to escape.

"6. That it is the opinion of this committee, that none of the police were in any degree intoxicated, and that no dangerous wound or permanent injury has been shown to have been inflicted by them on any individual, while, on the other hand, one of their own number was killed with a dagger, and two others stabbed while in the discharge of their duty.

"7. That while it is the opinion of this committee, that the conduct of the police, as a body, on the occasion in question affords no just ground of complaint, they feel it a duty to advert to the importance of the utmost caution and vigilance on the part of

"the superintendents and other officers of the police to check any approach to unnecessary violence among their men on all occasions, but more especially where large bodies of them are employed in the prevention or suppression of disturbance, and the maintenance of the public peace."

POLICE.

I TAKE the following from the *True Sun* of 29. August. It seems that the people are stirring in this matter.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—PARISH OF SAINT MARY, NEWINGTON.

Yesterday evening at six o'clock, a vestry meeting of the parish of St. Mary, Newington, was held in the School-room, near the Church, "to take into consideration the enormous expense incurred for the maintenance of the police force, and other circumstances connected therewith, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed expedient to relieve the parish from so burdensome and objectionable a system." The vestry was fully and respectably attended by the rate-payers. Fox Smith, Esq., churchwarden, in the chair.

Previous to the resolutions being put, Mr. Goodwin asked Mr. Inville, the vestry-clerk, if the circular which had been sent to them from Mr. Linsell, secretary to the Parochial Association of the parish of St. James, Westminster, had been laid before the vestry? Upon being informed that it had not, a rather stormy debate ensued, it being stated, that such letter ought to have been communicated, as directed. It was replied, that as the letter was printed, as such letters generally are, it did not meet with that attention it would have received had it been written. It was added also, that no meeting was held since the letter arrived, though it was dated the 31. of July, before which there was an opportunity to lay the letter for consideration. This being the answer, which, however, did not appear to give

satisfaction, the meeting proceeded to business.

Mr. PUTTYFOOT moved the first resolution, remarking that though the resolution appeared to be expressed in strong language, it was no more than what the occasion required. He read the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN objected to it *in toto*, as not coming within the bearing of the requisition.

Messrs. WILLEY, CHEESMAN, &c., expressed their surprise that the Chairman should make objections before having heard the whole of the resolutions.

CHAIRMAN: Your resolution is libellous.

After a warm controversy, Mr. Puttyfoot proceeded, and said that felonious intent could be proved against some of that body. It was an unconstitutional power; first, for Government to rule it, that they should send police spies among them, (hear, hear); secondly, that they should be employed to knock people down, and those who paid them; thirdly, that it was a military force, having military officers, and employing military expressions to command them; and lastly, for them to have redress against any one who insulted them, they must go to Scotland-yard. The men who are to protect their property come from a hundred miles off, while they ought to be men out of their own parish, persons whom they knew. (Cheers).

Mr. WILLEY seconded the resolution.

On the resolution being handed to the Chairman, he objected to put it, as it would lay the parish open to law proceedings. He asked the opinion of Mr. Wood, the parish solicitor, who gave his opinion that the resolution was decidedly libellous, and would bring an action on the parish authorities. Another warm altercation ensued, in which Messrs. Cheesman, Brown, Sewell, Wood (not the solicitor), Goodwin, &c., observed that they thought, with some amendments, the resolution might be accepted. An alteration was then made, but on its again being presented it was still considered libellous, when, after a

lengthened discussion, the resolution was abandoned.

Mr. CHEESMAN then moved a resolution, in doing which he said that they could not follow a better course than that which they adopted on a former occasion, and that was by choosing a deputation from their parish to co-operate with other parishes, in endeavouring to obtain that constitutional control over the police force which they have a right to enjoy, they being the best judges of their own respective local interests.

This resolution, upon being seconded, was unanimously adopted.

It was then agreed to form a committee to co-operate with the central committee of the parish of St. James, with full power to act for their own parish.

Mr. WOOD, solicitor, remarked upon the last resolution, that they should be firm in their conduct, they ought not to be violent. From what he had heard, it was the intention of Government to listen to their desires, being aware of the great hostility against that force, which is decidedly a military power, and not such a one as was known to our Saxon forefathers; who, in instituting the municipal arrangements of the country, by making division of tithings and hundreds, left the incipient administration of the laws to be done by your substantial yeomen, the entire management of which Government now wish to take to themselves. (Cheers). He supported the plan of one general central committee, as tending to bring into one focus all information in reference to the metropolitan police, as each sub-committee could bring to the general assembly all reports connected with their particular parishes. (Applause).

The committee was then nominated.

It was proposed, that the churchwardens and overseers should form part of the committee; but they stated, that they had so much business to attend to, that they would not be able to do their duty.

The Chairman observed, that that business had better be left to the parishioners themselves.

Thanks having been voted to the Chairman, the vestry adjourned.

REPORT FROM THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON METROPOLITAN POLICE.

COMMITTEE :

Mr. Estcourt
 Lord Viscount Lowther
 Sir Thomas Freemantle
 Mr. Byng
 Mr. Robert Gordon
 Mr. Alderman Wood
 Sir Robert Peel
 Mr. William Brougham
 Lord George Lennox
 Mr. Shaw Lefevre
 Lord Fordwich
 Sir Edward Knatchbull
 Mr. Sergeant Spankie
 Mr. Clay
 Lord Viscount Howick
 Lord Viscount Villiers
 Mr. Lamb
 Sir Robert Harry Inglis
 Mr. Nicholson Calvert
 Mr. Denison (Surrey)
 Colonel Wood
 Mr. Charles Ross
 Sir Henry Hardinge
 Lord Hotham
 Mr. Bonham Carter.
 Colonel Davies
 Mr. Hall Dare
 Mr. Hawes
 Mr. Attorney-General
 Captain Dundas
 Mr. Hume
 Lord Granville Somerset.

The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis within the metropolitan district, and the state of crime therein — have agreed to the following report :

Your committee have found that the order of the House for their appointment, and for that of the committee appointed for a similar purpose in 1828, so much coincided as left no doubt that the object sought to be attained in their appointment had reference to "the

change in the system of police" recommended by the former committee, to the consequences resulting from the partial adoption of the plan then suggested, and to the expediency of now carrying it fully into effect; embracing, under either alternative, the consideration of any modifications that the state of existing circumstances might seem to require.

Your committee considered it therefore incumbent on them to commence their investigation at the point at which the former committee closed their labours, and by a review of all that has since occurred to show how far the expectations then entertained by the House have been realized, as well as whether any unfavourable results have arisen; if so, to what cause they may be attributed, and what remedies ought to be applied.

Although such an inquiry seemed to be that alone which was calculated to afford satisfaction, and to facilitate the adoption of improvements in the police, it was manifest that it could not be conducted to a favourable issue without the devotion to it on the part of the committee of much labour and protracted examinations.

Your committee did not, however, hesitate to adopt such arrangement; and, with the view of rendering it complete, sedulously occupied themselves in examining into the original construction, and the subsequent arrangement and application, of the metropolitan police; into the establishments and duties of the magistrates and officers of the several police-offices, and the complaints of several parties who had presented petitions to the House, or who had requested permission to submit their objections to the existing system; and into the opinions of the magistrates and others, whose residences, habits, or professional avocations, had afforded them peculiar facilities and opportunities for observing and justly appreciating the state of the police within the metropolitan district; and moreover, into the foundation, extent, and efficiency of the system of police existing within the jurisdiction of the city of

London, and into the effect which its exclusive character would produce in interference with any attempt to establish that uniformity which has been recommended by all former committees, and which it was evidently the great object of the committee of 1828 ultimately though gradually to accomplish.

Your committee had made considerable progress, when they found their course impeded, not only by the delay which the preparation of returns and accumulation of evidence occasioned, but by the unexampled pressure of business before the House, necessarily occasioning the appointment of an unusual number of committees, and requiring so much of the attendance of members as to preclude the possibility of their persevering with dispatch in the prosecution of this very extensive and important investigation. The hinderance, however, which has presented the most formidable obstruction, has been the appointment of two other committees: the one on the 1. of July, "To inquire into the matter of a petition of several persons, complaining that policemen are employed as spies, and praying that the people may not be taxed to maintain those spies;" and the other on the 11. of July, "To inquire into the conduct of the metropolitan police on the 13. of May last, in dispersing a public meeting in Cold-bath-fields." Since your committee could not shut their ears to the notorious fact, that, in each case, not merely the conduct and characters of individuals were questioned, but that the maintenance of such a force as the metropolitan police became, under its imputed misconduct, a matter of serious consideration, it would have been a great dereliction of their duty finally to have closed their labours, until, by an examination of the evidence adduced, and a careful consideration of the judgment pronounced in those cases, they should have been able to state in their report, how far the circumstances so developed ought to weigh in prejudice of the favourable opinion hitherto entertained of the establishment. In one only of these cases has a report been

laid upon the table, and that at so late a period as the 6. of August; but in neither has your committee been furnished with the means of examining how far the fundamental principles of the institution have been affected.

Still labouring under this uncertainty, and having arrived at the very eve of the prorogation, your committee consider themselves called upon to close their proceedings for the present session: they regret that they cannot submit to the House a detailed report, but they trust that their determination will be considered merely as a postponement of such an intention until the ensuing session, and will be sanctioned by the approbation of the House, when assured that good reason is afforded to expect that (if permitted to resume their labours) they shall, by an acquaintance with the result of the other inquiries, and by rendering their evidence more complete, be better able to express a well-digested opinion upon each and every part of the police of the metropolis, than at the present moment.

Relying upon the favourable disposition of the House to approve of and adopt the views entertained by your committee, they cautiously abstain from alluding to the amendments in the system of the metropolitan police which have been suggested to them, or to the far more important topic of what arrangements it may be expedient to resort to in improving the administration of the laws within the metropolis, and the establishment therein "of a plan of police which shall be exempt from the inconvenience which at present results from the independent and unconnected action of the several police-offices and the other police establishments."

Your committee have directed their anxious attention to the alleged increase of expense attendant on the substitution of the metropolitan police for the old watch; but, from the reasons adverted to with reference to the completion of their report, they cannot venture to suggest any specific alteration in those parts of the 10 Geo. IV. c. 44, by which is provided the revenue for the mainte-

nance of the establishment: they would, however, feel much concern should a mistaken apprehension prevail in the minds of members, that the representations of the many respectable bodies and individuals whose petitions were referred to the committee, had not received due attention. The reverse is so much the fact, and so convinced are the committee that this branch of the subject is worthy of the most serious consideration, that they beg in the strongest manner to represent that, on the re-appointment of the committee, it will be absolutely necessary to make the pecuniary branch of their inquiry the earliest object for consideration; and moreover, they recommend that such re-appointment should take place at the earliest period of the ensuing session; in order that the legislation necessary for giving effect to substantial and permanent ameliorations of the law should receive the consideration of Parliament, whilst sufficient leisure and opportunity for deliberate discussion may afford the best means of framing a judicious and equitable measure.

Although your committee have not brought their labours to a close, it may perhaps be expected that they should express some opinion as to the conduct and utility of the metropolitan police, as far as the evidence adduced before them has enabled them to form any opinion.

Subject, therefore, to the further information which may be elicited by the inquiries of the other committees above alluded to, your committee do not hesitate to state it as their opinion, that the evidence adduced before them has led them to think that the greatest economy is observed in every department of the metropolitan police; that very great and increasing care is taken in the selection of the individuals employed; and that on the whole, the conduct of the men has been very creditable to them.

Your committee can speak with unqualified praise of the manner in which the commissioners discharge the arduous duties incident to their office; who, in every arrangement proceeding from

them, evince a desire to render the police as effective in detecting as in repressing crime, and occasioning as little inconvenience as possible to the honest and well-conducted portion of the community.

REPORT.

The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the truth of the allegations contained in the petitions of several Stationers and Manufacturers of Paper, and of the thenceunder-signified Liverymen of London, and to report their observations thereupon to the House:—Have agreed to the following Report.

Your committee have considered the petitions referred to them, and have examined several witnesses with reference to the allegations contained therein.

The petitions involve the consideration of two subjects; the first is the contract entered into, in June last, between the Stationery-office and Mr. Jonathan Muckleston Key; the second relates to the appointment of Mr. Kingzmill Grove Key to the situation of store-keeper of the Stationery-office.

With reference to the first subject it is alleged that Mr. Jonathan Muckleston Key was only the nominal contractor, while Sir John Key, being at the time of the presentation of the petition a member of the House of Commons, was the real contractor. That Sir John Key was elected one of the members for the city of London in December 1832, and continued to be so until his acceptance of the Chiltern Hundreds on Monday the 5. of August, are facts so notorious that your committee deemed it unnecessary to examine witnesses to that point; but it appears from the evidence, that he had been concerned in several contracts for supplying paper to the Stationery-office previously to the year 1832, and that he was so concerned in his own name up to June 1832, but that in June 1832 and in June 1833, contracts were entered into in the name of Jonathan Muckleston Key, the brother of Sir John Key, the same person being sureties for the contract of Sir John Key in 1831, and for the contracts in 1832 and 1833.

It is not in evidence that Mr. Jonathan Muckleston Key, whose residence is at Thornbury in Gloucestershire, took any part in the execution of the contracts of 1832 and 1833, nor did he appear at the Stationery-office at any time, or for any other purpose than that of signing the contracts and entering into the requisite securities. Sir John Key has taken the same part in all the details of the contracts of 1832 and 1833 as he did in that of 1831; the paper has been supplied from his stores, and delivered by his carts and servants; he generally brought the bills, drawn in his brother's name, for acceptance, and so-

ceived and made all the communications from and to the office, which became necessary in performance of the duty imposed by the contract.

With reference to the second subject, it is stated by the petitioners, that Mr. Kingsmill Grove Key is the nephew of the nominal and son of the real contractor; that he is a youth of 18 or 19 years of age, not legally competent to give the necessary bonds of security or qualified to perform the official duties of a situation requiring a knowledge of the stationery business, only to be obtained by experience.

From the evidence, it appears that it is the duty of the storekeeper to examine the stores as they are received, to see that their quality and quantity are conformable to the contract, to superintend their delivery to the offices requiring them, to superintend and control the conduct of the different persons in his branch of the department, and to keep a store account, for the accuracy of which he is answerable.

The number of officers under the more immediate direction of the storekeeper will be found in the appendix.

The storekeeper is accountable to the comptroller, the head of the Stationery-office, for the quality of the stores received, and reports to him whether such stores be or be not equal to the samples. But Mr. Church, the comptroller, states, that the exact degree of responsibility is not clearly defined, and that he the comptroller has in repeated instances interfered to reject stores.

The value of the annual contract for paper (by far the largest item of expenditure) is about 60,000*l.*, and the amount contracted for in the present year, in the name of Mr. Jonathan Key, exceeds 50,000*l.*

On the 26. June last, Mr. Lawrence, the late storekeeper, resigned his office, by a letter written by Mrs. Lawrence, in consequence of a communication with her made by Mr. Church, the comptroller, that Mr. Lawrence's state of health had rendered him incompetent to the performance of his duties, which indeed he had not executed for some months previously. It being necessary to obtain medical certificates, Mr. Lawrence's resignation was not officially communicated to the Treasury till the 1. of July, and Mr. Charles Wood, the Secretary of the Treasury, on the same day directed his private secretary, Mr. George Arbuthnot, to write the following letter to Mr. Church:—

"My dear Sir,—Mr. Wood will be obliged to you if you will let him know the nature of the duties of storekeeper to the Stationery-office, and whether the place requires any peculiar qualifications in the person filling it.

"Yours truly,

"GEORGE ARBUTHNOT."

Mr. Church, upon the receipt of this letter, went to the Treasury, conceiving, as he states, that he could explain various particulars more satisfactorily by word of mouth than by letter, and in the hope of seeing Mr. Wood.

Having waited, however, for some time, Mr. Arbuthnot informed him, that Mr. Wood could not then see him, but that it would be the same thing if he would state the particulars to him. Mr. Church then observed to Mr. Arbuthnot, that the persons who had been theretofore appointed storekeepers were generally worn-out stationers, too old to learn or unlearn, and, from the nature of their earlier occupation, persons who must have formed connexions with, and perhaps incurred obligations to, private stationers; so that, however pure their conduct might be in office, they were always liable to imputations of partiality; he therefore expressed his opinion, that it would be a less evil if they could find a young man (and Mr. Arbuthnot states that the age of twenty-four was mentioned) not a stationer, who had an acquaintance with general business, who was of active habits, and who, if he gave up his whole time to it, might very soon become an efficient servant. Mr. Arbuthnot told Mr. Church, that he would communicate what he said to Mr. Wood, and that would be quite sufficient.

The substance of this conversation was communicated by Mr. Arbuthnot to Mr. Wood. Sir John Key, having heard of the vacancy, applied on the 1. of July to Lord Grey, for the situation of storekeeper for his son; and by the evidence of Mr. Wood and Sir John Key, it appears, that about the 4. July, Mr. Wood wrote a letter to Sir John Key, informing him that Lord Grey would appoint his son, and requesting to know his name and age.

This letter, and others connected with this subject (but, as he states, of an unimportant character), Sir John Key destroyed the day after the petitions against him were presented to the House of Commons. Sir John Key called on Mr. Wood, and (as stated by Mr. Wood) informed him that he had two sons, one about eighteen, and the other about twenty-two years of age, and that it would be more convenient to him that the younger son should be appointed to the place. Mr. Wood stated, that he thought the age would be objectionable, but that he would make inquiry; and he then directed Mr. Arbuthnot to write a letter to Mr. Church, of which the following is a copy:

"My dear Sir,—I am desired to inquire of you, whether there would be any objection to the appointment of a young man of nineteen to the situation of storekeeper. It appears to me that so young a person would not be able to exercise sufficient authority over the people he will have to superintend.

(Signed)

"G. ARBUTHNOT."

This letter was written and received on the 9. of July; and Mr. Church says, that he wrote a reply while the bearer of the letter waited, but kept no copy of his reply, as he considered the communication private; but he added, I have it fully, thoroughly, and completely in my memory, and the letter itself will be found at the Treasury, and will show

how far I am correct in my statement; he then repeated the letter, as follows:

"My dear Sir,—The storekeeper of this office has to give securities, sign bonds, and to execute many other securities, for which non-age would disqualify him. Perhaps you may not be aware how much this office is watched; the same description of persons deal with us, as deal with the proprietors of newspapers: I will only refer to a paragraph in the *Age* of last Sunday, which stated that Sir John Key, a contractor (which, by-the-by, he is not), has applied to the Treasury for an appointment of a friend of his. I merely state this, to show how necessary it is to be cautious; and that to a situation like this, it is expedient to appoint a man who not only is fit, but who will appear to be fit to others."

Mr. Church's recollection of this letter is substantially confirmed by Mr. Arbuthnot.

The paragraph referred to, but not inserted in the letter, is in the *Age* newspaper of 7. July, and is as follows: "Under the 'corrupt system,' a member of Parliament could not be a public contractor, or supply the Government with goods as a tradesman; but it seems the reformed Parliament has corrected this mistake, for the city ministerial Member, Sir John Key, it is reported, is the principal contractor for supplying the Government with paper. This is not all: there has, within these few days, occurred a vacancy in the Stationery-office, occasioned by the resignation of the storekeeper; and Sir John Key has used his influence at the Treasury in favour of a friend, who is to be (or perhaps is by this time) appointed his successor. It will be the duty of this individual to examine the goods sent into the office by his patron. We hope Mr. Hume will look into this."

Mr. Wood, in consequence of this letter, saw Sir John Key, and informed him that it must be his eldest son, because the person to be appointed should be of age; and Sir John Key then gave him the name of Kingsmill Grove Key, for the appointment. Sir John Key admits that he did deceive Mr. Wood as to his son's age, giving Mr. Wood to understand that his son was of age, and leaving him under that impression.

Sir John Key states, and he is confirmed by Mr. Wood, that at this interview an extract of the letter from Mr. Church, of the 9. July, with reference to the necessity of the storekeeper being above the age of twenty-one, and having onerous duties to perform, was read. It appears further, that Mr. Wood asked Sir John Key if he had seen the paragraph in the *Age* newspaper: his reply was, "I have heard of it; but I never pay any attention to what the *Age* says, and it is a *prima facie* evidence of the falsehood of a statement, that it appears in the *Age*."

There was an *Age* newspaper on the table at this interview.

Mr. Wood wrote a memorandum to make

out the appointment of Mr. Kingsmill Grove Key on this same letter of Mr. Church, of the 9. of July, and gave it to Mr. Arbuthnot; from whose evidence it appears that when Mr. Wood gave him the order for the appointment, he said, "We are going to do this in spite of Church." The appointment having been completed, the letter was destroyed. Mr. Arbuthnot states, that he considered that it was a private answer to a mere letter of inquiry, and the purpose for which the inquiry was made being at an end, he considered that there was no further occasion for it. Mr. Wood, when asked what he intended by this expression, supposing he used it, says, "Sir John Key has constantly been the subject of attack in some of the Sunday newspapers; this attack was repeated on the occasion of this appointment, and Mr. Church had alluded to it. My own impression was, that Mr. Church was, for some reason, adverse to the appointment; and what I meant to say was, that I did not mean to be deterred from appointing Mr. Kingsmill Grove Key by the remonstrances in a Sunday newspaper, alluded to by Mr. Church." Mr. Wood further states, that in Mr. Church's letter of the 9. of July, he only attended to the point of the age of Sir John Key's son, and not to the supposed connexions between the Stationery-office and Sir John Key, as mentioned in the newspaper, nor does he recollect that Mr. Church, in the same letter, stated that caution was necessary. He adds, that knowing Sir John Key could not sit in Parliament as a contractor, "I did not pay the slightest attention to that, because it seemed to me impossible." Subsequently, in his evidence, Mr. Wood denies all knowledge of Sir John Key having been, previously to his being in Parliament, connected with the Stationery-office, although he knew he was a stationer. It appears, from the evidence of Mr. Church, that the names of the contractors are not transmitted to the Treasury; and Mr. Wood states, in his evidence, "If any papers relating to the contract came to the Treasury at all, they certainly could not come to me; I am not certain whether they would come to the Treasury at all, but they certainly would not come to me." Mr. Church states, that at the time of writing the letter of the 9. of July, he was not aware who was the person referred to of 19 years of age, but that a few days afterwards Sir John Key called on him, and said that a relation of his and of Mr. Jonathan Muckleston Key had been appointed to the office of storekeeper; on which Mr. Church observed that he must take some precaution to prevent the examination by him of the stores sent in by virtue of the contract of Mr. Jonathan Key. Sir John Key replied, "I suggested that to the Treasury, and they said you would be able to do it." And he further said, "I stated to the Treasury that 'as soon as ever my brother had completed his contract, I meant to leave the stationery

"business." Sir John Key says that he did not speak to the Treasury on this subject, and adds his belief that the Treasury were totally ignorant of his brother being a contractor. Mr. Church was not aware at that time that the person appointed was a son of Sir John Key, but, becoming acquainted with the fact a few days afterwards at the Treasury, he observed to Mr. Arbuthnot "that the appointment would make a devil of a row." Mr. Church says subsequently in his evidence, "I made use of the expression so often," and being asked, whether before or after the appointment, adds, "It would be before and after, I have no doubt." Mr. Church, in another part of his evidence, says, "I supposed every thing I said to Mr. Arbuthnot would go to Mr. Wood; there were many things I certainly had stated in conversation, which perhaps I should have been a little cautious of putting down in a letter." The appointment was completed on the 16. of July.

On the 17. July, Sir John Key introduced his son, on his appointment, to Mr. Church; who said it would be part of his, Mr. Kingsmill Grove Key's duty, as storekeeper, to inspect the goods sent in under the contract of his uncle, and that therefore he, Mr. Church, and the chief clerk, would undertake the inspection, as a matter of decency. And accordingly all the goods sent in under the contract were so inspected.

Mr. Wood in his evidence states, that on Sunday, the 28. July, Lord Althorp, and on the next day, Lord Grey, informed him that Lord Althorp had received a letter referring to three points connected with this appointment; 1st, That Mr. Key, the uncle, was a contractor; 2d, That Mr. Kingsmill Grove Key had to examine the paper sent in by that uncle; 3d, That Mr. Kingsmill Grove Key was under age. Mr. Wood sent for Mr. Arbuthnot, and asked if he believed these things were true; Mr. Arbuthnot replied that he believed they were. On the same day, Mr. Wood wrote to Sir John Key, telling him that the appointment must be put an end to. On Thursday, the 1. of August, Sir John Key informed Mr. Church that his son had resigned. On the same day, Mr. Arbuthnot called on Mr. Church, and told him that Mr. Charles Wood wished to know what would be the best way of withdrawing the appointment of Mr. Kingsmill Grove Key. Mr. Church waited on Mr. Wood the same afternoon at the Treasury, and the appointment was ordered to be cancelled. Mr. Church further adds, that at this interview with Mr. Charles Wood, on the 1. of August (the only interview he had with him), he told him he thought no ill consequences would ensue, nor any charge be made, owing to the appointment of Mr. Kingsmill Key, and that to prevent all evil, he had taken the examination out of the hands of the young man. Mr. Wood's reply was, "Yes, I have heard that you proposed to do so." These were (as stated by Mr. Church)

the words, "he did not express any approbation or disapprobation."

From the evidence of Mr. Arbuthnot, it appears that the impression on his mind, previously to the 9. July, was, that Sir John Key was concerned in the contract with the Stationery-office; and that this impression was confirmed by Mr. Church's letter of that date. Both Mr. Church and Mr. Arbuthnot were of opinion that Sir John Key was concerned in the contract, but that opinion was not communicated by them to Mr. Wood.

Mr. Arbuthnot says with reference to Mr. Key's appointment, "Mr. Church told me privately that he considered it objectionable." Being asked, "Did he say it would produce a devil of a row, or some such expression as that?" he replies, "I dare say he may have said so;" it was before the appointment was completed, but after the order for its being made out had been given. Mr. Arbuthnot further states, that Mr. Church did not state his objections for the purpose of his mentioning them to Mr. Wood, and he conceived he wished him not to do so, because, as the appointment had been made, it might have been considered obtrusive on his (Mr. Church's) part; and that Mr. Church's impression was, that he had already done his duty to the Treasury, by stating, in his letter to Mr. Arbuthnot, that great caution was necessary in making such an appointment; and, indeed, Mr. Arbuthnot supposed Mr. Wood was aware of all this before, for he says, "I thought Mr. Wood was aware of all that; it appears he was not."

Mr. Arbuthnot adds, that he thought Mr. Wood had been in communication both with Mr. Church and Sir John Key, previous to the appointment, and therefore that he had got all the information he considered necessary; and Mr. Arbuthnot being also under the impression that there was a difference with regard to the appointment, between Mr. Church and the Treasury, that on that account it was a delicate subject to mention to Mr. Wood, after the appointment had been completed.

Upon the first subject referred to in the petition, your committee do not feel called upon to offer any opinion, in consequence of Sir John Key having vacated his seat in Parliament.

Upon the second, your committee have thought the most advisable course was to present, without observations or comment, the foregoing summary of the evidence, and to recommend the whole of the evidence itself to the perusal and attention of the House.

POPAY AND THE POLICE.

THIS subject has drawn forth the following article in the *Examiner* of the 25. instant, and a correspondent has sent me the very able answer to it, which

will be found at the end of the *Examiner's* article. In another part of this *Register* will be found, the reports of the two committees, one, the CALTHORPE-STREET committee; and the other, the general conduct and management of the police committee. What! two committees in the House of Commons at the same time, on the affairs of this police!!! Scolding wife, smoky house, bastard child, indeed! What are all these to this accursed spy-police! I have not much experience in such matters, thank God; but I would rather have two bastards, and two litters of bastards, and even the *two mothers*, both at me with claws and tongue, at one and the same time, than be in a town and be plagued with this accursed police. Keep the PEACE, indeed, as Mr. ESTCOURT calls it! Keep the strife and the danger and the scratching and the fighting and the knocking on the head! And the people in the country are to pay sixty thousand pounds are they, for keeping the peace of the metropolis! I have not room for any more at present; and, if I had, I could not proceed, for I am absolutely choked with rage at the thought.

Ministers admit that the case against Popay is completely proved, and yet they allege that there is not sufficient ground for a prosecution, and think they have done enough in dismissing him from the police. The Solicitor-General affected to consider the censures which had been delivered in the House as so much punishment to the offender, "and hoped it would be seen that all it was necessary to do had been done." The *all* that has been done in the case of Popay, the treacherous instigator to crime, is of the same amount as that which has been done in the case of Dean, who expressed his abhorrence at the Spafelds' outrages; the difference simply is, that Popay was not dismissed till after a careful and deliberate inquiry, and that Dean was summarily discharged. In what other instance, of a man in Popay's class, have the censures of speakers in Parliament been held tantamount to punishment? When was so childish a pretext allowed to serve any one of the people who had offended against Government? The clemency in this case cannot be misunderstood. There can be no doubt that Popay's information found its way to the head of the Home Office, and Lord Melbourne must have had some notion how he came by it. We do not for a moment suspect Lord Melbourne of

conniving at Popay's practices, but we do believe that his strange pranks of authority have proceeded upon the exaggerated representations of the spy. An intimate knowledge of what was passing among the working-classes, has been conceitedly boasted in the Home Office, and for this supposed knowledge there must have been channels such as Popay. A prosecution would trace them up. The disgrace would be merited. A minister of this quiet country, who permits the employment of spies upon sedition, is answerable for all the vile consequences: and it is as certain that he will be made a fool, as the instrument a villain.

We heartily agree with Mr. Cobbett, that an instigator should be punished as if he had sincerely entertained the seditious designs to which he was treacherously inducing others. Upon what ground can an impunity be permitted to the reasonable persuasions of a particular individual? To extend such an impunity is to imply a privy to the guilty practice. Had the exciting language proved against Popay, been proved against one of the people, who will believe that the unlucky party would have escaped punishment, and that the Solicitor-General would have held justice satisfied, forsooth, with Parliamentary censures? The absurd proceedings against the half dozen men who were discovered practising with wooden swords, show that it is neither rationality nor magnanimity, that causes this Government to overlook any semblance of seditious intention: then why is a detected preacher of sedition allowed to go unprosecuted? What procures his especial and peculiar impunity? It will not be said that he acted under directions; and if he did not act under directions, how is his sham treason to be distinguished by Government from real treason? Dean was discharged for reprobating the Spafelds' brutalities. How was it that Popay was not discharged for seditious suggestions? His talk was reported; and if there was no privy, no connivance, how happened it that no notice was taken by his superiors of an offence so much graver than Dean's? If they knew that he was acting a part, they connived at his guilt; if they did not know that he was acting a part, how came it that no cognizance was had of his conduct? Had he preached open and instant rebellion, no one is simple enough to believe that a secretary of state's warrant would have been issued against him. The fair way of trying the case is this—Had any sincere malcontent said and done as Popay said and did, would he have escaped the notice of the Home Office?

The employment of spies for the discovery of sedition is (as we have before contended) to be condemned, because, sedition being unfrequent, the spy has to produce it, or the appearance of it, in order to earn his reward, and perpetuate the occasion for his commission. Few things are to be less apprehended than any out-breaking of sedition; and few

things are to be more apprehended than a Government's apprehension of it, which is sure to lead to the most vexatious, mean, and unworthy proceedings. A jealous man taking every mouse that stirs in his wife's chamber for a gallant, is respectable compared with a jealous Government, prying and spying into holes and corners for plots against its existence.

The just judgment against political spies is not, however, to be allowed to run against the spies upon crimes against property and life, which is the watch of justice, and nothing can be more absurd than the clamour against the employment of the police in plain clothes for keeping an eye upon thieves. One moment the quarrel with the police is their uniform, which makes them resemble a gendarmerie, as gendarmes wear blue clothes, and the force wear blue coats; and the next moment the charge is that they wear plain clothes—so did the Bow-street runners of old—but every body knew them, it is observed—so much the worse for honest men, we answer, as the rogues were put on their guard, and forewarned to remove to spots safer for their depredations. An honest man cannot suffer any possible annoyance from the presence of a disguised thief-taker, and as for the thieves, we recognise no obligation to give them warning that they are watched. Whatever tends to their insecurity, tends to the safety of the public. Abuses have existed in this province of observation; the enormities of "blood money," induced by an impolitic law, are yet remembered, but the villains were not liable to the reproach of uniforms and "gendarmerie," they were the old officers of the superseded system. Nothing so horrible as this is chargeable against the new police, and many of the declamations against it turn upon considerations which would almost argue *a sympathy with the large fraternity of the thieves*. It may be, though we have never witnessed it, that the police exercise their authority too rudely and vexatiously towards the humble classes; and if the fact be so, and we have heard it stated by unprejudiced authority, a more becoming conduct should be promptly enforced. The appointments are probably not always regulated by the most proper considerations, and too many raw boys and choleric Irishmen are employed; but this evil would not be remedied by the suggestion of Colonel Evans to give control to the local authorities whose management was so amply exemplified in the efficiency of the old watch force from the days of Shakspeare to the last hour cried by the feeble guardians of the night. Of all jobbing, there is no jobbing like parish jobbing. Let the people set about securing the means of good government, and they will have nothing to fear from the power of the police in responsible hands. A sword may be turned to crime, but for that reason we don't cry out for the disuse of swords, but endeavour to govern the hands that may wield them. A police, like the army, or any other power of Government, may be made an instrument of tyranny, but

that does not prove that the thing is bad, but that the people endure a system in which the proper responsibility is wanting. So long as the people are jealous of the instruments in the hands of Government, they are reproachable with suffering a vicious constitution, and mistaking the objects of dissatisfaction. Never should they rest till the Government is *their* Government, and then its powers can no more be a matter of apprehension than the vigour of a man's arm can be formidable to his own flesh. The enlightened Radical reformer does not set about substituting for the sword of the executive a dagger of lath powerless for good or ill, but to bring the hand that holds the sharp instrument under control is his bold and all comprehensive object.

Abuses, however, in the police are not to be neglected by the friends of the establishment, nor must faults be denied which are truly charged by its enemies, or redress be withheld as we have information in the present case.

We have always been of opinion, that the appointment and dismissal of public officers should not rest in the same authority, unless it be popular election; a twofold justice may be attained by the separation—the individual is more secure that he will not be displaced, to make way for a new favourite, and the public has a better chance that delinquents will be dismissed, when their misconduct merits that punishment. The late discussions and complaints of the new police may elucidate this point. We are known to have been friendly to the institution of this force, as a great improvement on the old and corrupt system of parochial jobbing; nay, we have incurred some unpopularity, by opposing ourselves to the prejudices which the unthinking and the unprincipled have urged against it; but we will not defend its vices; and the first sign that the new is falling into the ways of the old institution, are our signal for vigilance. We hear, that in numerous instances, the commissioners have refused reparation to those who have been injured or insulted by the police; and in some cases, where they have appeared to have punished the offenders, it turns out that they have only been removed to another district. We trace this evil, in the first instance, to the undue influences which in this country are always exerted to obtain appointments; and then to the want of publicity in the proceedings of the commissioners when hearing complaints. We all remember, that the town was in a state of public canvass when Sir R. Peel's bill first came into operation; you could not pass Howell and James's without having half a dozen heads thrust out at you—"Do you know Colonel Rowan? Oh, do you know Mr. Mayne? I want to get my man John, and our tenant's boy, poor Terence O'Donoghue, into the new police." And the same influence that got them in, will keep them in. Terence may be as lawless in Pall Mall, as he had been in Connamara; and John as insolent at Charing-cross, as his brethren of the shoulder-knot usually are at

the doors of the Opera-house. The favourites of the marchioness will not be called to any very strict account, unless they commit some outrage, so notorious, that public attention is called to it by the reports from Bow-street. The magistrates of the public offices should have the power of dismissal, or at least the power of suspension, till the case can be more fully, and above all publicly investigated. The other day a police constable, who, in plain clothes, had partially interfered in a squabble at the door of a common gambling house, took two men into custody for no other offence than following him to ascertain whether he was really a policeman or no. The case is the more important too as it is pregnant with a suspicion that some of the police are in league with the higher order of bells, the owners of which are well known to pay well for intelligence or protection. All this must be looked into, and we are therefore glad to find that the political misconduct of the spy Popay, and his employers, is likely to provoke the investigation.

To the Editor of the Examiner.

SIR,—The ravings of the Tory press, or the self-complaisant shuffling of the Whig writers, are of little consequence to the friends of liberty; those gentlemen only labour in their vocations, and may be safely left to earn their bread as they can. But when a paper like the *Examiner*, distinguished as it is, by a long and consistent support of the cause of the people, accidentally drops into the advocacy of measures dear to the supporters of despotism, it becomes necessary carefully to ascertain whether the spirit of despotism has changed its nature, or the liberal advocate has fallen into error. It is with this conviction that I take the liberty of animadverting on your article on the police of Sunday last, that article being one of many in which you have advocated the new system, and as the time has now arrived when the new police must be either permanently fixed, essentially changed, or entirely got rid of, it is absolutely necessary that all the friends of liberty should act with judgment and energy arising from a well-digested knowledge of the subject.

I perfectly agree with all you say in the three first paragraphs, and I join issue with you on the fourth, beginning, "the just judgment against political spies," &c. This paragraph, in my humble opinion, grossly misstates the question, and blinks, entirely blinks the real objections to the police. It is not, sir, that the police wear blue coats like gendarmes, or that they wear plain clothes like the Bow-street runners of old—these are minor matters. Nor is it that they are disguised theftakers, or undisguised theftakers; for I rather suspect that the disguise makes but little difference to the thief, whose very existence compels him to watch the police more than any police watches him, in order that he may obtain an intimate knowledge of his

would-be detectors, dressed or undressed. Sir, the real question is this—Is it wholesome for a country having an hereditary executive, only partially held in check by institutions only partially democratic, to have within itself a political standing army, appointed, officered, and solely controlled by the executive power; that this body should mix with the people and secretly report to the executive, and that, too, with the knowledge that the people will have no opportunity of detecting the truth or falsehood of the reports—the number and importance of such secret reports being the only evidence to the executive of the reporter's ability and consequent claim to preferment in the force? These are the points to be considered; and these are the points of resemblance between the new police of England and the gendarmerie of France; and I must say that if we were to call the Commissioners *Les Commissaires*, and the Secretary of State *Lieutenant de Police*, the resemblance would, in my humble opinion, be sufficiently complete.

But now, sir, let us go to the working of the new system. You say we have no blood-money enormity under the present system. Wait a little, my dear sir, and you will have plenty, for the organization of the force is just of the description to produce it; but we must recollect it is yet only four years old, and that many, many four years passed under the old system without any such enormity being thought of. But are we even now so clear of blood as you congratulate yourself? Was there no blood shed in Calthorpe-street, and are you quite sure that there were no Popays concerned in producing it? The committee of the House of Commons may pass this affair over as lightly as they please, and the public, for want of sufficient information, may acquiesce in the quietude; but if you will take the trouble to inquire in the neighbourhood of Calthorpe-street, you will find that it was no trifling matter; and what it might have been if the people had been so imprudent as to have resisted, and the already prepared military had come up, I leave to be guessed at by those who watched the progress of the affair and the ultimate object intended to be attained. O, but say you! this was not blood shed by means of a court of justice. Why as to that, Furzey had an intelligent jury, and fortunately for him the Popay plot was blown between his apprehension and his trial, or it is not impossible we might have had a little of that too. But, however, look at the published evidence of Mr. Young's petition; look at the police spy stimulating his victims to provide arms—to learn the use of arms—look at him hinting the assassination of a Minister of State—then look at him reporting his victims to the Secretary of State; look at him receiving preferment as a consequence of his double villainy, and ask yourself if there is any reasonable ground to doubt that he would have sworn up to the mark in a court of justice if called upon to do so.

But the old system was very bad—latterly

perhaps it was. There was a deal of jobbing; "and of all jobbing there is no jobbing like parish-jobbing,"—granted. I at least will not underrate parish-jobbing and its baleful effect on every thing within its managements. But who is chargeable with these evils? Why the Government, and the Government only. Our ancient local institutions produced no jobbing. The parish constable—the watch and ward, and the open vestry, were the healthful institutions of freedom, productive at once of security to property at small expense, and constitutional vigour at no expense at all. The Boroughmongers were jealous of these beautiful requies of Anglo-Saxon wisdom; they discountenanced and brought them into contempt; they let the parish constable dwindle into the mercenary substitute; the watch and ward into the decrepit Charlies; the sturdy, freedom-creating, cheap, open vestry, into the expensive, jobbing, secret, select vestry; and all this was done that they might say—See what nuisances these things are; let us destroy them, and take the government of all into our own hands.

Sir, from the days of Alfred the glorious, to those of George the sensualist, have the property and peace of the towns of England been under the protection of the householders? and it surely was not too much to expect from the Editor of the *Examiner*, that he would have treated with some respect the system which had answered the purpose of our ancestors for so many centuries. It was not surely too much to expect of a political reasoner that he would have selected some facts from the historians of so long a period to justify his attack on local watching, and not have contented himself with a reference to a dramatic author as his only authority. But, sir, meagre as is your authority, it does not bear you out in your deduction: Shakspeare charges Dogberry and his colleagues with no inefficiency in watching; on the contrary, he bears full testimony to their entire and active efficiency, for he shows them detecting that plot which had deceived the whole court, including an anxious father (the sovereign of that court), and an acute ardent lover. It is true, Shakspeare ridicules the language and grammatical correctness of the town watch, but not their efficiency in action, for he knew how to discriminate between words and things, and it would be very desirable that writers of a later date would endeavour to attain the same knowledge, we should not then see young gentlemen of the press, who write much, but apparently read little, and think still less, calling upon us in their off-hand way, to put by the institutions of Alfred, and offering no better reason for our doing so, than a reference to the cuckoo cry of Dogberry and the Charlies.

I subjoin my name and address, not only because I dislike anonymous writing, but because I do not wish to encounter the new argument of the *Examiner* to those who differ from it in opinion, viz. the charge of "a sym-

pathy with the large fraternity of thieves," and remain,

Sir,

Your constant reader.

GEORGE ROGERS.

58, High-street, St. Giles.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

CORP, W., Great Tower-street, carpenter.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HUNT, J. T., Princes street, Lambeth, bone-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

MILLER, D., Bristol, druggist.

ROBERTS, W., Batley, Yorkshire, druggist.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

HOWARD, J., St. Mary-at-Hill, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

DEAN, T., Manchester, victualler.

DIMSDALE, T. I., Trinity-square, corn-factor.

FOWLER, A. E., Liverpool, merchant.

GATELY, M., Birmingham, victualler.

HEATHCOTE, M., and J., Manchester, merchants.

JACKSON, J., O'd City Chambers, Bishops-gate-within, jeweller and watch-maker.

PATCH, J., Exeter, hop merchant.

PATCHETT, J., Liverpool, saddler and harness-maker.

ROBERTS, H., Chirk, Denbighshire, draper.

ROBERTS, T., Liverpool, and J. Roberts, Holywell, Flintshire, ironmongers.

THOMPSON, J., Liverpool, grocer.

WRIGHT, W. Heathfield, Sussex, dealer and chapman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

PERRY, J. C., Peterhead, miller.

SEATER, P., jun., Periwail, in the Island of Westray, Orkney, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 26.—We had a fair supply of Wheat from Essex and Suffolk, but moderate from Kent. The samples were principally of this year's growth, and differed much in quality; those from Suffolk were cold; from Kent they varied considerably; and from Essex, though some parcels were fine, yet the runs generally proved thin. The better descriptions experienced an improved sale, as compared with

last Monday, and the previous currency was fully maintained. In secondary and stale old descriptions little doing, and difficult to be disposed of, unless by submitting to lower rates. Nothing transacting in bouded grain.

Barley comes to hand very sparingly, and prices of grinding continue firm.

Malt dull, and nominally the same as last week.

Oats were in good supply. Fine old qualities were in demand at fully former rates. Other descriptions, both English and Irish, a slow sale at Monday's currency.

Good hard Beans remained scarce, and are worth fully 1s. per qr. more money than this day week.

White as well as grey and maple Peas were 1s. per qr. dearer.

The supply of Ship Flour is scarcely sufficient for our demand, owing to the long continued drought; prices are in consequence very steady. Norfolk, 42s. to 44s. Kent and Suffolk, 42s. to 46s. Irish, 42s. to 44s. Town made in fair request, and top quotation 50s. to 52s.; extra, 53s.

Wheat	58s. to 64s.
Rye	30s. to 32s.
Barley	24s. to 26s.
— fine	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White	31s. to 34s.
— Boilers	38s. to 42s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 52s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new	60s. to 62s. 6d. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	74s. to 75s.
— Limerick	75s. to 76s.
— Waterford	74s. to 76s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, August 26.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, though not so great as was that of this day so'night, was rather numerous, but in great part, particularly as relates to the former, of middling and inferior quality. The supply of Porkers was limited. Prime small Beef sold with some degree of briskness, at an advance, in some instances, of 2d. per stone; but with other kinds of Beef, as also Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, trade was very dull, at Friday's quotations.

At least three-fourths of the Beasts were about equal numbers of short horns, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts; and the remainder about equal numbers of Scots and

Herefords, with, perhaps, about 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex Beasts, Staffords, &c. The Devons, runts, short-horns, and Irish Beasts, with a considerable number of the Scots, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire; but a few of the different breeds, from our midland and western districts, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; with about 200, in addition to the Town's-end Cows, from the London marshes.

About four-sixths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a sixth South Downs, and the remaining sixth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, polled Norfolk, Kent, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of old Lincoln, Somerset, Dorset, and horned Norfolk, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Full four-fifths of the Lambs appeared to be about equal numbers of South Downs and new Leicesters; the latter, for the most part, of the Downish cross; the remaining fifth Dorsets, with a few Somerset, Kent, and Kentish half-breeds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 30.

The arrivals this week are short. The prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
Cons. Ann. }	88½	88½	88½	88½	89	89

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LETTER II.

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY.

Bell-court, 2. September, 1833.

SIR,—My last *Register* contained a letter to you, which, though rather of a jeering description, concluded with a promise, that, if you would read this *Register*, you should be a wiser politician than you ever yet had been. This promise I now proceed to make good; and I shall show you, not only that you are in error, but that you have been led into error in somewhat the same sort of way that I gave a dance (as related in my former letter) to Mr. GEORGE BRADLEY, his hounds, and the 'squire and his companions of the chase. Your pamphlet of thirty-nine elegantly printed pages, upon very fine paper, and sold by HATCHARD and SON, in PICCADILLY; this pamphlet is entitled, "*A Brief Inquiry into the True Award of an Equitable Adjustment between the Nation and its Creditors*;" with two tables; by the Honourable John Stuart Wortley; and then for motto, there are three lines in GREEK, as it were for the express purpose of proving that a lord's son may understand Greek, without being able to distinguish between truth and falsehood, relative to currency and prices, any more than Mr. GEORGE BRADLEY's hounds were able to distinguish the scent of the herring from the scent of the hare.

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

Your pamphlet is upon a subject the most important that can possibly be conceived. It involves, not only the greatness of the nation and the perpetuity of its greatness, with regard to which we must both of us feel equal anxiety, both of us having English blood in our veins; but, it is a question, a matter in which the peace of the kingdom is involved; in which the fate of all its institutions is involved; and, as I shall show you, before I have done, that institution especially which makes it right and proper that you should put the epithet, "*honourable*," before your name.

The object of your pamphlet is to show, that it is a gross mistake to suppose that the nation is now paying the fundholders too much in the way of interest; or that the nation has paid them too little hitherto, and, that it ought to continue to pay them, at least as much as it now does. I scorn to use my powers of criticism upon this production of yours. Were I disposed to do it, I could show how awkward the arrangement of the matter; how low, how very vulgar, how much resembling the ideas of Capel-court, are your calculations and your reasonings; how much like a stock-jobber, or a bill-broker, is your phraseology. I refrain from doing this. I content myself with having stated the object of your pamphlet; and I will now proceed to answer it in the following order; stating my heads in the form of propositions.

1. That you assert, that the nation has not yet paid the fundholders enough, and that it ought to continue to pay them at the present rate.
2. That you have come to this conclusion upon the red-herring scent.
3. That the nation has paid the fundholders something nearly double the amount that it ought to have paid them, and that it continues to pay them at this rate at present.

L

4. That, if this rate of payment be not soon put a stop to, there will not be an established church and a House of Lords in existence, in not a great many years from this day.

Before I proceed to make good these propositions; and I will make them good to the satisfaction of every sensible man in the kingdom; before I do this, I must notice the not very modest manner in which you enter upon the subject. You say, "That you are about to dissipate very gross errors;" a very palpable delusion; assumptions taken without proof; and, all these supported "by very little beyond UNFLINCHING IMPUDENCE!" IMPUDENCE, in any degree, or accompanied with any qualities, is hateful enough; but, IGNORANCE may be as unflinching as IMPUDENCE; and, when it goes the length of urging its possessor on to false imputations, it is still more despicable than simple impudence itself. Whether ignorance of this kind will, before I have finished, stick itself on to you, I shall leave the public to decide. This "*unflinching impudence*" you ascribe to Sir JAMES GRAHAM (who is now First Lord of the Admiralty); to the *Quarterly Review*; to petitioners of the House of Commons, who sent their petition from POLLOCKSHAW, during the late session of Parliament; to the Hampshire petitioners of 1817; to the *Morning Herald* newspaper; and, lastly, to your very *humble servant*, the said unflinching impudence being contained in his speech in the House of Commons; 16. of last May. So that you have got a pretty group of us together here with the charge of *unflinching impudence* burnt in our cheeks. How you will manage with the descendant of "John with the bright sword," I do not know. As you both come from the North, I should be disposed to leave you to settle the matter between you, in your own way. The *Quarterly Review* and the *Morning Herald* will stand in need of nobody to take their part. They being able, if they miss the soft place once or twice, to repeat their blows, till, like the cruel post-chaise boy, they have "*established a raw*;" and then

you may wince and dance and shirk, but will never get the better of their lashes. The *Quarterly Review* may order some poet to "hitch you into rhyme;" and, then,

"You surely are, your whole life long,
"The dismal burden of some merry song."

To all these I might safely leave you; but, if I could overlook myself, I cannot leave the sensible weavers of POLLOCKSHAW, and the not less just and sensible chopsticks of Hampshire; to say nothing of the present First Lord of the Treasury, to defend whom, would be like the defending of JUPITER. On account of the weavers and the chopsticks, justice bids me feel, and duty urges me to prove, that your imputation of "*unflinching impudence*" has proceeded from a mixture of that quality with ignorance equally unflinching; or, at least, as profound as ever was witnessed in the world.

Having dispatched this work of ceremony, always becoming in brother authors to use towards each other, I now proceed to my four propositions, taking them in due order.

I. THAT YOU ASSERT, THAT THE NATION HAS NOT YET PAID THE FUNDHOLDERS ENOUGH; AND, THAT IT OUGHT TO CONTINUE TO PAY THEM AT THE PRESENT RATE.

In page 38, you say: "If to the results, in either case exhibited, we add the considerations arising from the repetition, on the part of the public, of deliberate guarantees, the advantages thence derived, in point of credit; the undoubted right on the part of the original creditor to complain; the very questionable one on the part of the country after all its reiterated promises; and the inadequacy of interest, calculated at only 3 per cent., to represent the true value of the gain on one side, and the loss on the other, during a period when money was really worth twice as much, it may be apprehended that the balance would be such against the state as must require yet a very long time for its entire liquidation,

"even were it anywise capable of such a process. Finally, it is not denied, but much the reverse, that the state does now suffer an annual loss upon its fixed contracts. This inquiry does not pretend to diminish the amount of that loss. But it is designed, and is presumed, to show, that if it now loses, it has also largely gained, through the operation of the self-same causes; and to prove, moreover, that if 'adjustment' truly 'equitable' were to be compassed, it would be found that the nation is not the only sufferer in such contracts, and that there might be certain compensations set against it on the other side, which would go far to reduce, if not more than *extinguish*, any *advantages to which it could in justice be thence entitled.*"

This would be enough; but, throughout the whole of the pamphlet you are continually repeating, that the nation has been a gainer, instead of a loser, by the changes in the value of money. What might be your *motive*, it is impossible for me to say. One would think, that the son of a lord could not wish the Jews to swallow up all the landed estates. No: it must be sheer "unflinching" ignorance; like that of Mr. GEORGE BRADLEY's hounds, when they were going breast high and full cry after my red-herring. And, now, let me show you, that this has been actually the case with you; and that Sir JAMES GRAHAM, the *Quarterly Review*, the *Morning Herald*, the Scotch and the Hampshire petitioners, and the First Lord of the Treasury, and myself, as a make-weight at last, have not all been such fools as you would represent us to be; and this brings me to my second proposition; namely,

II. THAT YOU HAVE COME TO THIS CONCLUSION UPON THE RED-HERRING SCENT.

I will first take from your pamphlet a passage, which explains fully the blunder upon which you proceed; which exhibits you open-mouthed, running after the red-herring. After speaking of our errors, you proceed in this manner:

"It is surprising how little is required beyond *unflinching impudence*, to commence, in almost any case, this process. Let an allegation be but boldly and diligently made, and, by mere gregarious concurrence, popular belief will gradually, though surely, follow. Not that the fallacy or falsehood will always ultimately escape its due exposure; but it will generally serve to last out some present occasion; and when we consider how short a time, well-improved, suffices to produce a given effect with that mighty fulcrum of political and social innovation, the numerical majority of mankind, we may easily understand how well the result repays the risk, and how often the antidote lags late behind the mischief.

"Of such a nature, to all appearance, is the argument above recited. It is manfully proclaimed, that the nation has been largely injured by a change, which has no doubt affected its transactions, as well as others; and that although its honour may be constructed as in some sort implicated, the loss is too high a price for such fanciful and exaggerated chivalry. The facts are taken on all hands for granted; the conclusions follow of themselves.

"Now, in reflecting on the real force of all this, we may perhaps find that, so far as the matter lies *between the public and its creditors*, it is not wholly incapable of a *test*, or at least of such an approximation to it as would give a strong presumption of the true distribution of the loss. Since this branch of the question is confined to the effects produced on a given amount of determinate contracts, it would not be impossible to investigate the actual operation upon each, as modified by the circumstances individually belonging to it; and if this should be done with accuracy, so far as an examination of their several accounts afforded means, we should arrive at a balance which would not only give a more distinct exhibition of that part of the subject alone, but might have some value, by analogy, as an index of its true nature.

"nation in others less capable of an estimate. An attempt to compass this result forms the object of the following short inquiry.

"There can be no room for a denial of the position, that if a return from depreciation has had an effect on one side, that of the depreciation itself must have corresponded to it on the other; and that if a payment fixed during its continuance has brought a loss by each subsequent rise of value upon the *payer*, each *decline* entailed is in like manner on the *paid*. Nothing can be clearer than that if the debtor who agreed to pay 5*l.* 10*s.* when it was only worth one ounce of gold, is wronged, by being now compelled to pay it when it was equivalent to half as much again; the creditor who was promised 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* when it was worth the same ounce, suffered grossly, when he could obtain, under the name of that sum, only what was worth two-thirds of the same value. In other words, if the state has lost upon all the fixed payments which it has made in a currency more valuable than that in which they were contracted, it must, for the very same reasons, have gained on all those which it discharged in one less so; and we cannot therefore approach a true conclusion without comparing the amount and date of each transaction with the coincident depreciation of the currency and its subsequent variations, so as to attain some measure of the effect in the latter direction as well as in the former.

"The truth of the axiom here explained, is so salient, that the stoutest paper-champion cannot escape from it, and must be content to admit it. If applied to the actual case before us, it proves at once that the question of loss or gain to the state extends far beyond the mere simple circumstance of the restoration of the standard. The historical facts stand thus. Although the suspension of cash payments took place in the beginning of 1797, the currency preserved its value for nearly three years later; and it was not until 1800 that

"its depression commenced. Every creditor, therefore, who held at this date government securities, either by contract or by purchase, under the ancient and acknowledged standard, was robbed by each stage of the ensuing depreciation. The lowest point of its course was in the year 1813; and thus far, therefore, not only they, but all those likewise who had contracted at any higher rate than this, were injured by the succeeding steps of descent. The rise from 1813 was not quite regular, but continued down to 1819, at the close of which year the currency recovered its full value; and here, therefore, each separate ascent upon the successive contracts of this period turned the loss against the state, which has been continued from 1819 to this time, by the uniform maintenance of the restored standard. If these transactions had been in like manner simply exposed to the changes thus detailed, a comparison of the sums total of their effect on either side would give the correct *balance of loss or gain*; certain disturbing causes, however, which will be hereafter noticed, prevent our obtaining more than an approximation."

Now, sir, here we have it all, except that you have *two tables*, at the end of your pamphlet, which exhibit, first, "*Loss to the public creditor, arising from a depreciation of the currency*;" and, second, "*Loss to the state, on account of the rise in the value of the currency*." The first you make to amount to 87,957,837 pounds. The latter you make to amount to 69,963,755 pounds; so that, according to this, we have still paid the fundholders, 17,994,082 pounds less than we ought to have paid them. It is surprising, that you did not know, that all this was published in *Granny Muschel's tables* in 1822. It is surprising that you should not have heard how the *Granny* was laughed at, at the time, and how he was laughed at as long as he lived, after the publishing of his tables. If you could have heard of this, you surely would not have been so anxious to be his successor, the noble imitator of his blunders; and the

worthy inheritor of the ridicule attached to his work.

No doubt that your conclusion would be true, if "unflinching" ignorance had not led you to adopt false premises to proceed on. Strange! that you should have been unacquainted with the falsehood of these premises! What! at this time of day, at the end of fourteen years of that experience which makes fools wise, **TAKE UP THE MARKET PRICE OF GOLD**; take up this as your "TEST!" Take up this, the detected, the exposed, the acknowledged, blunder of the bullion committee, of RICARDO, of TIERNEY, and of both Houses of Parliament, in 1819; take up this stale blunder, for having committed which, scores of men have apologized; the very blunder, that produced the bill of 1819, unaccompanied with measures of adjustment: take up this red-herring; this stale, this cast-off, this nose-turning-up red-herring, and pursue it with all the gayety, with hounds and horn, that make hill echo to hill, and set the birds a singing from every brake and every bush! What, sir! have you never been told, that there was *no market price of gold*, during the time that the Bank was *restrained*, as they called it? When it was too late, RICARDO confessed this, and, in that confession, brought shame upon the faces of all those who had any shame, and who had followed at his heels in the passing of the bill of 1819. The error was first adopted by Lord KING; it was then taken up by the bullion committee; in spite of my remonstrances everlasting, it continued in vogue until 1819, when it was acted upon by the Parliament, and produced all those dreadful calamities, that violation of contracts, that ruin of industrious families, that loss of landed estates, and that beggary of the people, and those discontents and disturbances which have hardly ever ceased to agitate the kingdom in one part of it, or another.

There was not, during the "*restriction*" (a deceitful word which I make use of because it has been used, and is in use); during the *restriction* there was not, nor could be, a market price of gold.

The mint price always continued the same; and, when gold could be got, at all times, at the Bank, then the market price could never rise, but in a very inconsiderable degree; because there is the Bank to give you the gold at the mint price; or, if the paper-money causes a rise in this price as compared with that paper-money, the gold will be all taken out of the Bank in exchange for that paper-money. But, when there was no place to go to get gold in exchange for the paper, there was no test; there was no criterion; there were no means of ascertaining what was a market price of gold. There was no gold in *circulation*; guineas were bought and sold at all prices, from twenty-two shillings to thirty shillings. Besides, the paper carried down the gold in point of value; and, even if this had not been the case, there could not possibly be a market price of gold. Gold was, indeed, always to be bought; but its price depended entirely upon adventitious circumstances; and, during the whole of that suspension of cash-payments, there was no man living that could say, what was the market-price of gold at any one time. This was discovered by RICARDO, after the mischief had been done. Proceeding upon this error, he said, that the bill of 1819 would reduce the price of wheat only *three and a half* per cent.; and, in 1822, he was astounded to find, that it had reduced it more than a *hundred* per cent. He acknowledged this error: Sir JAMES GRAHAM acknowledged, that he had been misled by RICARDO; but he still called RICARDO "*a great man*;" and he never acknowledged, that, if he had *listened to me*, he never would have been misled by RICARDO. It was too much to acknowledge that he ought to have listened to me: it was not beneath him to listen to one of the descendants of the children of ISRAEL, especially as this descendant had made "*half a million of money*, by watching the turn of the market."

There was a "*test*," however; that "*test*" I took; that *test* was my guide; that *test* emboldened me to say, with confidence, that PEARL's bill could

never be carried into full effect; that *test* emboldened me to say, in February, 1824, that the banks would blow up in less than two years from that day; and they did blow up; that *test* emboldened me to tell the Parliament, in 1826, that it would produce all the ruin and disturbance and breach of contract which we now behold.

This *test* was, not the market price of gold, of which there was no market, and could be no market price; but, it was the market price of WHEAT. Wheat alone is not the best possible test; the best possible test would be, the six sorts of English corn, along with meat and wool. These are the great products of the country; always have been, and always must be. But, to keep an account of them, and to make the averages of them, are affairs of great labour; and, taking a series of years together, and, of course, a series of seasons, the wheat alone is a very good test; and, if we have been giving the fundholders the price of *two* bushels of wheat, instead of the price of *one* bushel, we have been paying them twice as much as we ought to have paid them. And the money has, in fact, been twice as much money as they ought to have received. If wheat were ten shillings a bushel, when the money was borrowed, and be five shillings a bushel now, we are paying interest for twice as much as we borrowed. Suppose a mortgage, contracted when wheat is ten shillings a bushel, which was the case in numerous instances between 1793 and 1819; and suppose the mortgage to have continued until now, the mortgager is paying twice as much interest as he ought to pay. Suppose a lease granted in 1818, when the wheat was eleven shillings a bushel. Suppose the rent to amount to 110*l.* a year: then it would require 200 bushels of wheat to pay the rent. When the farmer got into the year 1822, when wheat was five and sixpence a bushel, he would have 400 bushels of wheat to give to his landlord, instead of 200. The rent would be doubled, in fact, by the mere act of the Parliament; and this is what was done by PERKINS'S BILL. This change took place with regard to the

interest of the Debt: the fundholder received, in 1822, twice as much as he ought to have received; and he has been receiving, during some part of the time, during many of the years since 1800, and especially, since the war, very nearly twice as much as he ought to have received; and upon the whole period since the war up to this time, he has been receiving two-fifths more than he ought to have received; and that is about the rate at which he is receiving at this moment; or, indeed, at this moment, he is receiving nearer double than two-fifths.

This was the *true* *account*; this was the *hare*; and, if the Parliament had pursued the hare instead of the *herring*, we should, indeed, have returned to the ancient standard; but we should have had that equitable adjustment which would have given to the fundholder that which was due to him, and no more. I will now show you how this matter stands, and the "*test*" with which sensible men meet "*unflinching*" *resistance*. I will show you how the industrious part of the community, and how the owners of estates have been robbed; and, before I have done, I will show you the sort of equitable adjustment that ought to be adopted by law, and without which neither established church nor nobility can stand in England for many years; it being impossible that the Debt can go on in its present way, and those institutions remain. You deal in tables, and so do I; you come from *Change Alley*; mine come from the market for the produce of the land. I said before, that wheat alone was not, for any short period, the best possible test; because seasons have a great influence on prices, must have, and ought to have; but, take wheat for a series of years, and it is a *test* quite sufficient for the purpose. I, therefore, take wheat; and, in the following table, I give the price of a quarter of eight Winchester bushels, from the year 1646 to the present time. The materials for this table are taken from the Anti-books of ETON COLLEGE, which contain an annual account of the prices of marketing wheat at WINDSOR MARKET. This

table comes down to 1792, after which I take the official account of the averages of wheat for England and Wales, from 1792, up to this time. Look over this table, sir; and then I think you will begin to blush at having imputed "*unflinching impudence*" to those who have maintained, that the landholders are now over-paid. You will see, that they sometimes, in fact, lent the nation about seven or eight shillings, for which they are now receiving the interest of a pound. The fifty millions which they lent in the years 1812 and 1813, were, you will see, hardly worth fifty millions of seven shillings.

Year.	Average Price.		
	s.	d.	d.
1646	2	8	8
1647	3	5	5
1648	3	15	6
1649	3	11	1
1650	3	8	1
1651	3	5	2
1652	2	4	0
1653	1	11	6
1654	1	3	1
1655	1	9	7
1656	1	18	2
1657	2	1	5
1658	2	17	9
1659	2	18	8
1660	2	10	2
1661	3	2	2
1662	3	5	9
1663	2	10	8
1664	1	16	0
1665	2	3	10
1666	1	12	0
1667	1	12	0
1668	1	15	6
1669	1	19	5
1670	1	17	0
1671	1	17	4
1672	1	16	5
1673	2	1	5
1674	3	1	0
1675	2	17	5
1676	1	13	9
1677	1	17	4
1678	2	12	5
1679	2	13	4
1680	2	0	0
1681	2	1	5
1682	1	19	1

Year.	Average Price.		
	s.	d.	d.
1683	1	15	6
1684	1	19	1
1685	2	1	5
1686	1	10	2
1687	1	2	4
1688	2	0	10
1689	1	6	8
1690	1	10	9
1691	1	10	2
1692	2	1	5
1693	3	0	1
1694	2	16	10
1695	2	7	1
1696	3	3	1
1697	2	13	4
1698	3	0	9
1699	2	16	10
1700	1	15	6
1701	1	13	5
1702	1	6	2
1703	1	12	0
1704	2	1	4
1705	1	6	8
1706	1	3	1
1707	1	5	4
1708	1	16	10
1709	3	9	9
1710	3	9	4
1711	2	8	0
1712	2	1	2
1713	2	5	4
1714	2	4	9
1715	1	18	2
1716	2	2	8
1717	2	0	7
1718	1	14	6
1719	1	11	1
1720	1	12	10
1721	1	13	4
1722	1	12	0
1723	1	10	10
1724	1	10	10
1725	2	3	1
1726	2	0	10
1727	1	17	4
1728	2	8	5
1729	2	1	7
1730	1	12	5
1731	1	9	2
1732	1	3	8
1733	1	5	2
1734	1	14	6
1735	1	18	2
1736	1	15	10

Year.	Average Price.		
	£.	s.	d.
1737	1	13	9
1738	1	11	6
1739	1	14	2
1740	2	5	1
1741	2	1	5
1742	1	10	2
1743	1	2	1
1744	1	2	1
1745	1	4	5
1746	1	14	8
1747	1	10	11
1748	1	12	10
1749	1	12	10
1750	1	8	10
1751	1	14	2
1752	1	17	2
1753	1	19	8
1754	1	10	9
1755	1	10	1
1756	2	0	1
1757	2	13	4
1758	2	4	5
1759	1	15	3
1760	1	12	5
1761	1	6	9
1762	1	14	8
1763	1	16	1
1764	2	1	5
1765	2	8	0
1766	2	3	1
1767	2	17	4
1768	2	13	9
1769	2	0	7
1770	2	3	6
1771	2	10	8
1772	2	18	8
1773	2	19	1
1774	2	15	1
1775	2	11	3
1776	2	2	8
1777	2	8	10
1778	2	4	0
1779	1	16	1
1780	2	3	1
1781	2	12	5
1782	2	13	9
1783	2	14	2
1784	2	13	9
1785	2	8	0
1786	2	2	2
1787	2	5	9
1788	2	9	4
1789	2	16	1
1790	2	16	1

Year.	Average Price.		
	£.	s.	d.
1791	2	9	4
1792*	2	13	0
1792	2	2	3
1793	2	7	6
1794	2	10	3
1795	4	2	9
1796	3	14	2
1797	2	10	10
1798	2	0	2
1799	3	7	9
1800	5	0	10
1801	4	17	6
1802	3	1	3
1803	2	13	6
1804	3	10	3
1805	3	16	3
1806	3	10	2
1807	3	5	3
1808	4	1	2
1809	4	8	10
1810	4	9	0
1811	4	14	7
1812	5	16	10
1813	4	9	0
1814	5	9	6
1815	3	1	8
1816	4	5	9
1817	4	9	1
1818	3	17	0
1819	3	13	3
1820	3	5	8
1821	2	13	3
1822	2	1	0
1823	2	13	5
1824	3	4	2
1825	3	8	7
1826	2	18	9
1827	2	16	9
1828	3	0	5
1829	3	6	3
1830	3	4	3
1831	3	6	0
1832	2	18	10
1833	2	13	3

Now, sir, can you look at this table without seeing the stale blunder which you have been pursuing with so much glee? Can you look at this table, and

* Previous to 1792, the Eton books were kept according to the nine-gallon bushel, and the averages have in this table been reduced in proportion. Since then the Eton accounts have been kept by the eight-gallon bushel.

not begin to repent of having imputed the statements of Sir JAMES GRAHAM, the *Quarterly Review*, the *Morning Herald*, the Scotch and Hampshire petitioners, and my statements, to "UNFLINCHING IMPUDENCE"? I hope that you cannot look at this table without feeling ashamed of your impudence, and ignorance into the bargain. There was, however, no apology for you, even before you saw this table; for, was there not my celebrated work of PAPER AGAINST GOLD; for surely that may be called celebrated, of which a hundred thousand copies, at the least, have been printed and sold in England, and which has gone through two editions in the *United States of America*: was there not my *Register*, containing a hundred articles on the subject: was there not the experience of 1822, 1825, and 1826: was there not that very pamphlet of Sir JAMES GRAHAM, and those writings in the *Quarterly Review* and the *Morning Herald*, almost any one of which was sufficient to have enlightened blindness itself: were there not the speeches of Mr. MATTHIAS ATTWOOD, and were there not the pamphlets of his brother, who has been thought worthy of being one of the two representatives of one of the most important towns in the kingdom? I deem these two gentlemen to be in error with regard to the proper remedy to be adopted; but, as to the cause of the evil, they are perfectly right, and they have repeatedly displayed that cause before the eyes of the people, with a degree of ability which does honour to their heads, and with a degree of zeal which does equal honour to their hearts. What apology have you, then, for the *impudence* of your imputation against us all? Hunt as long as you will, you will find no ground of apology but that of your own ignorance.

If, now come to your senses; if, abandoning your pride and insolence, you can bring down your stomach to some-

thing like modesty, and can bear to be taught, let me now take your nose from the stale *red-herring* and clap it to the fragrant bushel of wheat; let me take you out from with the dirty-skinned Jews of Change Alley, with spectacle on nose, and *penshil* in hand; and set you down with the race amongst whom you were born, but for which nature, in a wayward mood, seems not to have fitted you.

Look, then, at this table; here you see, that, on an average of years and of seasons, wheat continued to be about two pounds five shillings a quarter from the year 1646 to the year 1792 inclusive. At that time the Debt amounted to about two hundred and thirty millions, or, indeed, all deductions properly made, to rather less than that. From 1792 to 1819, a space of seven-and-twenty years, you see what a difference there was in the price of the quarter of wheat. In these years five hundred and seventy millions of the Debt were contracted; the average price of the quarter of wheat during those years, was *four pounds*, or more, as you will see; consequently, as far as that five hundred and seventy millions are concerned, the borrowing was in money of little more than half the value of that money which was in circulation before 1792; and, accordingly, it was soon found necessary and just to double the pay of the soldier, nearly double the pay of the sailor, more than double the pay of the judges, &c. Is there any man in his senses to deny this; and is there any just man who will say, that "*good faith*" requires the nation now to pay the interest of this Debt in full tale, and in gold of full weight and fineness; that is to say, in money of the same value as the money of 1792: is there another man besides you on the face of this earth, who will say, that this toiling nation ought to be compelled to pay two bushels of wheat for the one bushel that was borrowed? Before I proceed further, let me, in order to bring the thing closer to the eyes of a gentleman who appears to be so very near-sighted, state the averages of the price of a quarter of wheat, *for every ten years*, from 1650 to 1830.

Year.	Average Price.		
	£	s.	d.
1600	2	3	11
1670	2	3	4
1680	2	5	0
1690	1	14	9
1700	2	10	6
1710	1	19	11
1730	1	19	11
1730	1	17	1
1740	1	13	2
1750	1	10	0
1760	1	17	9
1770	2	2	6
1780	2	8	11
1790	2	11	9
1800	3	9	2
1810	4	7	11
1820	4	16	8
1830	3	5	8

Now, sir, recollect the borrowing of the five hundred and seventy millions began not in 1790, but in 1793; if you shut out 1790 to 1793, and about half way into 1794, you will find that the average price of wheat was more than *four pounds* a quarter, during the whole of the time that the five hundred and seventy millions were borrowing. Let us, now, take another sort of table. Let us take the six sorts of corn, *wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans, and peas*, at different periods, from 1792 into this present year, 10. of May, which is the latest period that my correct information comes up to. Observe, that the prices are stated in shillings and pence; and that I vouch for the correctness of the statement, which has been furnished me by a gentleman, the most competent in the country to such an undertaking.

The aggregate of the average prices of wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans, and peas, at different periods.

	s.	d.
July 1. 1792	181	2
1795	248	6
1796	265	11
1797	174	0
1798	196	9
1799	263	8
1800	500	11
Jan. 1. 1801	518	0
1804	211	9
July 1. 1811	223	5

	s.	d.
1812	506	5
1815	238	11
Jan. 1. 1816	199	4
July 1. 1817	370	4
1819	378	2
1822	141	6
1825	276	6
1832	219	1
May 10. 1833	189	2

Look at that! And do, for God's sake, think no more about your "TEST;" your *gold "test,"* by which RICARDO acknowledged that he had been led astray. You see, that the six sorts of corn have always kept pace with the wheat. You see, that the wheat was lower priced in 1822 than it was in 1792; you see that, in May last, the six sorts of corn, the six quarters of corn, sold but for *eight shillings* more than six quarters sold for in 1792; and, which is extremely well worthy of your particular observation, you see that the price, in May last (and the price is the same now), *was only just half, with the difference of one penny, what the price was at the time when Peel's Bill was passed!* So that we are, at this very time, though there are still one-pound notes in Ireland and Scotland, and five-pound notes everywhere, still paying the fundholders nearly double the interest of the money that was borrowed. Here I close the arguments and facts in support of PROPOSITION II. I will now stop, in order to give you breathing time, by no means forgetting what you have said about the *under-payment* of those fundholders *who held stock previous to the commencement of the borrowing of the five hundred millions;* and by no means intending to slide by this point, which I shall place, I trust, in a clear light before I have done, intending to close the subject in one more letter, which I shall publish next week, or the week after. In the meanwhile, nurse not yourself in the idea that you have the people with you upon this subject. *They*, at any rate, are not bound to pay double. How Sir JAMES GRAHAM will deal with you, I know not: recollect that he is descended from him of the bright sword; and,

though it may be difficult for him to find out that Sir JOHN KEY was to blame for giving a *false certificate of age*, to get his son a place under Government, while he *praises* so many officers of the navy for having got commissions *so soon* by the same means; though the right hon. Baronet may find this difficult, he was much short of the mark when he proposed to deduct thirty per cent. from the interest of the fundholder. "Then," you will say, "why did you lay your rough stick upon him for his pamphlet?" Not because he proposed to deduct thirty per cent. from the fundholder, but because he proposed to do this, without proposing, at the same time, to take one penny away from the unmerited pensions, sinecures, grants, and dead-weight; and because he did not propose to make the parsons pay back the 1,600,000*l.* given them out of the taxes by PERCEVAL and LIVERPOOL. This was what I attacked him for; and the same I shall continue to do to others who propose to deduct from the interest of the Debt, without proposing to lop off these unjust takings-away from the people. But I am anticipating here; and, therefore, I will stop for the present, having served you up a dish quite sufficient, at a single meal, for any appetite, however *"unflinching."*

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 5. Sept., 1833.

MY FRIENDS,—I think I shall be at OLDHAM early in November: if I change my mind, you shall hear of the change in time. I would go earlier; but I must have some weeks to trudge about my farm; and, at the same time, to put into something like shape and order, the vast mass of papers which the late session has put into my hands, and made it my duty strictly to examine.

The French have a saying, applicable to the pecuniary matters of a government; namely, "*beaucoup de papiers beaucoup de gaspillage*:" that is, "*great heaps of papers a great deal of squandering.*" We might carry this a great deal further, and say, that *great heaps of papers a great deal of plunder*; and, in our case, if this saying be true, it requires a great deal more diligence than even I am master of, to derive the proper advantage of the examination of this cart-load of papers.

You and I were not brought together by *palavering* and by complimenting one another. When I go to OLDHAM, it will be solely for the pleasure of seeing you and shaking you by the hand; and as this can be done in twenty-four hours, I do not foresee that it is likely that I shall be able to stay longer. When I come back, I think it likely that I shall go to the *South of France*; for I want to see, with my *own eyes*, what sort of state of things it is, which the *doctrinaires* wish us to imitate. For my part, my progress hitherto has shown me nothing so good as England and English people, always meaning to include Scotland in the word "*England.*" I am very hard to believe, that I shall find any country a tenth part so good; I am sure that I shall never find any people a tenth part so good, and shall never see a government a tenth part so good as that which our forefathers left us; and that it is our duty to restore, or to die in our efforts to restore it.

There is one subject which it is necessary that I mention to you with some particularities; namely, that of the *Power-of-Imprisonment Bill*, the *Gagging Bill*, and the *Manchester slaughter of 1849*. You will see, that I moved for papers relative to these matters, and that the motion was not opposed by the Ministers. Whether they will be printed, or not, before the next session, I do not know; but, at any rate, I shall be prepared, if I have life and health, for a regular proceeding on the subject. I told the people at MANCHESTER, and I told you, that the mildest possible course was the course that I should prefer; but, that I never should rest

satisfied, until the survivors of those who suffered so cruelly and so unjustly, should receive all the compensation which it was in the power of the Parliament and the King to give them. And I beg Mr. JOHN KNIGHT in particular, to be assured, that, if there were no case but his own, I should deem that case alone, quite sufficient to urge me forward in this undertaking.

Here, too, is a duty which I owe to your children as well as to yourselves. It is not only for the past: to use Pitt's old phrase, it is "indemnity for the past, and security for the future," which we seek here; and we must have both, or we ought not to rest satisfied. I believe that the members of the House of Commons, when they assemble again, will view many things in a different light from that which they viewed them last session. I hope so, at least; and, upon the whole, there is a prospect of seeing something like better days; and, in every effort to make them better, you will always find a part taken, according to his ability, by

Your faithful representative,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

I ADVERTISED my NEW FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY at the price of *ten shillings and sixpence*. Being more engaged in *parliamenting* than in my own affairs, I did not calculate the cost; and, therefore, did not discover that, by this first edition, I should actually lose money, a thing which no bookseller, and especially no *author*, ought ever to do. I must, therefore, in future, sell it for twelve shillings; and then it is very cheap; and, I verily believe, that it is the best book of the sort that ever came from the press, for the use of those who, possessing one of these languages, wish to learn the other; and I am of opinion, that, with this DICTIONARY and with my FRENCH GRAMMAR, first reading and studying the introductions to each, carefully, and especially the introduction to the Dictionary, there is no young person of common capacity, who will

not learn the French language tolerably well in the course of six months' attentive study.

THERE are certain volumes of the *Register* which have never had any TITLE PAGES, TABLE OF CONTENTS, OF INDEXES applied to them. There is a difficulty in getting these to the gentlemen who take the *Register*; indeed, it is impossible to do it by any means but those which I am now about to describe and to make use of. I shall, beginning with next week, put one *title* and *table* of contents, and a neat short index, on a last leaf of the *Register*; and shall continue to do this until all the indexes, &c. have been furnished to the reader; that is to say, all the titles, tables, and indexes, of those volumes which have not yet had any printed for them. If the reader wants a title, &c., in order to bind up his volumes, the bookbinder will take off this last leaf, without any injury to the other parts of the *Register*. If the reader do not care about the volumes, not being in the habit of binding them up, the leaf may remain with the number without being cut off; and I promise and vow that there never shall be any arrear of this sort again, as long as I write *Registers*; and, to write them I feel as strongly disposed as I ever did in my life.

POLICE SPIES.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER.

MY FRIENDS,—In the London papers I read the following letter, on which, when I have inserted it, I shall offer you a remark or two.

"POPAY THE SPY.

"To the Editor of the Manchester Courier.

"*Town Hall, Manchester, 30. Aug. 1833.*

"SIR,—In a London newspaper (the *Morning Advertiser* of yesterday), there appears a report highly preju-

"dicial to my character and interests as a public officer, viz., that I have sent for 'Popay the spy,' with the view of employing him in the police of Manchester. Sir, I trust to your indulgence and sense of justice in affording me the earliest opportunity of stating as publicly, that the report is *totally false*; such an idea never entered my mind. It would, indeed, be an ungracious return to the inhabitants of this town for the kindness I have received, and am continuing to receive at their hands, to introduce among them a character so generally and so justly despised; and I beg further to add, no man can feel a *greater aversion to the employment of spies than myself*, and if the success of my professional exertions were to depend upon the adoption of such a system, I would instantly relinquish my situation.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"J. S. THOMAS,
"Deputy Constable."

Now, in the first place, I hope, that you would not suffer "*Popay the spy*" to be in your town, and paid by you. In the next place, as to Mr. THOMAS's aversion to the employment of spies, and his resolution instantly to relinquish his situation rather than adopt such a system, how does this square with the works of Mr. THOMAS in London, where he was a superintendent of this *Bourbon police*, and where he, like McLEAN, was continually sending out men in what they call plain clothes, and what I call spy-clothes? And, as to "*Popay the spy*," in particular, let us see a little, whether Mr. THOMAS never had any knowledge of his exploits. You have heard, that there was a committee of the House of Commons, of which I was a member, appointed to inquire into the exploits of POPAY; that evidence was given before that committee, relative to written reports which the spy gave in to his superiors; that many of those written reports were delivered in to the committee; and that that committee put questions to the witnesses, in consequence of those reports. Now, it came out in the evidence of

JOHN SIMPSON and WILLIAM COLLINS, that POPAY, one evening, told SIMPSON, that he wanted a pair of pistols, and asked SIMPSON to go and look about the purchase of some for him; and that SIMPSON observed to POPAY, that he had heard that second-hand arms were to be bought at some place in MIDDLE-ROW, HOLBORN.

When we came to look at the written report of POPAY, of the date of this conversation, which, observe, had been begun by himself, we found, that he had made it the groundwork of an alarming story about a *dépot* of second-hand arms, established in Holborn; and that, in consequence of this lying story, the commissioners and Lord MELBOURNE set to work to discover the *dépot*; and that Mr. THOMAS himself was the person appointed to go and ferret out the affair, and a gun was purchased at MIDDLE-ROW, HOLBORN, and carried to and deposited with the Secretary of State. That you may be quite sure that I am correct here, take the following passage from the minutes of the evidence, taken before the committee, which you will find in the printed account, distributed amongst the members of the House; and you will find it in page 176.

3944. Did Lord Melbourne approve of those reports sent in by the policeman?—I cannot answer for that.

3945. Did you ever hear him say one way or the other?—I should say, he did approve of them, though I cannot say he approved of every report.

3946. Did you ever express any disapprobation of men being so employed?—*Not to Lord Melbourne.*

3947. Had you any particular instructions from the Home Office to attend to the political meetings?—We employed Popay by the express desire of the Secretary of State or the under Secretary; they did not name Popay, but desired that a police-constable should be so employed.

3948. To watch those meetings?—Yes; meetings we considered dangerous to the public peace; and the political unions were distinctly of that character.

[A report was handed to Mr. MAYOR.]

3040. That report refers to some depot for the purchase of second-hand arms?—Yes.

3041. Is there any memorandum at the back of that?—Yes: "Mentioned in Lord Melbourne's report that it is at Riley's, in Middle-row, Holborn; wish that some inquiry should be made; Mr. Thomas desired to make inquiry." Then, subsequently, "Report given to Lord Melbourne, with a gun purchased."

3051. Then it appears, by Lord Melbourne's direction, a gun was purchased in order to confirm that statement?—Yes.

3052. That is your own hand writing?—Yes.

Now, with all Mr. THOMAS's "aversion to the employment of spies," and with all his resolution to relinquish instantly, "rather than depend upon the adoption of such a system," Mr. THOMAS must have known, that he was put in motion upon this occasion, by this very spy, POPAY; he must have been informed, by Lord MELBOURNE or the commissioners, of all the reasons for making the inquiry which he was ordered to make: he must have known why he purchased the gun, and he must, of necessity, have made some inquiries of this Mr. RILEY, of MIDDLE-ROW, HOLBORN.

However, I am willing to suppose that this Mr. THOMAS is now ashamed of having belonged to a body of which POPAY was a member; and, I trust, that you will resolutely resist, in all lawful ways, every attempt to inflict this curse, a spy-system, upon your town; so famed for its industry, all over the world. Let the drunkards and gluttons and the feeble wretches who, while they devour the fruits of your labour, cannot sleep at nights, lest they should be bundled from their beds and be compelled to go to work; let them, assembled in this accursed Wen, and the little Wens around it, let them be degraded by owing their safety and quiet to a French police; but let not this mark of political damnation be stuck upon the town of MANCHESTER.

You are to have a CORPORATION; and, if it be justly and wisely framed, it will be an excellent thing for you. Great

towns; great assemblages of men, in a comparatively small compass, cannot be well and happily kept together, without magistrates of their own choosing. It is of the very essence of English Government, that the magisterial authority should be, as much as possible, local. Therefore, a well-constituted CORPORATION is a most desirable thing. It may become very bad, by abuse; but it will be for you to take care that it be not abused. I do not yet know what the scheme of the Ministers is; and, therefore, it would be premature to say any thing about that scheme. But, this I will say, and this I address to the people of every town in the kingdom. That is, that they ought not to suffer the establishment, or the existence, for one hour, of any force, of any description, wearing any thing of an uniform, or badge of office, except for the magistrates themselves, and their beadies, or other things, that they have for mere show, and to flatter that portion of human vanity, which, perhaps, is excusable, and even useful, in such a case. These are very harmless things. Our LORD MAYOR, and his golden couch and his gold-covered footmen and coachmen, and his golden chain and his chaplain and his great sword of state, are as harmless as so many bits of cat's-meat, and might all be tossed into the Thames by any two hundred fellows that would set about the work. Yet they are not so bundled; they please the people, and particularly the women and girls, and when they are pleased, the men and the boys are pleased; and many a young fellow has been more industrious and attentive from his hope of one day or other riding in that golden coach.

So far, so good; this is all gentle sway; mild authority; English Government; but, when you come to a menacing, spiteful, sharp-cutting, peeping, prying, watching, dogging, spying, crew; then, in effect, you are slaves; and if you suffer the general Government to have any thing to do with the appointment of your magistrates, or preservers of peace in your town, your characters, fortunes, and lives, are in the

hands of that Government, let it consist of whom it may. Suffer not the word **POLICE** to be applied to any persons paid by you. The word is *French*, it is *Austrian*, it is *Prussian*, it is *Italian*; it was first adopted by the *Bourbons*, by the hellish *Bourbons*, and was suggested to them by the devil. "**PEACE OFFICERS**" is the name, the general name, of those who are appointed to assist the magistrates in keeping the peace, and watching over the safety of life and property in England. The detestable word "*police*" has not been made use of in England more than about forty years. In London there were *Bow-street* magistrates and *Bow-street* officers. When *PIRR* began the French war, and issued five-pound notes from the Bank, he introduced, what he called "*police magistrates*," stationed in several parts of this *Wen*. The "*police magistrates*" begat "*police officers*;" these bred, and to an enormous extent, in a very short time. *PEEL* put them into a sort of half-uniform; blue trousers, blue coats, red waistcoats, and round hats of a certain size. Soon after this preparatory step, came the real *Bourbon police*; the real *gendarmérie*, *à pied et à cheval* (on foot and on horse-back); and we have, in the Secretary of State, a *lieutenant de police*; in the commissioners and the superintendents and inspectors and sergeants and privates, we have all the *commissaires* and all the *gens à grade*; and, in the men in spy clothes, we have all the *mouchards* of France and of Austria.

This is our state; and, if we do not get out of it, it does not signify a straw what become either of us or the country. While this exists, this is not *England*; and, if we lie down without an effort to get rid of it, we are the basest of all mankind. Insist, I beseech you, that the word "*police*," shall not be made use of, as applicable to the magistracy and peace-officers of your town. There is degradation, there is slavery, there is villany, there is perfidy, there is infamy, in the very sound of the word. "*Peace-officers*" is the name; and if you do not compel those whom you chose in the corporation to use that name, and to

talk no more about "*police*," you are covered with disgrace forever. Recollect, that, what you are now about to do, you will do for your children's children, whose blessings, or whose curses, you are now about to merit. As to my constituents of *OLDHAM*, I should be miserable, indeed, if I thought it possible, that they would permit this infamous name of "*police*" to be given to peace-officers appointed by their corporation, or by themselves. I am quite easy upon that score; but I am not so easy with regard to other cities and towns, which have already adopted the use of the hated word; but, I do hope, that even the word itself will become so odious, so detestable, that it will, shortly, never be pronounced, except in a figurative way to describe every thing perfidious and loathsome.

With regard to Mr. THOMAS, I wish he may be as good as his word. He was not the man to send to *MANCHESTER*. No stranger was the proper person to put into that office. When strangers are sought after to fill such offices, it argues distrust in the natives; distrust begets dislike; and the people should not dislike their magistrates. Thieves and robbers and murderers will never like magistrates or peace-officers; but the main body of the people ought to like their magistrates; and it is not in nature to like those who express their distrust in us. There were quite men enough in Lancashire fit for the office that is filled by Mr. THOMAS, who, I dare say, has been got to *MANCHESTER* by the same *clique* that carried on the election of Mr. POULETT THOMSON. Be upon your guard; and take care at the first starting of your corporation, to shut out the possibility of having a *Bourbon police*.

I now know a great deal about this devil of a thing, thanks to the good honest fellows of *WALWORTH* and *CAMBERWELL*; and I know this, that it has been a talk, in "*the force*," ever since before the meeting of Parliament, that there was to be "*a great promotion in the force*;" that a great number would be wanted "*to go to different parts of the country*." This was the talk until

about the month of May: it has slackened since that; it has become less animated; and it seems to have entirely died away since POPAY and M'LEAN were brought upon the stage by the committee, of which I had the honour to be a very humble Member. In less than a week, I think it was, after the Parliament met, I told the Ministers, to their faces, that I knew, that their design was to send a *Bourbon police*, even into all the villages of England; and that, rather than see such a thing suffered by the people, I would, if I held the island by a string, let it down to the bottom of the sea, and go myself along with it. They never denied the charge distinctly; but, I believe, they have completely abandoned the scheme; and, whatever attempts they have made with regard to me, it is my duty to say, in this public manner, that I ascribe to them no settled designs of a tyrannical nature, and believe them to have been moved towards such a scheme by an opinion, produced in their minds by false representations, that such a scheme was necessary to preserve the peace and property of the country.

Thus have I laid before you my sentiments upon this subject, which is one in which you and your children are deeply interested; and, I conclude, with expressing my sincere wish, that your wonderful industry may, in a short time, begin to receive its just reward, and, that your happiness may be in proportion to your good sense and your virtue.

I am your faithful friend

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
HAMPSHIRE PARSONS.

Bolt-court, 3. September, 1833.

PARSONS,—“How long, how long, O Lord! wilt thou stay thy hand!” Hampshire parsons, how often have I foretold, that I should see the day when you would be in a state that would render it suitable for me to remind you of your having met, in March, 1817, to

address the Regent, and to praise the Parliament, for having passed the dungeoning and gagging bills of that year! Very often; but I now remind you of it once more, and give you my opinion, that it is not long now before all my prophecies, with regard to you, will be fulfilled. The particular purpose, however, for which I now put pen to paper, is, just to ask you what you think of the affair of JEREMIAH DOWDORTH, with regard to whom, and whose parson, certain papers have been laid before that House of Parliament, of which, while you have been gnashing your teeth at me, I have become a member. Ah! I knew more than you did, in 1817; I could see what you could not see; at the moment when you were scolding and swearing at me (as JACK BAINES actually did), I had actually bespoken my ship to go to America; but I saw beyond that; I saw that this “*national faith*” debt, which the church had done more than all the rest to create, must, and would, bring you down in a very few years; that it must, and would, compel something to give way; and that your concern would be the first.

It has always been seen, that, when any long-established body or corporation or fraternity, is placed in dangerous circumstances; when there is no possible means of saving a part of it, but that of timely conciliation; it has always been seen that such body never conciliates; that in whatever degree it had become an object of hatred and hostility, it became resentful, and stuck to its obsolete rights, clung to the things that tended most to render it odious, still closer and closer, as its powers of retention grew weaker and weaker.

Notwithstanding the tossing of ten bishops overboard in Ireland; notwithstanding the cessation of the vestry cess;—and, in effect, the collection of tithes; notwithstanding the lesson of prudence and conciliation, which these so loudly suggested to the clergy in England; notwithstanding the admission of Quakers into Parliament; and that of another sect, called SEPARATISTS,

I believe; notwithstanding the claims of the dissenters, distinctly made, and *always favourably received in the House of Commons*; notwithstanding the claims made by these numerous persons to be *exempted from church-rates*, and to be able to set the church at nought with regard to marriages, births, and burials; notwithstanding all these things, which, one would think, would have taught gentleness and prudence to rage the most virulent: notwithstanding all these, out come nine or ten thousand actions from the clergy against their flocks, *claiming payment of tithes, where tithes were never paid before, within the memory of the oldest man living!* Perhaps, there may be fifty thousand actions, and I should not wonder if there were. Touch the breast of an ostrich, they say, with any thing pointed, and it will push forward against the point till the latter reaches its heart. You seem to be afflicted with the self-destroying propensity of the ostrich. You must know, that you never can succeed in these actions; you must know that; you must be satisfied, that, to carry your ends, you must have military force; you can now see how that must end in Ireland; and yet you persevere; yet you "kick against the pricks," in defiance of reason and of the most fatal experience!

But, even these ten thousand or fifty thousand actions sink out of sight when we look at the proceedings of the *Reverend FRANCIS LUNDY*, rector of *LOCKINGTON*, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, who has mustered up the old demand of *personal tithes*, and has actually got a labouring man in jail for not paying nine shillings and fourpence tithe upon his yearly wages for one year, and upon his weekly wages for another year, the charges for *tithes, offerings, oblations, and obventions*. You will say, "He has a right to it in *LAW*;" and so says the Lord Chancellor in the case of *thawthorpe v. modares*. It is the law, is it, Parsons? *WHAT* law, Parsons? However, we will see about that by-and-by, when we have read the parliamentary papers, relative to these curious proceedings, just ob-

serving here, that *DODSWORTH* was sued by one parson, and committed to prison by *another parson*; and this shows us what a pretty thing it is to have parsons justices of the peace. However, before we say more about the law, or the working of the law, let us have the *FACTS*; and these we find in the following papers, printed by an order of the House of Commons, which order was made on the 19. August, 1833, on a motion of *Mr. EDWARD CURTIS*, member for *RYE*; and, by-the-by, it is curious, that not one out of the thirty-seven members sent from Yorkshire, was found to move for the printing of these papers, and that the motion should come from a gentleman who is the representative of a little town on the southern edge of *Sussex*!

"JEREMIAH DODSWORTH.

"Return to an address to his Majesty, dated 2. August 1833; for copy of the conviction and warrant under which Jeremiah Dodsworth was committed by the Rev. John Blanchard to the House of Correction at Beverley, in Yorkshire, for non-payment of the tithes of wages.
"Whitchall, 10. Aug., 1833."

"LETTER FROM SAMUEL SHEPHERD, JAILER, TO S. M. PHILLIPS, ESQ."

"Beverley House of Correction,
"Aug. 7, 1833.

"SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 3. instant; and in compliance therewith I now send you a copy of the warrant of commitment of Jeremiah Dodsworth, issued by the Reverend John Blanchard, one of the magistrates of the East Riding of Yorkshire. There was not any conviction, the warrant of commitment having been made out in consequence of Dodsworth's having no goods whereon the constable could levy under a distress warrant which was issued after Dodsworth's refusal to obey an order for the payment of the money demanded.

"As I officiate as clerk to the magistrates, at their weekly petty sessions here, I am in possession of the several

" documents signed by them in the earlier stages of the proceedings, previous to the commitment of Dodsworth; copies of which, in order to save time, and the trouble of further application for them, I think it best at once to forward you.

" The commitment was made under the act 5 Geo. IV. c. 18, s. 2; and the previous proceedings were taken under the act 7 and 8 Will. III. 6, s. 1 and 2, made perpetual by 3 Anne, c. 18, and extended in its provisions by 43 G. III. c. 127.

" The order for payment was delivered to Dodsworth; but I send you a copy of the printed form (No. 3.) which was filled up on this occasion. The words which were written in the originals, (Numbered 2, 4 & 5) were printed in *Italics*.

" I am, &c. &c.

" SAMUEL SHEPHERD, jailer."

" No. 1.

" To Robert Wylie, Esq., and John Blanchard, clerk, two of his Majesty's justices of the peace in and for the East Riding of the county of York.

" John Hudson, in behalf of the Rev. Francis Lundy, clerk, rector of Lockington in the said Riding, humbly complaineth—That the said complainant did, in behalf of the said Rev. Francis Lundy, by the space of twenty days and upwards before the date hereof, demand of each of the Persons hereafter named, servants in husbandry, in the parish of Lockington (that is to say):

	Wages.			Sums demanded.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jeremiah Dodsworth, for last year	13	0	0	0	4	4
Ditto this year, hired weekly	15	0	0	0	5	0
William Hall	10	10	0	0	3	6
Harrison Momen....	9	0	0	0	3	0
Henry Blakeston	15	0	0	0	5	0
William Foster	8	8	0	0	2	0
John Hall, half a year	10	10	0	0	3	6
John Milner	15	0	0	0	5	0
Matthew Blakeston ..	8	8	0	0	2	8
Carling Risim	16	0	0	0	5	4
John Dodsworth	15	0	0	0	5	0

	Wages.			Sums demanded.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
William Fallowfield, miller, servant	18	0	0	0	5	0
Robert Braithwaite, do, promised to compound, but now refuseth	15	0	0	0	5	0

" Being tithes, offerings, oblations of four pence in the pound of the amount of their wages justly become due within two years now last past from each of the persons above-named unto the said Rev. Francis Lundy; and that the said persons severally upon the said demand did refuse to pay and compound for, and hath not yet paid nor compounded for the same or any part thereof. The said complainants therefore prayeth such redress in the premises as to you shall seem meet and as the law doth appertain.

" Signed this 27. day of October, 1832.

" ROBERT WYLIE.

" JOHN BLANCHARD.

" JOHN HUDSON."

" No. 2.

" EAST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

" To the Constable of Lockington.

" Whereas complaint in writing hath been made unto us, Robert Wylie, Esq. and John Blanchard, clerk, two of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said Riding, by John Hudson, in behalf of the Rev. Francis Lundy, clerk, rector of Lockington, that Jeremiah Dodsworth, of the township of Lockington in the said Riding, servant in husbandry, hath, for above the space of twenty days before the time of the said complaint so made unto us as aforesaid, refused to pay unto him the said Rev. Francis Lundy, and hath not yet paid the tithes, offerings, oblations, and obventions, justly due from him the said Jeremiah Dodsworth to him the said Rev. Francis Lundy.

" These are therefore to command you forthwith upon sight hereof to summon the said Jeremiah Dodsworth to appear before us, or such other of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said Riding as may be present at

" the New Sessions House in Beverley
 " in the said Riding, on Saturday the
 " third day of November, at the hour
 " of twelve o'clock at noon of the same
 " day, to answer unto the said com-
 " plaint.

" And be you then there to certify
 " what you shall have done in the pre-
 " mises.

" Given under our hands and seals
 " at Beverley, in the said Riding, the
 " twenty-seventh day of October, in the
 " year of our Lord one thousand eight
 " hundred and thirty-two.

" JOHN BLANCHARD (L. S.)

" ROBERT WYLIE (L. S.)"

" No. 3.

" (Order for Payment of Tithes).

" EAST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF
 " YORK.

" Whereas, complaint in writing hath
 " been made unto us, two of his Ma-
 " jesty's justices of the peace for the
 " said Riding, by of
 " the parish of in the said Riding,
 " That of the said parish of
 " aforesaid, did refuse, for the
 " space of twenty days next before the
 " time of the said complaint so made
 " unto us as aforesaid, to pay the tithes,
 " offerings, oblations, or obventions,
 " arising in the said parish of
 " in the said Riding, and justly due
 " from him the said to him the
 " said ; We, therefore, the said
 " justices, being neither of us patron of
 " the church of aforesaid, nor
 " in any ways interested in any of the
 " said tithes, offerings, oblations, or ob-
 " ventions, having duly summoned the
 " said before us, and having
 " duly examined the truth and justice
 " of the said complaint upon oath, Do
 " find that there is justly due from the
 " said to the said the
 " sum of being the value of the
 " said tithes, offerings, oblations, and
 " obventions, become due within two
 " years last past; and do therefore ad-
 " judge and order the aforesaid
 " to pay or cause to be paid unto the
 " said the aforesaid sum of
 " and also the sum of for the
 " costs and charges of the said

" in prosecuting the said for
 " the recovery of his just dues.

" Given under our hands and seals
 " at in the said Riding, the
 " day of in the year of our
 " Lord one thousand eight hundred
 " and

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

" No. 4.

" EAST RIDING OF THE COUNTY
 " OF YORK.

" To the constable of Lockington in the
 " said Riding, and to the church-
 " wardens of the parish of Lockington
 " in the said Riding, and to every of
 " them.

" Whereas, upon the complaint in
 " writing of John Hudson, in behalf of
 " the Rev. Francis Lundy, clerk, rector
 " of the parish of Lockington in the
 " said Riding, Jeremiah Dodsworth, of
 " Lockington, in the said Riding, ser-
 " vant in husbandry, hath been duly
 " summoned to appear before us, John
 " Blanchard, clerk, and Robert Wylie,
 " Esq., two of his Majesty's justices of
 " the peace for the said Riding, to be
 " examined for the non-payment of the
 " tithes, offerings, oblations, and obven-
 " tions, due unto the said Rev. Francis
 " Lundy: And whereas we, the said
 " justices, being neither of us patron of
 " the said church aforesaid, nor any way
 " interested in any of the said tithes,
 " offerings, oblations, or obventions, have
 " duly examined the truth and justice
 " of the said complaint, and have or-
 " dered him, the said Jeremiah Dods-
 " worth, to pay unto the said John
 " Hudson the sum of nine shillings and
 " fourpence, being the value of the said
 " tithes, offerings, oblations, and obven-
 " tions, become due from him, the said
 " Jeremiah Dodsworth, to him, the said
 " Rev. Francis Lundy, within two years
 " next before the said complaint so
 " made unto us as aforesaid, together
 " with the sum of two shillings and
 " eightpence for the costs and charges
 " of the said Rev. Francis Lundy, for
 " the recovery of his said just dues,
 " making in the whole the sum of
 " twelve shillings: And whereas it ap-

"peareth unto us, the said justices, "that the said Jeremiah Dodsworth "had due notice of our said order for "the space of ten days and upwards "before the day of the date hereof, but "hath refused to pay, and hath not yet "paid the sum of twelve shillings, nor "any part thereof: These are therefore "to command you jointly and severally, "that you or some or one of you do "forthwith distrain the goods and "chattels of the said Jeremiah Dodsworth; and in case the sum of twelve shillings, together with your reasonable charges of making and detaining the said distress, be not paid or tendered to be paid by him the said Jeremiah Dodsworth, in three days next after such distress made, that then you do make public sale of the said goods and chattels so distrained as aforesaid, and out of the money arising from such sale that you pay or cause to be paid unto him, the said John Hudson, the said sum of twelve shillings, and thereout also deduct and detain your reasonable charges of making, keeping, and selling, the said distress; and if any overplus shall remain after such payment and deduction as aforesaid, that then you do render the same unto him, the said Jeremiah Dodsworth, upon demand.

"Given under our hands and seals, "at Beverley, in the said Riding, the "eighth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

"JOHN BLANCHARD (L. S.)

"ROBERT WYLIE (L. S.)"

"No. 5.

"EAST RIDING OF THE COUNTY
"OF YORK.

"To all the constables in the said "Riding, and especially to the constable of the township of Lockington, in the said Riding, and to the keeper of the House of Correction at Beverley.

"These are in his Majesty's name to command you, the said constable of Lockington, forthwith to convey and deliver into the custody of the said keeper, the body of Jeremiah

Dodsworth, of Lockington, servant in husbandry, convicted before me, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said Riding, upon the oath of Peter Roantre, constable of Lockington, that the said Jeremiah Dodsworth having refused to pay his tithes, offerings, oblations, and obventions, due to the Rev. Francis Lundy, rector of Lockington, the amount of which is nine shillings and fourpence, and also two shillings and eightpence for the costs, for the recovery of the said tithes, obventions, offerings and oblations, due to the said Rev. Francis Lundy: And whereas a distress warrant was issued upon the goods and chattels of the said Jeremiah Dodsworth: and the said Peter Roantre having sworn that no distress could be found upon the goods of the said Jeremiah Dodsworth, and the expenses of the said distress amounting to five shillings, together with this warrant of commitment.

"And you, the said keeper, are hereby required to receive the said Jeremiah Dodsworth into your said custody, and him safely there to keep for the space of three calendar months; and for your so doing, this shall be to you and every of you a sufficient warrant.

"Given under my hand and seal "this twenty-second of December, in "the year of our Lord one thousand "eight hundred and thirty-two.

"JOHN BLANCHARD (L. S.)"

This is the LAW, is it, Hampshire Parsons? What law? Why the law that made the priests perform some duty towards such persons as JEREMIAH DODSWORTH; that compelled his priest to hear his confessions, to teach him, personally, his religious duties, to catechise him, that is to say, teach him his catechism; to visit him personally when he was sick; to officiate at his communion, administer the sacrament to him, and teach him the meaning of it: the LAW which compelled JEREMIAH DODSWORTH to pay four pence in the pound, to the priest, on his wages, most strictly obliged the priest to do

all these things for JEREMIAH DODSWORTH ; and, agreeably to the precept of St. PAUL, JEREMIAH DODSWORTH was bound so to pay ; because the "*priest was to live by the altar*;" but, has JEREMIAH DODSWORTH ever been confessed, or taught his catechism ; has he ever had the sacrament administered to him, and that regularly once a month ; has he ever, when ill, been visited and comforted ; has JEREMIAH DODSWORTH ever received these things at the hands of the *Reverend FRANCIS LUNDY*, rector of LOCKINGTON, who, perhaps, has been all the while at CHELTENHAM, BATH, BRIGHTON, LONDON, PARIS, or ROME ? But, over and above all this, what did the priest of LOCKINGTON do with the tithes after he got them into his hands ? What did the priests of JEREMIAH DODSWORTH's forefathers do with those tithes ? Why, first, they kept the churches in repair, kept the churchyards fenced in, furnished the churches with ornaments, as far as they were able ; second, the priest of LOCKINGTON, in those times, provided for the wants of the stranger, keeping hospitality for all the strangers that stood in need of such hospitality ; third, the priest of LOCKINGTON *relieved all the poor of the parish out of the tithes* ; fourth, whatever there was left, the priest had to live upon ; and that was all. The people of LOCKINGTON knew then nothing about church-rates or poor-rates ; and, such being the uses to which the tithes were put, it was not unreasonable that such men as JEREMIAH DODSWORTH were bound by law to contribute towards them ; but, to muster up this old law, and to exact the payment, when all the services have ceased ; when the parson swallows up all the tithes, and throws church-rates and poor-rates upon the people ; to do *this* is what I will not attempt to describe, because I cannot do it justice by any description that I can give. It is only one more instance of that infatuation which now seems to be at work to bring down upon the church its last and finishing blow.

Parsons, do you imagine, that the LAW, relative to tithes, will remain what it now is for one year more ? If

you do, you are very much deceived. It is impossible that it should remain. The eternal answer, that "*it is the law*," is the very answer which is wanted by those who are calling for the demolition of the church. They say : "We know it is *the law* ; and, therefore, it is, " that we waft *other laws* to do this " law away." The opinions afloat are altogether hostile to this establishment, those who attempt to defend which become instantly objects of ridicule ; and, it is in this state of things, that the *Reverend FRANCIS LUNDY* sues JEREMIAH DODSWORTH for personal tithes, offerings, oblations, and obventions, and that the *Reverend JOHN BLANCHARD* commits him to prison for non-payment ! At times there is, in the minds of some men, a feeling of regret that this establishment should be manifestly going to pieces : reflecting men, however they may dislike the clergy, see that the dissolution of the establishment must be attended with great evil ; or, at least, great troubles ; but, as if to deprive itself of the benefit of such feelings of regret, out it sends, from time to time, facts to make every man say : "This thing cannot be suffered to go " on : evil may come ; trouble may " come ; but an evil so great as this " never can arise out of its dissolution !"

These papers relative to DODSWORTH were not delivered until the last day of the session ; or the matter would not have gone off silently in the House, of which, you know, I am a member ! I think I see you reading that ! And see the contortions of your features ; the drawing up of your nostrils, and the pressing of your teeth together, as if you had the tail of a tithe-pig between them ! Oh ! that look ! I defy pen or pencil ; I defy human being, or being beyond human, to give any reader or picture viewer, a correct idea of *that look* ! And, then, into the pulpit on Sunday, if by any chance you be in the parish ! Oh, parsons ! Those happy times are gone by, when the cry of JACOBIN and INFIDEL made it dangerous for any one to speak to you, or of you, as he was justified in speaking : they are gone ;

you may go after them as soon as you like: "*bon voyage*," as the French say; and the sooner you set out on it, the better you will please him whom you have so long laboured to destroy, and who, to add to your mortification, here writes the name of

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S CORN.

THERE are many fine crops of this corn this year. From a piece of three quarters of an acre, I had an ear brought to me yesterday, quite ripe. This is growing somewhere down against the *Thames*, in *Essex*, I think. I hear of some very fine, in *Bedfordshire*, particularly, and I should like to have a letter from the grower of it; and he is in duty bound to write me a letter, and to tell me all the particulars about it. My own corn is very fine, though backward, and somewhat galled with the wire-worm. I think it right to caution the growers of these fine crops of corn against gathering it in too soon, and rubbing it from the cob before it be perfectly dry. If this be not attended to, the crop will lose half its value; and mortification and disappointment will come in the place of pleasure and profit. It is perfectly yellow; it feels as hard as a stone; but, if there be moisture in the cob, and you stow away the corn in the ear, it will mould; and if you rub it off the cob, and put it into sacks, if it do not mould in the winter, it will in the spring. This happens, even in *America*, very frequently. It ought never to be gathered in till the little stalk to which the ear is attached be as dry as a stick; and it ought then, if the quantity be small, to be tied in bunches by the tails, and be hung up in a room that is very airy, and if possible, where there is a fire kept. If the quantity be large, the ears must go upon a kiln after the husks are taken off; the heat must not be more than 75 degrees, and they must remain there till all the moisture is out of the cob. Then you may stow it away in the ear, or shell it, or do with it what you like. But, I

have given most ample instructions concerning all this in my new edition of my *Treatise on Cobbett's Corn*; and, if a grower of the corn neither read the *Register* nor will purchase this book, let him cry his eyes out for the loss of his crop. It is not much trouble to write a letter, and I am sure that my parliamentary privilege cannot be better used than in giving free passage to letters on this subject.

SIR JOHN KEY, BARONET AND STATIONER, LONDON. — SIR A. B. KING, BARONET AND STATIONER, DUBLIN.

SIR,—Your observations on the affair of Sir John Key, in your last *Register*, must give pleasure to all lovers of justice; especially where you say that "If you live to go into the House of Commons next year, the mild and considerate Report of the Committee shall not be the *he all* and the *end all* of this curious affair."

You will pardon me, I hope, for directing your attention to, and requesting information relative to, another Baronet and stationer. I mean Sir A. B. King, of Dublin.

When the Whigs outlanked the Duke, on the civil-list pensions, most persons expected that, on getting into power, they would have ceased to pay those pensions for which no public services had been performed: in that expectation the people were disappointed; the pensions were all continued.

My Lord Althorp, however, introduced a regulation, by which the crown was for a time to be restrained from granting any pension in addition to those then existing; but to provide for the reward of future great and good services rendered to the state, the discretion was to be left to the House of Commons, whose collective wisdom would not be so liable to be imposed upon, and bestow the hard earnings of their constituents on any other than well-known and meritorious public

services. The first exercise of this boasted discretion was towards the end of the session of 1832, when the unreformed House voted two thousand five hundred pounds to Sir Abraham Bradley King, baronet and stationer, of Dublin; and my Lord Althorp's modest mouth-piece, Mr. Spring Rice, gave as a reason for the grant, that since the Baronet had ceased to serve the Government in Dublin with paper, the same quantity had been supplied for ten thousand pounds per annum less; and with this Irish argument the collective wisdom was satisfied.

The reformed House, before its separation, voted the Baronet the like sum.

Now, as the Dublin Baronet, as well as his brother Baronet and stationer of London, had his committee, permit me to inquire whether, in the Report on his case, any other reason is given to justify this large grant than the one given by Mr. Spring Rice; for if no other exists, I see no reason why Sir John Key may not prefer as good a claim.

I am, Sir,
your constant reader,
and most obedient, humble servant,
T. R.

THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

(From the True Sun, 3. Sept., 1833.)

We are anxious to give to the public some outline of the admirable charge delivered by the Lord Bishop of Exeter to his clergy, at the primary visitation, in the cathedral, on Wednesday last, because we well know the interest with which all classes await what may proceed from one occupying such a station at such a time; and more particularly we know that it is to our present diocesan that every member of the Church of England in all the world looks now for that heart-stirring spirit which, in the hour of danger, may excite the talents which have never yet been wanting in her defence.

The charge appeared to us to embrace every topic which at this moment engages the public attention, and which, we trust, will engage the attention of the real talent and worth of the country, until church reform, as it is fitted for such an institution, be deliberately and safely effected. We will mention the several points (in preference to reporting the charge, as is our usual custom) alluded to in order; but we must in the first place notice the warm and engaging manner in which the bishop

spoke of dissent in the diocese, when he eloquently expressed his earnest wish that all who looked for salvation to the cross of Christ would unite in one holy band of fellowship, and become "on earth one fold under one shepherd;" and that, if we must be separated in worship, may we not be separated in feeling and affection.

On the general point of church reform the bishop expressed it to be the duty of all at this crisis to testify our earnest wish to see the best remedies devised, and to assist in devising them. The question of change or no change he considered as decided; and that it was the duty of every faithful friend of the church to exert his best faculties in an endeavour to make that change productive of as much good as human prudence could effect. The bishop then adverted at once to the subject of tithes, and in terms of just reprobation to the fraudulent and dishonest speculations affect on the subject. Alluding to the late measure in Parliament affecting the rights of the church, his lordship said that, notwithstanding what he and the clergy had thought and expressed, they would still appeal to the principles of equity and justice, until experience should have taught them that the appeal would be wholly vain. The bishop then adverted to two theories which had been lately put forth, and had perhaps attained some belief, though each in contradiction of the law: one, that tithes ought to be divided into four parts—one for the bishop, one for the poor, one for the repairs of the church, and one for the rector. He explained the ancient authorities, showing that this was a division which, though mentioned in the early settlement of Christianity, never took place in this country, or probably anywhere after the tithe was attached as property to the rector of each parish; that it was clearly never the law of England that any portion of the tithes was applicable to the repairs of the church, and that as to the poor nothing further was ever enjoined than that which was the duty of the clergy, at all times—the duties of hospitality and charity. But again it was said that tithes were a tenth of the rent only. Now tithes, he contended, had existed for centuries before a monied rent was known, and, if it was to be made an objection that to tithe the produce was to tithe capital and labour, as well might it be said that the landlord had no right to take advantage of capital and labour in his rent. In support of his position his lordship referred to several statutes on this subject. Any attempt, he said, to legislate on such assertions would be to subject truth to act of Parliament, and to legislate about tithes on any principle not applicable to other property would be to violate the right to all property whatever.

It had been announced, served, that Government would in the next session bring forward some measure of church reform, but few of the particulars had transpired. It had been said that a more equitable distribution of the revenues must be looked

for; but the want of a precise proportion between the emolument and the service was no proof of want of equity, much less that the church was answerable for it. A great part of the evil here complained of had arisen from the alienation of the proper endowment of the parishes by the disposition of Henry VIII. of the appropriate tithes held by the monasteries, while formerly the bishop used to enforce the proper endowment of a vicar out of these tithes, which was now disused. This was the cause of a great part of the inequality. He hoped that nothing would be done to impair the means of securing what had hitherto been the glory of the English church—a learned ministry. Dr. Chalmers had acknowledged the great service to the church from the opportunities of learning afforded by the endowments of cathedrals, and regretted that the want of it was felt in Scotland.

As to lay-impropriations, the bishop said that if they were not liable to increase the endowments, at least they should not convert their charge of paying the minister into a benefit; and the bishop, as we understood him, proposed that some plan should be adopted for augmenting these small livings, but which we do not like to abridge for fear of giving some erroneous impression.

On the subject of pluralities the bishop said it was satisfactory to hear that they were to be altogether extinguished; that in principle the English law was always against them; and that he should be rejoiced to find that the Government were prepared with some plan to make the abolition practically possible.

The bishop then proceeded to make some very satisfactory statements from the returns of this diocese, in contradiction of the great exaggerations of the non-residence of the clergy and the small stipends of the curates. There were, he said, forty parishes in the diocese, with a population of not more than one hundred. He stated the proportion of parishes having resident incumbents, or resident curates, and showing that the proportion who had not a resident minister, or as we understood, not within two miles, was not above a sixtieth part of the whole diocese. We also understood his Lordship to say that there were not above two or three curates, having the charge of a parish, who had a lower stipend than 75*l.*; and that, out of 170 curates, 120 had stipends of 100*l.* and upwards. The bishop touched on many other subjects, particularly as to schools, and expressed his regret to find that there were many parishes with a large population where there were no schools on the national society plan, and urged the adoption of that plan.

We are sensible how very imperfect a sketch we have given of a charge which was received by the clergy with the utmost attention; but we have heard with much satisfaction that the bishop, at the earnest request of the clergy, had consented to give the whole to the public.—*Western Luminary.*

I will answer this charge next week. The bishop fights hard, and anticipates defeat, at the same time. He is a clever man, and a bold man; but it is not in his power to rub out of men's minds the impressions produced by cases like that of JEREMIAH DODSWORTH.

HOP-STORM.

THE following article is very curious and very interesting. In every part of the kingdom there does not exist anything like a thorough knowledge of this hop-affair, the hop-growing being confined principally to Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire; and, more especially to Kent and Sussex. The hops were very nearly arrived at ripeness, when that happened which has produced the following description, very well worth reading, even to those who never saw hops growing.

(From the Maidstone Gazette.)

"Our readers may recollect that, in our hop-notice of last week, we remarked that it was the opinion of good judges that nothing but "severe hurricanes" could be expected to prevent a good crop. We little thought, while mentioning this improbable contingency, that our next number would contain the details of a degree of devastation, arising from that very cause, which has not been equalled for upwards of twenty years. Such, however, is the melancholy fact. On Friday, the temperature fell very suddenly, and at night a strong gale came from the south-west, and was attended with abundance of rain, sleet, and in some instances, snow. After a few hours it changed to N.W.N., and continued to blow with increased fury. This gale continued, with heavy rain at intervals, in different parts of the county, till Sunday at noon, when the rain ceased, but the wind continued fresh. The mischief this storm has done to the hops is almost incredible. We have, however, procured as many particulars as possible, which we shall now lay

before our readers. In Mr. Corral's hop-ground (near Maidstone), where the poles are of the very best description, and from sixteen to eighteen feet high, they have not been completely levelled to so great an extent as has been the case in many grounds. They, however, are many of them in a worse position, namely—that of leaning upon each other, so that every motion bruises the hops. The roots of the bines have been, in many instances, drawn from a foot to six inches out of the ground, the straining of which must effectually check the bine from nourishing the hop, even if the weather should become fine. In East Farleigh, Mr. Pope's grounds, of Fant, have suffered great injury, and one pole in three is down, besides the destruction caused by the bruising. In West Farleigh, the poles have not been so generally levelled, but the wind has cut off so many of the collateral branches, that one-third of the crop will be lost. It is calculated, that in this neighbourhood it will cost 5*l*. an acre to raise the poles, a very great number of which have broken off into the ground, from their present confused and jumbled positions. At Loose, the ground is also strewed with the valuable produce, which has been, in some instances, cut from the poles as if with a knife. It is calculated, that hardly a good sample will come out of this parish. The Messrs. Peale's grounds have suffered severely. So dreadful was the hurricane at this place, that five trees were torn up by the roots, and the fruit trees have, of course, been nearly stripped of the best fruit. One farmer in this parish, who had calculated on 6,000 bushels of beautiful apples, has had at least 3,000 bushels scattered over his orchards. It may, perhaps, be not out of place to mention here, that instead of rushing to market with these windfalls, where the grower will hardly get enough to pay him for the picking them up and the carriage, he would do much better to pen them up round the root of the trees, perfectly unsheltered; for then the air will ripen the parts that are not bruised, and render them nearly as valuable for making

cider as if they had been gathered from the tree. The plums, pears, and damsons, are also terribly scattered. In Barming and the adjoining grounds, the devastation has been terrible. Whole patches, containing as many as a dozen hells, have been all levelled together. In many gardens half the poles are on the ground, and those which are standing are more injured than the others. No hurricane has done so much mischief in this neighbourhood since that between the 31. of August and the 1. of September, 1816—a rather remarkable coincidence of dates. The grounds of Mr. Ellis, who is, perhaps, the largest grower in the kingdom, have suffered in an equal degree. Those of the Rev. Mr. Post have lost one-third of the crop, and Mr. Plane's have also endured a very severe visitation. At Yalding, the grounds situated in the valleys have been damaged more than those in more exposed places: probably in consequence of the wind catching the tops of the poles, instead of partly expending its force beneath the head of the bine. In Cranbrook and the Weald of Kent, our correspondent tells, "We were visited on Friday night with the calamity, innocently suggested in our last week's *Gazette* as the only despoiler of our cheering prospects and lively anticipations. Severe hurricanes have continued, to the destruction of the beauty of our grounds and the greatest injury to the produce. The hop-gardens are strewed with branches, and in many instances half the poles are levelled. The orchards also have most severely suffered; in some, scarcely any fruit remains on the trees. On the Canterbury road, the farmers' hopes have been equally blighted. The same remark applies to the Mallings and several other places. The general effect of the storm, however, has been so similar, that it is needless to enumerate them. The only grounds that seem to have suffered less than the above, are those of Sutton, Hastedon, and Bexley. The best grounds, however, are expected to lose at least a bag an acre. The Goldings and Rufflers can never re-

"cover it, but the grapes may still be expected to make some progress. The partial loss of the crop will not be by any means equal to the injury done to the samples, which must be considerably deteriorated all over the county." What the effect will be on the amount of duty it is at present impossible to conjecture, as various persons who have visited different places, disagree most strongly in their calculations; taking a range of from 25,000*l.* to 80,000*l.* reduction on the sum last quoted in the market. Till the reports arrive from the other districts, every thing must be mere guess-work, as the tempest may have been partial. We shall, however, endeavour to lay before our readers the earliest information we can gain on the subject. We cannot close this account without expressing a hope, that the clergy will take into consideration this awful visitation on the industrious farmer; and that we shall see, in the remission of a proportion of their tithes, a few specimens of that Christian charity, which, unfortunately for the industrious classes, have recently appeared like angels' visits—"Few and far between."

This account, though almost poetic, is, I dare say, short of the truth. The devastation must be terrible; and, as to the state of mind of the planters, all that I can say is, that I would rather not take a "rural ride" in Kent, just at this time! I do not hear that the storm has visited, with any particular fury, my towns-people of FARNHAM, who, being the very first to send a petition to Parliament, in favour of Sir ANDREW AGNEW'S "Sunday-Bill;" being thus remarkable for their piety, will not, I trust, ascribe their escape entirely to their own earthly deserts; and, above all things, I do most ardently wish (though upon my soul I cannot say that I believe), that they will not feel satisfaction from the thoughts, that the hops of their Christian brethren in Sussex and Kent having been thus destroyed, *will make their own hops fetch a great deal more money.* I have my fears, I must confess; for mammon is always

busy amongst these hop-planters, who, so far from having imbibed the philanthropic notions of free trade; so far from believing that the prosperity of their brother hop-planters is a pledge for their own prosperity, are too apt, in spite of all their godliness, to wish for good crops for themselves, and for bad ones for others. This arises from that sort of monopoly, and limited demand, which exist with regard to the hop trade; and I am very much afraid, that that propensity to godliness which urged my townsmen to send the petition aforesaid, will not be sufficient to prevent them from exulting at these melancholy devastations in Sussex and Kent. I am afraid that they will think it is a "just judgment" on these Sabbath-breaking counties. If this should be their turn of mind, let them remember, that the next hurricane may forget the merits of Sir ANDREW AGNEW'S Bill; may happen to sweep along their valley, and lay down their poles as flat as a pan-cake.

POPAY THE SPY.

I TAKE the following from the *True Sun* of Thursday. This fellow's *impudence* equals his perfidy. As regards the case of Mr. DEAN, I am very glad to hear, that a meeting of working men was held, on Monday evening last, at Newington, at which resolutions were entered into for the purpose of raising a subscription, in order to compensate him, in some degree, for the loss which the harsh conduct of the commissioners, has brought upon him. For my own part, I shall be quite willing to do any thing in my power to forward this object, which is justice to towards Mr. DEAN, and honourable to themselves. I am informed that subscriptions will be received at the Champion, Portland-street, Newington; and at the Canterbury Arms, Lambeth Marsh.

UNION-HALL.—POPAY THE SPY.—*William Stewart Popay*, the late spy employed by Government, now living at No. 8, Park-place, Lock's-fields, Walworth, appeared be-

saw the magistrates, Messrs. Murray and Hillyard, on a peace-warrant, charged by Mr. W. Dean (late inspector of the police force, who was discharged from that body on account of having spoken his mind upon the late Calthorpe-street affair), with assaulting him under the following circumstances:—Mr. Dean stated, that about ten o'clock on Monday evening, he left the Cottage of Content, and was going up King-street on his way home, when he met Popay, who came up to him, and called complainant an assassin, a monster, and used other expressions to excite witness, who seeing two other policemen by, thought it was a plan to get him into trouble, when witness thought he would put up with the insult. Popay also put his fist in complainant's face. Magistrate: This is an assault-warrant, and you have taken out a peace-warrant. What have you to say? (to Popay).—Popay: he had no objection to enter into recognizance to keep the peace. He had nothing to say to the charge. *His character, he could say, was respected by every officer in the police force.* The statement of the complainant was false; and if competition were to be made between his character and his opponent, he (Popay) was in no doubt that his would stand scrutiny. The complainant and a man of the name of Price were at the Elephant and Castle on the 21st, who insulted him grossly there. The lower portion of the mob had called him a — monster, and said that he had blood-money in his pocket.—Magistrate: Are you really in danger from this man?—Complainant: I am, sir; and I have been told to be particularly cautious how I acted. I thought it strange to see two policemen there. I have not been in the Cottage of Content these four months, and I thought it strange to see them all there. It appeared as if it were a plan to entrap me. Complainant has been told that he is a marked man since the affair of Calthorpe-street. Popay having found bail in his own recognizance, was then allowed to depart.

RUSSIAN CATECHISM.

(From the Morning Chronicle, 29. Aug., 1833.)

The following is the new catechism prepared for the use of the schools and churches in the Polish provinces of Russia. It is explanatory of the 4th Commandment with particular respect to the reverence as due to the omnipotent Emperor of Russia, and the superior authorities established by him. It is published by special order, and printed at Wilna, 1832:

Quest. 1.—How is the authority of the Emperor to be considered in reference to the spirit of Christianity?

Ans. As proceeding immediately from God.

Quest. 2. How is this substantiated by the nature of things?

Ans. It is by the will of God that men live in society; hence the various relations which constitute society, which for its more complete security is divided into parts called nations; the government of which is intrusted to a prince, king, or emperor, or in other words, to a supreme ruler; we see, then, that as man exists in conformity to the will of God, society emanates from the same divine will, and more especially the supreme power and authority of our lord and master the Czar.

Quest. 3. What duties does religion teach us, the humble subjects of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, to practise towards him?

Ans. Worship, obedience, fidelity, the payment of taxes, service, love, and prayer, the whole being comprised in the words, worship and fidelity.

Quest. 4. Wherein does this worship consist, and how should it be manifested?

Ans. By the most unqualified reverence in words, gestures, demeanour, thoughts, and actions.

Quest. 5. What kind of obedience do we owe him?

Ans. An entire, passive, and unbounded obedience in every point of view.

Quest. 6. In what consists the fidelity we owe to the Emperor?

Ans. In executing his commands most rigorously, without examination—in performing the duties he requires from us, and in doing everything willingly without murmuring.

Quest. 7. Is it obligatory on us to pay taxes to our gracious Sovereign the Emperor?

Ans. It is incumbent on us to pay every tax in compliance with his supreme commands, both as to the amount and when due.

Quest. 8. Is the service of his Majesty the Emperor obligatory on us?

Ans. Absolutely so; we should, if required, sacrifice ourselves in compliance with his will, both in a civil and

military capacity, and in whatever manner he deems expedient.

Quest. 9. What benevolent sentiments and love are due to the Emperor?

Ans. We should manifest our goodwill and affection, according to our station, in endeavouring to promote the prosperity of our native land Russia (not Poland), as well as that of the Emperor our father and of his august family.

Quest. 10. Is it incumbent on us to pray for the Emperor, and for Russia, our country?

Ans. Both publicly and privately, beseeching the Almighty to grant the Emperor health, integrity, happiness, and security. The same is applicable to the country, which constitutes an indivisible part of the Emperor.

Quest. 11. What principles are in opposition to these duties?

Ans. Irreverence, disobedience, infidelity, malevolence, treason, mutiny, and revolt.

Quest. 12. How are irreverence and infidelity to the Emperor to be considered in reference to God?

Ans. As the most heinous sin—the most frightful criminality.

Quest. 13. Does religion, then, forbid us to rebel, and overthrow the Government of the Emperor?

Ans. We are interdicted from so doing at all times, and under any circumstances.

Quest. 14. Independently of the worship we owe the Emperor, are we called upon to respect the public authorities emanating from him?

Ans. Yes; because they emanate from him, represent him, and act as his substitutes, so that the Emperor is everywhere,

Quest. 15. What motives have we to fulfil the duties above enumerated?

Ans. The motives are twofold—some natural, others revealed.

Quest. 16. What are the natural motives?

Ans. Besides the motives adduced, there are the following:—The Emperor being the head of the nation, the father of all his subjects (who constitute one

and the same country), Russia is thereby alone worthy of reverence, gratitude, and obedience; for both public welfare and individual security depend on submissiveness to his commands.

Quest. 17. What are the supernatural revealed motives for this worship?

Ans. The supernatural revealed motives are, that the Emperor is the Vicegerent and Minister of God to execute the divine commands; and, consequently, disobedience to the Emperor is identified with disobedience to God himself; that God will reward us in the world to come for the worship and obedience we render the Emperor, and punish us severely to all eternity should we disobey and neglect to worship him. Moreover God commands us to love and obey from the inmost recesses of the heart every authority, and particularly the Emperor, not from worldly consideration, but from apprehension of the final judgment.

Quest. 18. What books prescribe these duties?

Ans. The New and Old Testaments, and particularly the Psalms, Gospels, and Apostolic Epistles.

Quest. 19. What examples confirm this doctrine?

Ans. The example of Jesus Christ himself, who lived and died in allegiance to the Emperor of Rome, and respectfully submitted to the judgment which condemned him to death. We have, moreover, the example of the apostles, who both loved and respected them; they suffered meekly in dungeons conformably to the will of the Emperors, and did not revolt like malefactors and traitors. We must, therefore, in imitation of these examples, suffer and be silent.

Quest. 20. At what period did the custom originate, of praying to the Almighty for the prosperity of the sovereign?

Ans. The custom of publicly praying for the Emperors is coeval with the introduction of Christianity; which custom is to us the most valuable legacy and splendid gift we have received from past ages.

Such is the doctrine of the church, confirmed by practice, as to the worship and fidelity due to the omnipotent Emperor of Russia, the Minister and Vicegerent of God.

I wonder whether the blasphemous vagabond slave who drew this up, ever tasted a good heavy-thonged hunting whip! A breakfast upon it would do him a great deal of good. He forgets the fate of **ABAB** and of **JEZEBEL**! He forgets what **DEBORAH** and **BARRAK** were ordered by God to sing a song of praise to the wife of **HABER** the Kenite. He forgets that **MOSES**, the servant of the Lord, performed as his first exploit, the infliction of death upon the **EGYPTIAN** task-master, though he derived his authority immediately from **PHARAOH** the anointed; he forgets a great many things of this sort, and wants a horsewhip or an oak sapling to bring them to his recollection. I remember the death of Emperor **PAUL**, who, though anointed double thick, went off, they said, by no other assistance than that of two-pennyworth of whip-cord; and I remember that **TALLEYRAND**, in a dispatch to the Russian Ambassador (who had remonstrated on the killing of the Duke d'ENGHIEN), threw out something rather more than a hint, that the "magnanimous **ALEXANDER**" knew a good deal about the matter! But what use is there in our bothering ourselves with these devils? one seems made for the other: any people that could suffer such stuff as this to be tendered to them, without flying at the villains and pinching their wind-pipes till they strangled them, must be slaves, and *ought to be slaves*. Such impudent blasphemy never would have been tendered to any body who were not known to be slaves in their souls.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

FLETCHER, T., W. S. Roscoe, R. Roberts, J. Tarleton, and F. Fletcher, Liverpool, bankers.

BANKRUPTS.

BALLANTYNE, W., Battle, Sussex, book-seller.
BLOFIELD, W., Hosier-lane, Smithfield, and St. John-street, carpenter.
CLARK, R., Newark-upon-Trent, linen-draper.
ELLIOTT, J., Devonport, grocer.
LUCAS, J., City road, timber-merchant.
MANNERINGS, J., Chatham, builder.
PEACOCK, G., Catterick, Yorkshire, draper.
PHENEY, R., Fleet-street, law-bookseller.
SNAPE, R. K., Manchester, victualler.
WAKEFIELD, J., Manchester, silk hat-manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

GORDON, G., Tenant, in Greenhaugh, stage-coach-proprietor, and Aberdeen, under-writer.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

HOPKINS, A. B., and **P. Burgess,** Commercial-place, City-road, tobacco-nists.
SHORT, W., Henrietta-street, Brunswick-square, Compton-street, Brunswick-square, and South Crescent mews, Burton-crescent, cabinet-maker.
WARWICK, J., St. Alban's, wine and spirit-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

CORP, W., Tower-street, City, carpenter.
GILBURGH, W., Brighton, wine-merchant.
PRICE, G., Sueinton, Nottinghamshire, twist-net-manufacturer.
SHAW, B., Harlesthorne, Derbyshire, candlewick and sacking manufacturer.
WIGHTMAN, G., late of Manchester, victualler.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 2.—The supplies from the home counties, although moderate, probably owing to the boisterous weather, yet they proved fully adequate to the demand. The samples were principally of this year's growth, and the quality improved. The best descriptions obtained a slow sale at about last Monday's quotations, but all secondary and inferior descriptions were difficult to dispose of, at a decline of fully 1s. per qr. Old Wheats dull, and in bonded parcels nothing doing.

Barley was in very short supply. The few old samples were held on higher terms. Several new parcels of Kentish were at market. The quality was fair, and for the most part inferior, realizing from 32s. to 36s.

Malt steady, and last week's improved rates for fine qualities maintained.

Oats were in fair request; good old fully maintain the currency of this day se'nright, but stale and inferior parcels met a very slow

sale. The new samples from Lincolnshire continue to exhibit many good and average corns.

Old Beans were in demand and obtained 1s. per qr. more money than last Monday. The new samples of *masagius* were good, and brought 31s. to 33s.

White Peas sustained no alteration in value; but Grey and Maple were 1s. to 2s. dearer.

Flour steady; the article ex-ship continues in limited demand, and the previous currency fully supported.

Wheat	58s. to 64s.
Rye	30s. to 32s.
Barley	24s. to 26s.
— fine	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White	31s. to 34s.
— Builders	38s. to 42s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 52s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new	—s. to 60s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to 78s. per cwt.
— Carlow	76s. to 80s.
— Cork	73s. to 75s.
— Limerick	73s. to 75s.
— Waterford	72s. to 76s.
— Dublin	72s. to 74s.

SMITHFIELD, September 2.

This day's supply of Beasts, Lambs, and Calves, was moderately good: the supply of Sheep and Porkers, rather limited. Trade was, with prime small Beef and Mutton, somewhat brisk; with Beef and Mutton of middling and inferior quality, as also Lamb, Veal, and Pork, dull at Friday's quotations.

About a third of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire; and the remaining two-thirds about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, Scots and Irish Beasts, with a few Town's-end Cows, Sussex Beasts, &c., chiefly from the above-mentioned, and others of our northern and midland districts; with a few from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, our western districts, and the London marshes.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses; about one-fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, and polled Norfolk, with a few pens of horned Norfolk, Dorsets, and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Full four-fifths of the Lambs appeared to consist of about equal numbers of new Leicesters, chiefly of the Downish cross, and South Downs; the remaining fifth of Dorsets, with a few Kentish half-breeds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 6.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thurs.	
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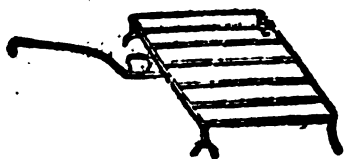
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[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY.

Bolt-court, 13. September, 1833.

SIR,—I shall, next week, address to you a letter discussing the remaining propositions stated in my letter of last week; and, when you have had time to read that, you must reply to me, or be content to have defeat set down to your account. “*Dignified silence*” does not do, in the case of authors: very well for lords, who do not write and publish; but, when they set out on the pursuit of fame as authors, they must take the soldiers’ lot, and abide by the dictum of the Scripture; “He who lives by the pen shall perish by the pen.”

Having thus given you due warning, I have only to add, that

I am, Sir,

your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF PRESTON.

MY FRIENDS,—I believe I mentioned to you before, the curious history of our friend JOHNNY WOOD; but I must be a little more particular now, especially as I shall have to hook in one of those who were his auxiliaries at the election of 1826. When WOOD’s father was told by Mr. THOMAS SMITH and others, that his son ought not to endeavour to get a seat, into which, were it not for him, I

should certainly be put; when the old Cotton-Lord was told this (Cotton-Lord become ‘Squire’), he resisted the arguments used upon the occasion; and, when told that his son could *do nothing* in Parliament, his answer was, that “neither could Cobbett do any thing;” and that he had a right to endeavour to raise his family in the world. This was the sort of language of Dr. CROMPTON, of RUSHTON, and of all those who had pretended to entertain so strong a desire to see me in Parliament. I, on my part, was quite convinced, that the enterprise of the Woods was a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, and that the seat was intended to be converted into a fat place of some sort or other. Now, I will re-state, with regard to the facts, that which I have stated before, but, not so much in detail.

One day, about six weeks ago, Lord GRANVILLE SOMERSET brought forward a complaint in the House of Commons, that a Mr. MITFORD (of whom I never heard before) had been displaced from the board of taxes, and had been put upon a retired allowance at the public charge, with a loss to the public of eight hundred pounds a-year, for the sole purpose of making a good fat place of fifteen or sixteen hundred a-year for a Mr. WOOD. His Lordship, who had done me the honour to sit alongside of me before he got up to speak, performed his affair in a very handsome manner: but I, having a petition to present after he had done, was rather impatient, looking upon this complaint as being nothing more than a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, which the Whigs had settled to the disadvantage of the Tories, of which latter, Lord GRANVILLE SOMERSET seems to be the head; and I paid little or no attention to the repeated sound of the words MITFORD and WOOD, than I should have paid to that of the strokes of a hammer heard in the next room. There is, too, a Mr. WOOD, who is a son-in-law of Lord Grey, and who was sitting

on the Treasury-bench at the time. I took it for granted, that this much envied Mr. WOOD, about whom they were talking, was a brother of this Mr. WOOD; and I was confirmed in this notion by Lord ALTHORP's defending the job by saying, that it being absolutely necessary that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have personal and confidential conferences with the chief taxer, and as he was in the habit of great personal intimacy with Mr. WOOD, he had chosen him for the station, rather than keep Mr. MITFORD in it, though Mr. MITFORD was a gentleman of great experience in those affairs, and a person wholly unexceptionable in all respects whatsoever.

This settled the point, in my mind: "lucky fellow," said I to myself, "to be the brother or cousin of the Lord Treasurer's son-in-law!" the affair was coming to a close, and I was musing a little on an adventure that had lost the Tories sixteen hundred a-year, and the public eight hundred a-year, in order that the sixteen hundred a-year might be grabbed by the Whigs. The thing was, as it were, settled; but Mr. SPRING RICE, thinking that his office demanded some little matter from him in the way of eulogium on this Mr. WOOD, let slip out these words: "When Mr. WOOD relinquished his seat for Preston:"—as the old women in the country say, you might have knocked me down with a feather! I opened my eyes; almost started from my seat; "What the devil," exclaimed I to myself, "is this JOHN WOOD! Ah, ah, now for my Preston prophecy, then!" I got up, as soon as I could, and said, "Sir, the noble Lord on the opposite bench has lately called in question my gift of prophecy; I will now produce evidence of the existence of that gift, which no one will question. Standing upon the hustings at Preston, with this very Mr. WOOD, and hearing the people threaten him that they would sweat his purse, I told them, to his face, 'You may sweat his purse to-day, but he and his cunning old father will sweat yours in the end; that which he is giving

"over yonder in beef and beer, he is lending to corruption. He does not want the seat in Parliament, for which he is wholly unfit: he wants it as a channel through which to get some fat post, under pretence of which to pocket the public money." And, thus, sir, I have this prophecy fulfilled, at any rate."

Mr. SPRING RICE, whose superabundant zeal had produced this unexpected set of observations, endeavoured to retrieve the affair, by saying that Mr. WOOD had now relinquished the *Recordership of York*; just as if that had not been given him by the Whigs! It had been a little nibble; a stay-stomach; till a good lump could be got, sufficient to satisfy old WOOD and his son. Besides, is there nothing else, belonging to this seat for PRESTON and this fat taxing post? You will observe that by WOOD's being provided, Mr. STANLEY has come in for PRESTON very quietly. You will further observe, that JOHN WOOD, before his promotion to this post, went to MANCHESTER and beat up for POULETT THOMSON; went thither and made speeches for him, and wanted to come and make speeches on the hustings on the day of nomination; so that here he was, at PRESTON and at MANCHESTER, working for the brother of one Cabinet Minister and for a Cabinet Minister himself, in order to provide them with seats in Parliament. His reward is, a fat and lazy post, of sixteen hundred pounds a-year, which ought not to cost the public three hundred pounds a-year; and the business of that post is, to squeeze from your blood and bones those taxes, against which he inveighed, in his speeches to you, with all the bitterness which belongs to him, and with all the force which his puling talents admit of.

What you are to do hereafter with regard to this man; whether you should let him remain to swallow his reward in quiet, or make your complaints to the Parliament, on account of the monstrous transaction, of laying eight hundred pounds a-year upon the public, in order to provide a post for this your late representative, is a matter that we will

talk about another time; but, as you have been, though innocently, the cause of this piece of oppression on the people, it will, I think, become you to lead the way in an endeavour to obtain redress. The fault which you have to find is this: not that this WOOD is a fat-taxer; but that a load of eight hundred pounds a-year has been laid upon the people, in order to give him his fat posts; and that this never would have been, had not a base faction of Preston deceived a majority of the voters of that place, so as to induce them to give him a seat in Parliament.

Now, let us turn to his auxiliaries at that election, of whom roaring RUSHTON was the leader. I was sure that this man was in pursuit of public money, at that time. In a year or two afterwards, I heard of his being in preparation to "go to the bar." "Go to the bar," said I; "what should he do there? Roaring will do nothing at the bar! Oh no, it is not the bar that he is going to: he is going to the CRIB." I should be a pretty coxcomb if I were to pretend to be a lawyer; but, I should be the greatest hypocrite that ever lived, if I pretended not to know a thousand times as much law as roaring RUSHTON. Well, there he is at CRIB, already. He cannot have been called to the bar, above a year or so. He did not enter, I believe, 'till about six years ago: he has not, therefore, been at the bar above a year at the most. At no assize at Westminster Hall, at no quarter-sessions, at no police-office: at no petty-sessions, even have we heard of the roaring of RUSHTON; but, it seems, that we are to hear of him in the House of Commons: not to hear him roar there, God forbid! but, to hear of him as one of the *sages of the law*, who have been appointed by royal commission, to frame a code for the reforming of old corporations and for the establishing of new ones. Gracious God! Why, the persons to perform this task ought to have been profound lawyers; lawyers thoroughly skilled in all the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom; in tenures of every description; in the rights still retained of all

the guilds and fraternities and chartered establishments. Two men, at least, of this description, associated with magistrates well known for their impartiality and deeply interested in the well-being of the kingdom; such a commission, having the most learned of the judges occasionally to advise with, is what ought to have been, and without any regard whatsoever, to any of the distinctions of party-politics. Instead of this, we have a set, of whom RUSHTON forms a part: this roaring, bellowing, electioneering wrangler; and, this, too, upon the bare pretence that he is a barrister. Were he really profound; were he every thing else that we could ask, his want of experience would be more than a sufficient objection. He has been a mathematical instrument vender, and a book-selling newspapering man, all his life-time; and is this a man to settle some of the most intricate, and, at the same time, most weighty concerns of this kingdom. He has absolutely nothing but the piece of black stuff that covers his body, and the buzzling bunch of white hair that covers his head; but, he roared for JOHN WOOD at PRESTON, and JOHN WOOD gave way to young STANLEY, and pleaded for POULETT THOMSON at MANCHESTER!

However, the House of Commons, though far from having pleased the people in all respects, will have the power to regulate the supplying of the crib, and, of course, regulate how much roaring RUSHTON shall eat out of that crib. This is a main concern with roaring RUSHTON, who, if he think that this commission is to last for ever, most grossly deceives himself. We will have his name down, and the sum put against it. A correspondent asks me, "Ought not the Whigs to send out another hungry batch of commissioners to inquire whether the sun continued to rise in the morning, as he used to do?" This game of commissions is up. Carrying on a government by commissions is what we shall not stand. RUSHTON thinks that he will have a *retired allowance*, at the least; and he deceives himself. The Ministers had not the courage to propose to ~~the~~ ~~man~~ ~~of~~



the fellows that they call the poor-law commissioners, though they have piled together writings that would load a jack-ass. They made a charge for the charity commissioners; but did not give the *names*, lest, I suppose, we should see that of the father of the member for **LEEDS**; and they promised that that commission should speedily be brought to a close. Roaring **RUSSTON** will hardly make a charge against us for "loss of practice:" if he should, we will call upon him for a return of the number of briefs and the amount of the *fees*, that he has held since he was called to the bar; this would put roaring **RUSSTON** to his trumps, I believe. As to **JOHN WOOD**, he will plead loss of practice, to a certainty; but, if we put him to the test of briefs and fees, we shall pretty soon pull his head out of the crib. In short, though this Parliament has not rummaged up and lopped off, to any considerable extent, there is not a man belonging to the House, who is not convinced that such rummaging and lopping will take place during the next session; and, amongst all the objects of rummaging and lopping, none are equal to these commissions, which are a mere pretence to give away the people's money to hangers-on; who merit not a farthing; and for whom pensions, sinecures, grants, or other things, cannot be found. Only think of a royal commission to inquire into the state of the public charities of the kingdom, and the commissioners paid out of the taxes, the greater part of which are raised on the working people, for whom the charities were intended! The law-officers of the Crown, and the Court of King's Bench and the Court of Chancery, are all nothing; though, all taken together, they have full power, ex-officio, and it is part of their duty to inquire into these matters, to prevent all abuses, and to order and decree every thing right to be done, in the King's name; and here are all these ancient and excellent institutions, and all these settled laws, usages and powers, set aside to make way for roaring **RUSSTONS** and creeping **MACAULAYS**! I have no reason, God knows, to be

particularly delighted with the proceedings of the reformed Parliament hitherto; but, bare justice to the House of Commons calls upon me to say, in this public manner, that I am firmly convinced that it will put an end to this wasting of the people's money, and will tell the Ministers in plain terms that, if they be unable to carry on the Government of the King; if they be unable to exercise the powers intrusted to them by their Master, without the aid of hatches of commissioners appointed by him, it will be but decent to tell their Royal Master so, and let him find out servants who can exercise his authority, without any such beggarly and degrading assistance.

You will have time, my friends, soberly to reflect on what *you ought to do*, in consequence of what I have related with regard to **JOHN WOOD**; and, in the meanwhile, I beg you to believe that I always retain the deepest sense of gratitude for your kindness to me, and the greatest respect for you, on account of your public spirit, and your devotion to the cause of liberty and of justice. With these sentiments I remain,

Your faithful friend and

most obedient servant,

WM. CORBETT.

P. S. I find that I omitted a circumstance respecting this CORPORATION-COMMISSION, which ought by no means to be omitted. My readers will recollect Mr. JOSEPH PARKES, an attorney of BIRMINGHAM, and, a great *doer*, which, in his case, answers to what the French call a *pis-aller*; that is to say, a meddler, a worker about, a poker backwards and forwards; a busy devil, in something or other by which he is to get something; and it means further, that he is a tool in the hands of some other or others; and that he has no will of his own, but that he is to be shoved backwards and forwards, like the bolt of a door. *Pis-aller* means all this; and some such word was necessary to define the doings of Mr. PARKES in that grand affair, the BIRMINGHAM Political Union, of which he took care *not to be a member*; at least,

not a member of the Council; but which he spurred on by speeches, writings, delegations, and in all sorts of ways, when it was thought necessary to push it on; when the Whig Ministry thought it necessary thus to push it, then PARKES was at work at pushing. When it was necessary to make it slack in its movements, or to pull it back a little, then PARKES was at that work. It is very probable, that a man of vastly superior talents to another man, may become little better than an instrument in the hands of that other man. Cunning is more than a match for both talent and integrity, when it sets itself to work, and is well seconded by circumstances. In one of Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD's pamphlets, there is more talent displayed, more genius, than would make fifty thousand times those which are possessed by this Mr. PARKES; yet this mere smooth common-place attorney contrived to make Mr. ATTWOOD and all his Council instruments in his hands.

My readers recollect the time when the Whigs manifestly intended, at the suggestion of BROUGHAM, in the first place, to make it a twenty-pound suffrage, instead of a ten-pound suffrage. My readers will remember, that I first *sounded the alarm* upon this subject; and they will remember, that I was alarmed by the gossipings of this very PARKES. I heard, that he had said in a bookseller's shop, *that we ought to take the twenty-pound suffrage, if we could get no more*. I was sure that he had said this; I knew that he was a runner of BROUGHAM, in LONDON and BIRMINGHAM; I drew my conclusion accordingly; I roused the great towns, in spite of the stillness of BIRMINGHAM; and we got the ten-pound suffrage instead of the twenty: the rooks saw us lie in the hedge with the gun in our hands; they skimmed over the pea-field, they settled upon the trees in the vicinage, they cast a villanous look at the pea-pods; but, when one of their scouts, skimming over the hedge, actually saw the gun, the sharp-eyed and greedy devil cried *caw! caw!* and away they all went to hold council in the rookery.

This PARKES was a sort of scout upon this occasion; was a sort of drudge-rook, a sort of mongrel bird, between a rook and a jackdaw, not so large, and with a beak not so big as a rook, but with a good deal more of chackle; not so solemn as a rook; but rather more lively. Your rook is a bird of rather a formal character. In the first place he is gregarious; lives in a community separated from birds in general; his dress is all black; he will, on no account, have his lodgment out of his community; he is bound to take his commons and hold his chambers; and not to separate himself from his community, on any account whatever; the interest of one is the interest of the whole, and the community may be said to have formed a solemn league and covenant against all the other birds of the air, as far as relates to the obtaining and securing of a large share of the food. It is a well-known fact; or, at least it is well known amongst us chop-sticks, that every community of rooks has its attendant jackdaws, whom we should call attorneys. This is an irregular species; that is to say, quite regular enough in their pursuit of food, but irregular as to their places of residence, their times and manner of acting; sometimes having their nests in the rookery itself; at others, choosing a hollow tree in the vicinage; remarkably fond of church steeples, of mouldering mortgaged castles; but always having the never-lacking propensity, to supply themselves amply with food.

Of this latter amiable variety is this Mr. JOSEPH PARKES, who was one of the out-scouts of the Whig rooks, when their twenty-pound scheme was in agitation in the spring of 1833. We know that the scheme failed, and I have the satisfaction to know, that I had a great hand in producing the failure. But the thing was well meant by Mr. JOSEPH PARKES. He did his best, and the Whigs took the will for the deed. At a later period, when the Duke had *kissed hands*, something more desperate was wanted. It appears from the exposure made by Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL, that office-franks were given to Mr. PARKES

for him to circulate papers to rouse the political unions in favour of Lord Grey and the Whigs. These facts are all notorious, and there is now only this fact to state; namely, that this PARKES is now secretary to the CORPORATION-COMMISSIONERS, of whom roaring RUSHTON is one; and that FIFTEENTH THOUSAND POUNDS have been voted as a little beginning of supply of food for these RUSHTONS and PARKESSES. Whether this sum was voted at midnight, or afterwards, or before, I will state another time, when I have had leisure sufficient to enable me to look at the papers. There is some excuse for the members of the House of Commons in the last session. The thing was wholly new to the greater part of them: they were taken unawares: there was a disciplined ministry and a set of old members to lead the House along from error to error: it will not be this next year, and we shall see what money ought to be given to the RUSHTONS and the PARKESSES.

But, there was another service of Mr. PARKES, that fitted him for the secretaryship of the corporation-commission; namely, his going over to COVENTRY at the last election, when an alarm was given on the score of the election of Mr. ELLICE. A mere accident; an accident, too, which will not occur again, prevented Mr. ELLICE being ousted from his seat for that city. Upon this occasion the jackdaw went over to COVENTRY and worked like a true jackdaw; and got a pretty good hustling and driving about. This service is to be counted amongst his claims upon us for a good parcel of money, under the name of secretary to the CORPORATION-COMMISSION.

Well, the reader may say, but the Whigs were grateful, at any rate; it might be dirty work, to be sure; but, they wanted it done; and, having got it done, they paid the fellow for it in the old way. So that, at any rate, according to this party morality, they were just and grateful towards PARKES; and so far you cannot find fault with their motives. You may say what you will about PARKES, but the Whigs stand

clear as to their motives in this case: they had some jobs to perform, PARKES performed them, and they have rewarded him for it, after the services were performed, and when they might have cast him off and given him no reward at all.

Ah! Take care how you rush to that conclusion! Take care how you conclude that they *could* have cast him off, and given him no reward at all. So, then, you think that having performed these jobs; having chackled and sent letters, under office-franks; that the jobs being done, PARKES would have lost the use of his tongue and his pen! Oh, no! and the Whigs knew well, that that tongue and that pen could have told of many things, which it would have been very inconvenient for the Whigs to have told. In all these cases, the prospect of gain sets the tongue and pen in motion; and the reward keeps them quiet! If, indeed, the Whigs had given PARKES a *sum down*; then there would have been only so much money taken from our labour to be given to this PARKES for having endeavoured to make the voters at elections a fifth part of what they now are. But, here they have him with a good thumping salary, that they *can take from him at any hour that they please!* Is it necessary to say another word upon this subject? Does not every man that reads this see, in a moment, to the very bottom of this PARKES, and to the very bottom of the faction whose instrument he has been!

Thus have I strung together, and hung up for public view, these three worthies, JOHN WOOD, ROARING RUSHTON, and BIRMINGHAM PARKES; these three patriots of the first water, who are all now fed at the public charge; and who, though thus fed, shall not have the pleasantest of lives, as long as they continue to feed upon the labour of

WM. COBBETT.

N. B. This PARKES is one of BROUGHAM's chief *pis-allers* in the "*Useful Knowledge Society*," the objects of which are, first, to persuade the English people, that England was a beggarly and barren country when the cathedrals and abbeys were built, and

when there were sixteen thousand parish churches in it, instead of the eight or nine thousand that are in it now; that the working people of the present day, being well supplied with potatoes, makes them a great deal better off than they were in former times, when the acts of Parliament incidentally declared, "that beef, pork, mutton, and veal, were the food of the poorer sort of people;" that though potatoes are the proper food for the working people, the land cannot produce enough, even of them, unless the women cease to breed so fast; that, therefore, they ought to listen to Miss, Mrs., or what the devil she is, MARTINEAU, who inculcates the "useful knowledge" about breeding upon a moderate scale, and about the proper age for beginning to breed, and all about the breeding, and which mother MARTINEAU is said to receive great plaudits from the venerable father of the society. Another object of this society is, to persuade the people that work, that it is good for them to have their earnings taken away from them, and given to pensioners, sinecure people, dead-weight people, and others, who live in idleness, in order that these others may have the means of giving employment to those who work.

A very fit "honorary secretary" to a society like this, is this jackdaw PARKES. PARKES, is not such a fool as not to laugh at this. PARKES laughs heartily enough at the Scotch *seelosofer*, and his she-flatterer, MARTINEAU. He laughs at these as heartily as the rest of us; he shakes his sides many a time in talking of this abominable stuff. Aye, and I have seen him shake his sides, too, while I was describing this breeding doctrine of Mother MARTINEAU, at a farm-house in the neighbourhood of BIRMINGHAM, at which were parties present, who will call the thing to their recollection, and will have the laugh over again second-hand. I will not say what was said there by Mr. PARKES, and I will not repeat here, what I said myself then; but I will say, that, which I said, was a sort of graphic description relating to the great *seelosofer* and Mother MAR-

TINEAU, and that Mr. PARKES laid down his knife and fork, that he might do justice to the laugh.

Now, JOSEPH knows very well, or rather, he knew very well, that this honorary secretaryship to the humbug society, was really a disgrace to a man of sense; but JOSEPH is a sort of political drone; JOSEPH wanted to have honey without work; JOSEPH knew that there was a large pot "up at Lunnun," into which a large part of the whole honey of the country was drawn; JOSEPH knew, that there were several openings into this pot, put under the guardianship of several hornets, some bigger and some less, each having a hole in proportion to its own size; JOSEPH knew that one of these openings or holes was at the absolute command of the political hornet (a large one!), who was the patron of "useful knowledge," and of Mother MARTINEAU, and, therefore, JOSEPH took care how he laughed when he was within a suitable distance of "Lunnun."

There JOSEPH, now go and swagger about BIRMINGHAM; and talk about "Brougham," and "Grey," and "Althorp," and brag about your breakfasting with them; and, "Holland;" don't forget "Holland;" and I could have knocked you down with all my heart, when I heard the brag; or, rather, I could have knocked "Holland" down for having exposed himself to that brag: he, who is really a good and sincere man, and never did a cruel or unjust thing in his life, if he knew it. True, indeed, it is, that misery brings us acquainted with strange bed-fellows, and political misery brought my Lord HOLLAND acquainted with you.

I cannot dismiss this article now, without observing on the foolery of this "Useful Knowledge Society" and its works, and of the schemes of this Scotch fellow and Mother MARTINEAU. They have all the unnatural means at their absolute disposal; they have money without bounds; they have the Post-Office at their absolute command. Books and pamphlets of a pound-weight go under official franks; they have the busy devils of tax-eating philanthropists, who

are spread over the country as the locusts were in Egypt; they have every thing that craft, extreme cunning, indefatigable malignity, joined with a sort of political frenzy; they have every thing that all these can give them: but, they have COMMON SENSE and NATURE against them; and they get not on one single inch! All the tribes of tax-eaters read their devilish stuff. Half-pay officers' wives carry them about in their pockets and distribute them amongst the "*peasantry*," and the "*peasantry*" light their pipes with them, and so forth. Mother MARTINEAU, in the shape of a pretty little book, approaches the country girls with lessons of "*restraint*," and the country girls put the books under the pot to hasten the boiling-up, that they may get the platters and trenchers washed away to be ready for their sweetheart when he comes. In short, in no one single instance, have these rubbishy ridiculous tracts produced the smallest describable effect upon any of the parties to whom they were addressed. Amongst the working men in towns; that is to say, in the *Mechanics' Institutes*, and other assemblages of young men who read, Mother MARTINEAU and her Scotch colleague are a standing jest; and, as to the country, they never have been, and never will be, even heard of, amongst those who labour, and it is they, observe, who are the breeders; it is they that must impose "*restraint*" upon themselves before these anti-population-mongers can have a chance of succeeding in their schemes, in the smallest degree.

The country people are better off than they were: in proportion as they are better off, in that same proportion they are contented; and in proportion as they are contented, people of property are secure. But, the doctrine of those perverse and miserable devils, who preach up surplus-population and moral restraint, would, if it had any effect, destroy the strength of the country; and effectually eradicate every really good and moral sentiment from the heart. There never was a doctrine so mischievous as theirs, the tendency of which is to

brutalize, under pretence of refining; and, at the same time, to do political mischief, great beyond all description. The maxim of these wretches seems to be, that God committed a mistake when he made mankind and made the world; that he gave us propensities which we ought not to have; and that, as BROUGHAM and Mother MARTINEAU were not at hand to be the creators of us, they ought to lose no time in making us afresh! Conceive yourself, reader, to come out spick and span new, from under the hands of Mother MARTINEAU!

I am almost disposed to beg pardon for having suffered JOSEPH PARKES to tempt me along into this piece of rigmarole, especially as it has kept me from a subject, which is of the greatest importance at this time, and which I must now go at without further delay. And thus I bid adieu, for the present, to JOHN WOOD, ROARING RUSHTON, JACKDAW PARKES, BROUGHAM, and Mother MARTINEAU.

TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

Normandy Farm, 12. Sept. 1833.

MY LORD,

I heard your speech on the "*Irish Church Temporalities Bill*," which had two qualities very much esteemed by me, *boldness* and *frankness*; and, if it was longer than most people thought it ought to have been, it was not too long to contain all the matter which it was necessary for you to state and to argue upon. That speech convinced me, that you are destined to be recorded as the last defender of the church, as that church now stands; while the very great ability and extent of knowledge which you displayed, gave you a title to that degree of respect with which I shall now treat you, in some short observations which I have to make upon the charge recently delivered by you to the clergy of the diocese of Exeter.

I have not this charge at full length, but a mere outline, which I find published in a Devonshire newspaper, called

the "*Western Luminary*," and which outline I, in order to treat your Lordship fairly, published in my *Register* of last week, at page 621; it being my opinion then, as well as now, that that outline came from your Lordship's own pen. The topics of the charge are various; but I shall dwell upon the principal one only, at this time; namely, that of TITHES; for, on this point all the other topics turn. You say, "that it was never the law of England, "that any portion of the tithes was applicable to the repairs of the church; "and that, as to the poor, nothing further was ever enjoined, than that "which was the duty of the clergy at "all times, namely, the duties of hospitality and charity." This is what you say; and this is what I am about to prove to be untrue: I am about to prove that, from the establishment of Christianity in England, or, at least, from the establishment of *parishes*, the law required that the churches should be repaired, and the poor relieved, out of the produce of the tithes.

But, before I enter into this matter; before I prove again, that which I have so often proved, and in so many different works, let me observe a little upon your acknowledgment, "that the question of change, or no change, with "regard to the church, was decided;" that it was decided *that there must be a change!* This is a good deal for the champion-bishop to say. What! accuse me, and men like me, with a wish to overturn the institutions of the country, and that, too, at a time when a bishop officially declares to his assembled clergy, that there must be such a change! What! reprobate my MANCHESTER lectures; reprobate my proposition for new-modelling the church; and declare, at the same time, that there must be such a change! A change, in WHAT? Why, in that which is second only to the whole body of the peerage, if it be *second*, even to that. What! is there an inch of land in the kingdom; or, at least, in England and Wales, which forms six-sevenths of the whole, as far as wealth and power goes; is there an inch of land, is there a house, or a mill,

or a barn, is there a stream of water, or a mine, or a tree, the proprietorship of which will remain wholly unaffected by this change? and yet you tell us, that there must be this change!

What, then, is it, that has produced this "*must*?" What is it that has occasioned the irresistible necessity? The establishment stood in tranquillity, and was venerated by the people in general, for nearly 200 years. There were dissenters; but they were few in number, and very little in point of importance. It is not above fifty years ago, that the boys and the addled eggs kept the parishes from being infested by ranters. How has it happened, then, that this "*must*" has arrived all at once, this dreadful "*must*," which, you will please to observe, is the "*must*" of a *real revolution*, greater than ever was contemplated, either by me, or by any other Englishman that I have ever known? Why, my Lord, we had a twenty-two years' war, and added about six hundred millions to the debt, in order to prevent this very kind of revolution! Oh, God! How often did I put into print, during that same war, that "that war had prevented parliamentary reform for the "time; but that it would leave behind "it consequences, *which would lead to a "revolution, which even parliamentary "reform itself would not prevent!*" How often did I put this into print, even during the continuance of the war! Here is the revolution come, then, or just coming, and your Lordship announces its certain approach.

Let us now, then, take a look at the real causes of this approaching change or revolution, a prodigiously greater revolution than that of 1668: let us take a look at the real causes of this revolution. An *established church* being what it ought to be, is this: God has said, for such is the order of the world, that the far greater part of mankind shall live by labour of one sort or another; and that the far greater part shall be subject to what may be called toil, or hard work. Hard work is so far from being a pleasure, that men in general never will perform it, unless the performance be necessary to their subsist-

ence. The far greater part would not perform it at all, if they possessed property in house and land. Therefore, the order of the world; and, indeed, the happiness and harmony of mankind, render it necessary that the great body of the working people should not be owners of house or land; and thus it has been from the days of Moses to the present hour, in all nations of the world.

But then come the just and amiable principles of the Christian religion; and they say this, to the owners of the land and the houses. 'The land and the houses are yours, but not in such absolute right, as to exclude your working and poorer brethren from all share. There shall be a church in each parish, and a priest for the teaching of religion; there shall be a church-yard for the burial of the dead; there shall be sermon and prayers, and marriages and baptisms; there shall be provision for the destitute, and hospitality for the poor stranger; and these shall form the possessions, the inhabitants, the patrimony, of those who labour.'

This was the establishment which existed before what is called the Reformation. The establishment has been changed in this; the churches are now repaired and the poor are now relieved by the means of a tax, instead of out of the tithes, and the aristocracy and the parsons have taken the tithes all to themselves. This is the difference; but still the church, the church-yard, Christian teaching, are furnished by those who possess the houses and land, and are shared by those who possess no house nor land. The church, the church-yard, and the Christian teaching and services are still the poor man's property, in common with the rest of his neighbours; and, though he does not understand that now, he will pretty clearly understand it before this revolution be over. It is very pretty to say, "Let every one pay his own parson, and find his own church." Very easy to say this: like many other things, much sooner said than done. Go and shut up your country parish church; let nobody in

on the Sunday, but the land and house owners who pay the tithes and church-rates, shut the door against the choppers; and then hear what they will say. Tell them, that as they pay neither tithe nor church-rates, they have no right to the use of either church, church-yard, or parson. Do that; and then, as far as that parish goes, the matter will be understood in a minute. Yes, it is pretty enough, and just enough, to talk about every man's paying his own parson, and finding his own church, in a country where there is no law but the law of nature in force; but where there is private property in house and land, the absurdity of such talk instantly becomes visible to every man who reflects upon the subject.

Well, then, my Lord Bishop, such being the nature of a Christian church establishment, and the church, and all belonging to it being so evidently the common property of the poor as well as of the rich, let us now ask, how it has happened, that scarcely any body, but the rich, remain to adhere to the church; and they only in part, and that part generally very lukewarm? How it has happened that the millions who inherit this church from their forefathers, and who must feel, in some sort, instinctively, that it is their patrimony; how it has happened that they have become eager to cast it from them; not only to care nothing about it; but to think that it would be a good thing for it to be put an end to; and are become quite eager to hire their own parsons and pay for their own place of worship, giving up their patrimony, and receiving nothing in return! To produce an effect like this, there must have been some powerful cause. Indeed there have been several causes, which causes I will now state.

First, POOR-RATES. When the parish priest was the person who relieved the poor out of the income of his parish, there was a powerful tie; there was outward and visible and effectual charity in deeds along with the charity in words. Our church very soon lost that tie: a married clergy, having benefices which had been robbed by the

anistocracy, could not be expected to be the fathers of the poor and the stranger. It was tried; but it would not do, and then came the poor-rates and the church-rates. So that this establishment never was so firmly rooted in the hearts of the people as was the establishment of their fathers. Still, for a hundred and fifty years, so small was the amount of the parochial relief that was wanted, that the people hardly perceived whence it came; and the uselessness of the church towards providing relief was not so visible; but, the American war, and tenfold more, the French war, have caused the relief to be so great in amount, and made the poor-rates an affair so entirely distinct from the church, that all idea of the connexion ever having existed, is totally lost; the parson has been supplanted in point of importance by the overseer of his parish. Instead of a distributor of relief, the parson is now looked upon solely as the devourer of the produce of the soil; and it is well worthy the observation of a bishop of the church of England, that precisely in proportion as the poor-rates have increased in amount, the dissenters from the church have increased in number. This is well worthy of the attention of a bishop.

Second, THE PLURALITIES AND NON-RESIDENCE. These generally go together. Where there is a plurality there must be non-residence; but there may be non-residence where there is not plurality. Lord GUILDFORD has the great living of St. MARY, SOUTHAMPTON, with the county parish of SOUTH STOWHAM, adjoined; he has the two livings of OLD ALRESFORD and NEW ALRESFORD; and he has the living of MIDSTAD. He had all these, and was a prebendary of WINCHESTER, and master of St. Cross Hospital at the same time. Whether he have the two latter benefices now, I do not know; but he has still the benefices and cure of souls; that is to say, *cure of souls*, in the other five parishes; and he generally lives at WALDENHURST in the county of Kent. Lord WALSINGHAM has three or four livings. The first of these Lords was a son of the late Bishop

of WINCHESTER, and the second a son-in-law. There is a Dr. KNORRY, who was at Rome a year or two ago, who had been there ten years, or thereabout; and who had two or three parish livings and a prebend in England all the while. Now, to say that instances like these are very common, in England, would not be true; but, we lately had proof of one single clergyman having ten places of preferment in Wales.

However, with regard to the pluralities, it is notorious, that the livings are heaped upon those who are connected by family with powerful men; that they swallow up the immense revenues of the church, and that the work of the church is generally performed by men, whose yearly stipends do not amount to the yearly earnings of a journeyman carpenter in London, or those of an able cotton-spinner in Lancashire. Why, my Lord, do you think that the people do not know this? Their forefathers, at a very distant period, knew the effects of pluralities and non-residence. It was the people of England, and not the King nor nobles, that put down *alien-priorities*. The Peter-pence that they paid to the Pope, they yielded ungrudgingly, and for a very wise purpose; but they would not suffer bishops, nor priests, nor monks, to carry the wealth out of England. Indeed, the people clearly understand all the atrociousness of these pluralities and non-residence. They know the solemn vows, which every parson makes at his ordination; they know what an abandonment of duty this is; they cannot believe in the sincerity of the individuals; and their personal dislike of the individuals has extended itself to the whole body; and has finally reached the establishment itself.

On this subject of non-residence we must not overlook the little *fortuitous revolution*, made by act of Parliament, in 1802, at the instigation of the clergy themselves. Two acts of Parliament, the last of which was passed in the reign of ELIZABETH, forbade them to non-reside, and forbade them to traffic, under certain penalties in case of disobedience; and any man might inform

against them in the Court of King's Bench for disobedience of these acts. In 1799, an informer brought actions against about a thousand of them in the Court of King's Bench. Did they pay the penalties, and did they repent, and did they amend their ways? Oh no! They petitioned the Parliament to *stay* the legal proceedings against them! That boroughmonger-Parliament *stayed* the actions two years, one after another, and the third year it *quashed them altogether*; and abolished the law which compelled them to reside and forbade them to traffic! From that moment, *I, and in print*, predicted the *fall* of this church! So audacious a thing never was before heard of in the world. After this, my Lord, it is profligate, it is insolent, it is impudence calling for blows, for any parson to plead *law or constitution*.

Third, The PROFLIGATE GRANTS OF MONEY. As if for the purpose of rewarding the parsons, for their shameful and detested neglect of their parishes; and for the purpose of insulting this oppressed nation at the same time, soon after the passing of the above act, the boroughmonger-Parliament began to vote them a hundred thousand pounds a-year, as a present, out of the general taxes, raised upon Catholics, Presbyterians, and all other dissenters, as well as upon church-people; and this the boroughmonger-Parliament continued to do annually, until it had voted them 1,600,000*l.*; though there were Bishops amongst them who had from twenty to forty thousand a-year, and rectors and vicars who had from five to ten thousand a-year each. The scheme was, by these means, to make the church *rich*, and thereby make it *strong*; the greedy fools not recollecting that rich churches have always been weak, and poor churches always strong.

Fourth, THE NEW CHURCHES. When an establishment of any sort is falling, it generally begins to lose its senses; but this establishment must have quite lost its senses before it conceived the project of propping itself up by this batch of new churches. The two or three millions of money voted

out of the general taxes for this purpose, and paid by dissenters as well as church-people, was bad enough; but people did not see it so plainly; their goods were not sold, *they knowing* that they were sold for the purpose of paying the expense of these churches; but the part of the expense raised by rates, levied for the purpose *on the spot*, was sure to produce that which we now behold,—a resistance to the payment of those rates in the towns where these churches have been erected! The *law*, however, enforces the collection; the only remedy that the people can see, is to put down the establishment altogether! There was not a new church wanted on any spot in the kingdom. The bright idea was, to *convert* the people to the church, and draw them away from the meeting-houses. If the parsons had taken the amount of the tithes of the three or four hundred parishes in England alone, where they have suffered the churches to *fall down*, and where there is no service at all; if they had appropriated the amount of these tithes to the building of new churches in populous places, and had gone there and preached and prayed without salaries, they would have *emptied* the meeting-houses in a short space of time. But, as we are told that you are not to give a stone to those who ask for bread, so, when men ask for preaching and praying, they do not expect you to lay on them a *tax*. The thing has turned out as every rational man expected. Instead of filling the new churches from the meeting-houses, it has required new meeting-houses to receive the flocks from the old churches; and the people are every where united for the purpose of getting rid of the burden altogether.

Fifth, THE PARSON MAGISTRATES. St. PETER was warned of the danger of appealing to his sword for the defence of his Master. Our parsons have appealed to the sword of the law, which they have taken into their own hands, and which they wield with more agility, adroitness, and effect, than any other set of men in the kingdom. There are exceptions, doubtless,

and I hope they are numerous; but, whether I look at the proceedings at petty sessions, quarter sessions, or at evidence given before committees of the House of Commons, when parsons are witnesses; at whichever of these I look, I instantly cease to feel any surprise at the universal feeling which now prevails in hostility to that establishment, the putting down of which, is a revolution, I again say, greater than that of 1668.

Sixth, and last, **THE HALF-PAY PARSONS.** Long is the list and dismal the items, that form the catalogue of those acts, for which this church has to answer; but, if we except the *staying* and *quashing* acts of Parliament, none seem to surpass the one coming under this head. At the close of the late war, whole shoals of officers, the relations of the nobility, the gentry, and the parsons, rushed into "*holy orders*," as herrings rush through a hole in a net at the going out of the tide. To get into "*holy orders*," every one of them must have declared at the altar in the most solemn manner, "*that he verily believed himself to have been called by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the cure of souls*!"—Well you may shudder, my Lord! But if you shudder, do you think that we have all been blind; and do you feel surprised, then, at what you now behold with regard to the feelings of the people towards this church? Well, but they *might* believe themselves called by the Holy Ghost. Alas! But *they continued to receive their half-pay as naval and military officers, after they had received this call*; this burdened, bent-down people had to pay tithes into one of their hands, and a fee for future military services into the other; and when this ceased, they were allowed to sell their half-pay for their lives, and the people have to pay it to this hour!

I stifle my feelings upon this subject, in order to avoid rudeness to you. Further statements and arguments are useless, as to the causes which have made the people abandon the church of England. These causes are as manifest as that of the death of a man, when we

behold him shot through the body: we see the shot; and we see the body fall. We have beheld the causes which I have above stated to your Lordship, and all that we are in doubt about is, *which way* this ancient edifice will come down.

This brings me to the topic of **TITHES**, which, as it happens, I have not to discuss anew, having discussed it before most fully, and which discussion, or treatise, or call it what you will, I am now about respectfully to submit to your Lordship, I having written it four or five years ago; always having been about four or five years in advance of other people. I beg your Lordship to believe, that *becalling me* will not answer the purpose here; I beg you to believe, that I must be *answered*, or that my opponents would do better to hold their tongues. I have been preparing for these events *de longue main*, as the French call it; I foresaw that they must come; I foresaw that the church must give way, if the debt did not; and as it was the church, that, in fact, made the debt; so it is right and suitable that the church should go first. Now then, my Lord, pray read what I now submit to you, as an argument in support of the proposition for the abolition of tithes. Answer it, if you can; but, if you cannot, I advise you to say not a word about the matter; and, particularly, not to imitate those who deal in calumny for lack of fact and argument; for, it so happens, that, just at this time, I am not in a humour to put up with rough-handling of any sort.

With great respect for your Lordship's station and talents, I am,

Your most humble,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

LABOURERS OF ENGLAND;

On the measures which ought to be adopted with regard to the Tithes, and with regard to the other property, commonly called Church Property.

Kenington, 26. Dec. 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

I perceive that there is a **PARSON** at a parish in Norfolk, who has been

endeavouring to persuade the labourers that he is *their friend*, and that the *farmers are their enemies*. He has circulated, in a hand-bill, the following statement. Others of the parsons have published hand-bills, calling upon you to believe, that the tithes are *good things for you*. But let me desire you to read the hand-bill of the Norfolk parson. It is in the following words:—

"To the *Poor Inhabitants* of Surlingham ham.—I have received from some of the farmers in Surlingham, a notice to *gather my tithes in kind*, or else to agree to take in future *just what they should please to offer*. I cannot submit to such an unjust demand, and therefore I am compelled, in self-defence, to gather my tithes from this time; and I hereby make it known to you, that on and after Monday, the 30th of December, it is my intention to distribute as a gift amongst the poor and deserving families, all the eggs, milk, pigs, poultry, and fruit, which shall in future belong to me as small tithes arising upon the several occupations of Messrs. Samuel Barnes, Gibbs Murrell, R. G. Rudd, John Gent, Robert High, John Newman, sen., John Newman, jun., James Smith, and Thomas Middleton. I was sorry, for the sake of the poor, that some of you met at the Ferry-house in an unlawful manner, and there did hinder the payment of my tithes; but I have no doubt that you were misled into that dangerous conduct, and made tools of by others to serve their own selfish purposes; for I cannot believe any of the poor in Surlingham are my enemies, to whom, whether in sickness or health, I have always tried to be a friend.

"W. COLLETT,

"Rector and Vicar of Surlingham.

"Dec. 11, 1830."

I dare say, that the "*poor inhabitants of Surlingham*" understood all this very well! I dare say, that they saw, that such a trick was to be despised; that they asked how the parson never came to make such an offer before; but would

they not ask also, why he did not give them some of the calves, lambs, wool, potatoes, turnips, and corn, as well as the milk, eggs, pigs, and fruit? In short, they would see, because they must see, that this was a work of spite, and not of charity.

But it is not this pitiful part of the tithes that I want to see taken away from the parsons and bishops: I want to see the whole taken away; the tithes, the church lands, and all other property held by the clergy in virtue of their clerical functions and offices. I want to see it all taken away by LAW. It was given to them by law; it is held by law; and it may be taken away by law: that which the law has given, the law may take away; otherwise we should be living in a strange state of things. Such an important measure is, however, not to be adopted without regard to the justice and necessity of it. Such a measure would take property from a great number of persons; it would make many low who are now high; it would compel to labour for their bread many who now do nothing and yet live in luxury; it would compel many who now ride in coaches, not only to walk on foot, but to work in company with those whom they seem to look upon as made for their pleasure and sport. Yet, such a measure ought not to be adopted in a hasty manner; due consideration ought to be had in the case; it ought, before adopted, to be proved to be just and necessary; and, as I am decidedly for the measure, and would cause it to be adopted, if I had the power, I look upon myself as bound to show that it is just and necessary. Legal I know it must be allowed to be: but that which is legal may not always be just. Some have denied that it would be legal; and, therefore, the legality shall be proved first.

Now, my friends, I have to show you, first, that it is legal; that it is agreeable with the laws of our country, to take this property from the parsons by act of Parliament. 2. I have to show you, that it is just to do it. 3. I have to show you, that the measure is necessary to the prosperity, peace, and safety of

the nation. And, my friends, if I *prove* all these to you, it will be your bounden duty to lend your aid in causing this measure to be adopted; and to be active and zealous, too, in lending that aid; for, as you will by-and-by see, it is, after all, the *labouring people* who suffer most from the tithes, and who, in fact, pay the whole of them in the end.

FIRST, then, to show you that it is agreeable to the laws of the country to take away the tithes and other property, commonly called church-property, I have only to state to you what has been done, in this respect, in former times. I shall have, further on, to speak on the *origin* and the *intention* and the *former application* of tithes, when I come to the *justice* of my proposition: at present I shall speak merely of the *legality* of the thing. We know that when a *law* has been passed by King and Parliament, that which is ordered, or allowed, by such law, is *legal* in the technical sense of the word. If a nest of villains were bloody enough to pass a law to put men to death for refusing to live upon potatoes; or to cause the breasts of the young women to be cut off; or to cause them to be disqualified for breeding; or to have their bodies exposed to public view, to be poked and groped about and chopped to pieces, and then to be flung to the dogs, as the carcass of Jezebel was: if laws like these were to be passed, all the world would say, that they were no *laws at all*, and, of course, that they ought not to be regarded as precedents. But very different is the case here, as I am now about to prove.

The whole of this property, parsons' tithes, lay-tithes, college and bishops' estates, originally were held in *trust* by the *Catholic Clergy*, for certain *public purposes*, of which I shall speak under the next head. But, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I., all these tithes and other property, both in England and Ireland, were, by *Acts of Parliament*, taken away from the Catholic clergy, and given; some to *Protestant parsons*, and the rest to divers persons of the

aristocracy, who hold all this property to this day. If, then, this could be legally and constitutionally done, why cannot the property be taken away from the present possessors by act of Parliament? The holders contend, however, that all this property, even the *tithes*, belong to the holders, as completely as any man's estate or goods belong to him. If this be the case, the tithes (to confine ourselves to them for the present) were *unlawfully* taken from the Catholic clergy; it was an act of *rapine* to take them from that clergy; and will our parsons allow that their possessions are the *fruits of rapine*?

But let us look at the part of the Catholic church-property that was taken away and given to the *aristocracy*; I mean, the *great tithes* of many parts of the kingdom, and the abbey-lands; let us take, as specimens, the *Duke of Devonshire's great tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland*; and the *Duke of Bedford's ownership of Covent Garden*, which latter spot belonged to the Abbey of Westminster. If either of these were called upon to prove his *title* to these things (and he may be so called on by any man of whom *tithes* is demanded for the one or *toll* for the other), he must go back to the *acts of Parliament* (and not very far back), in virtue of which he holds his estate. And will either of these dukes deny, then, that these acts of Parliament were *lawful*? will they deny, that they were agreeable to the laws and constitution of the country; will they acknowledge that they hold these estates from the effects of an act of *rapine*? Oh, no! They must plead the acts as good, as *agreeable to the law of the land*; and, if they do this, they declare, that to take away any part of the property of the church, is a thing that may be done without any violation of the law of the land.

There is a distinction to be made between the property which was given to the *aristocracy*, and that which was given to the *Protestant parsons, and bishops, and colleges*; and there are persons who contend, that the former is now become *private property*; and, of course, that the *Dukes of Devonshire*

and Bedford have, to the above-mentioned tithes and tolls, as perfect a right as any man has to an estate that never belonged to the public, in the name of church-property. BURKE (the great *apostle of the aristocracy*!) says very much the contrary; for he says, that the Duke of Bedford had no better claim to *Woburn* than he (Burke) had to *his pension*! However, this is a point that I leave without discussion at present; and I sincerely hope that the conduct of the aristocracy towards the people may now be such as to let this matter remain undiscussed for ever.

But as to the tithes and other property which was handed over from the Catholic clergy to the Protestant clergy, *that* is held by the latter as it was held by the former; namely, *in trust*, by the clergy for *public purposes*; and, of course, as it was before taken by act of Parliament from one set of men, and given in trust to another set of men, it may now be taken and disposed of by act of Parliament, for whatever purposes may appear to the Parliament to be best. To deny this is really to be impudent; the thing is as plain as the fact of light or of dark.

Lest, however, an objection should be made to the antiquity of these acts of Parliament, and lest it should be said, that when the church became *Protestant* the tenure of the clergy became *absolute*, and untouchable even by the Parliament, let us see what the Parliament has done, in this way, in modern times, and even *very recently*. In 1713, and again in 1813, an act was passed to *fix the sums* that the holders of livings should give to their *curates*; that is to say, to *compel them* to give the curates certain salaries, or portions *out of the produce of the livings*. This clearly shows that the livings were deemed *public property*, and merely held *in trust* by the parsons and bishops; for, what would have been said, if the Parliament had passed a law to compel gentlemen, farmers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, to pay their servants, journeymen, and labourers, at a certain rate? This would have been to interfere with the distribution of private

property, and would have been an act of tyranny; but, in the other case, it was an act of duty, because the parsons and bishops hold the property in trust for *public uses*, and because it was for the benefit of the public that those who did the *work* of the church should be suitably paid for their work.

Thus, then, the Parliament took away, without any consent of the parties, part of the revenues of the incumbents, and, of course, part of what the patron, or owner, of the advowson, called his private property. But the Act of 1798, only thirty-two years ago, was still more complete, if possible; for, by that Act, a part of the *houses and lands* belonging to the church was taken away for ever; was *sold to private persons*, and the proceeds paid into the Exchequer amongst the tax-money. This was called an "Act for the *Redemption of the Land-Tax*." It first laid a *perpetual tax on all houses and land*; it then enabled them to *redeem* their land-tax; that is to say, to *purchase back part of their estates from the Government*! Some did it, and some did not; but the parsons and bishops and college-people were compelled to sell; and they did do it; and the money went into the Treasury, and was spent by Pitt, in places, pensions, grants, sinecures, subsidies, secret-service money, and other purposes, to carry on the war against Jacobins, levellers, and reformers.

So that here was, only thirty-two years ago, a part of the church-property actually taken away for ever, sold to private persons, and the money taken by the Government, and applied to *public purposes*. If a part could be taken without any violation of the settled laws of the country, the whole may be taken for public purposes without any such violation. For, surely, it would not be more unlawful to take it to *pay off the Debt*, for instance, than it was to take it to help to carry on a war, for the support and success of which that Debt was contracted; a war, too, in the urging on of which the clergy were more forward and more loud than any body of men in the kingdom.

Thus, then, it is agreeable to the laws and usages of the country to take this property away, and apply it to public purposes; it is so much property *belonging to the nation*, and the nation can take it, and can do what it likes with it, proceeding, as it doubtless would, by due course of law. If there be any one in the world, and creature now left on earth, so stupid as to believe that the tithes and other church-property have any foundation in the *laws of God*, and that our parsons are the successors of the *Levites*, the stupid beast will keep the *Sabbath*, I hope, and not Sunday. I hope he will kill the paschal lamb, and offer up burnt offerings; that he will eat no blood, bacon, or hares or rabbits. The Levites had only the tenth of the *increase*, and not a tenth of the *crop*; next they divided the *increase* with the "poor, the widow, and the stranger:" and, lastly, they had *no worldly inheritance*, could own *neither house nor land*, and, indeed, could have *no property to themselves*.

No foundation have tithes, or church-property, on the Mosaic law. And as to Christ and his apostles, not one word do they say to give countenance to such a claim; while, on the other hand, they say quite enough to satisfy any man that they never intended, never so much as thought of, such a mode of maintaining a Christian teacher. In the first place our Lord declares the *law of Moses* to be abrogated. He sets aside even the Sabbath. And when the Pharisee in the parable *vaunted* that he *paid tithes* of all that he possessed, the rebuke he received is quite sufficient to show the degree of merit that Christ allotted to that sort of piety; and, indeed, this parable seems to have been used for the express purpose of exposing the cunning of the then Jewish priests, and the folly of their dupes in relying on the efficacy of paying tithes.

But what do we want more than the *silence* of our Saviour as to this point? If the tenth of the "*increase*" (for it was not the crop, or gross produce) was intended by him still to be given to the teachers of religion, would he, who was

laying down the new law, have never said a single word on so important a matter? Nay, when he was taking leave of his apostles and sending them forth to preach his word, so far is he from talking about *tithes*, that he bids them take neither purse nor scrip, but to sit down with those who were *willing to receive them*, and to eat *what people had a mind to give them*, adding, that "*the labourer was worthy of his hire*." That is to say, of food, drink, and lodging, while he was *labouring*. And is it on *this*, the only word Jesus Christ ever says about compensation of any sort; is it on *this* that Christian teachers found their claim to a *tenth of the whole of the produce of a country*? If this be the way in which they interpret the Scriptures, it is time, indeed, that we read and judge for ourselves! Oh, no! Not a word did our Saviour say about *tithes*; not a word about *rich* apostles, but enough and enough about *poor* ones; not a word about worldly goods, except to say, that those who wished to possess them could not be his disciples; enough about rendering to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, but not a word about rendering to the priests any thing at all. In short, from one end of the Gospel to the other, he preaches humility, lowliness, an absence of all desire to possess worldly riches, and he expressly enjoins his disciples "*freely to give*, as they have freely received."

And as to the apostles, what did they do? Did they not act according to the command of Christ? Did they not live in *common* in all cases where that was practicable? Did they not disclaim all worldly possessions? In *Corinthians*, chap. ix. St. Paul lays down the rule of compensation; and what is it? Why, that as the "*ox was not to be muzzled*" when he was treading out the corn, the teacher was to have food, if necessary, for his teaching, for that God had "*ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel*." But is here a word about *tithes*? And would the apostle have omitted a thing of so much importance? In another part of the same chapter, he asks, "*Who goeth a warfare at any time at*

his own charges?" Which clearly shows, that all that was meant was *entertainment on the way*, or when the *preacher was from home*; and when the preaching was on the spot where the preacher lived, it is clear, from the whole of the Acts of the Apostles, and from the whole of the Epistles, that no such thing as compensation, in any shape, or of any kind, was thought of. St. Paul, in writing to the teachers in Thessalonica, says, "Study to be quiet" and do your own business, and to "*work with your own hands as we commanded you.*" 1 Thess. chap. iv. ver. 11. And again, in 2 Thess. chap. iii. ver. 8, he bids the teacher remember, "Neither did we eat any man's bread" for nought; but wrought with labour "and travail, night and day, that we *might not be chargeable to any.*"

SECOND: *the justice of the measure.*

—It is clear, then, that tithes and clerical revenues rest upon no *scriptural* authority? What do they rest upon? How came they ever to be? What were they founded for? And are they now applied to the *uses* for which they were given in *trust* to the clergy? Do the clergy apply them agreeably to the intention in which the tithes originated? In answering these questions, we shall arrive at a perfect conviction, that it is *just* to adopt the measure in favour of which I am arguing.

When I was a boy, or, before I had read with attention, I often wondered how our forefathers came to be such fools as to give *one tenth part* of all the corn, hay, roots, calves, lambs, wool, pigs, eggs, milk, fruit, greens, under-wood, and of the profit on mills and of the waters and of the animals at pasture. That they should have been such fools as to give, in every parish, all this to *one man* of the parish, and that man, too, an *unmarried man*. I thought them great fools, and lamented that we had, hitherto, been such fools, such tame and stupid fellows as to adhere to their laws. But, upon looking into the matter, I found that our old papas had *done no such a thing*. I found that they had given only a *third of the tenth* to the priests; another *third* to build and

repair the churches; and the other third to *relieve the poor*, and, indeed, that third which the priest had, was to enable him to keep *hospitality*, and relieve the *stranger*. Oh! said I, this had sense in it; and it is WE, concealed we, *enlightened* we, who are the fools, who let the parsons *take all*, and who relieve the poor, and build and repair the churches by *taxes* which *screw from one another*, and who, while we have a muttombone on our tables, silently see the parsons wallowing in luxury. We, *enlightened* we, are the real fools.

At a meeting recently held in Kent, Lord WINCHELSEA was asked whether he would vote for the *abolition of tithes*. To this he answered in the negative, observing, that tithes were instituted by our "*PIOUS ancestors.*" Our ancestors were *pious*, but they were not tame "*enlightened*" fools. This is the story that the parsons always tell us; but they do not tell us the *whole* of the story. They leave us to believe that our "*pious ancestors*" were of this same church *that now exists*; and with reason; for it would be awkward indeed in them to extol the piety of those *from whom they took the tithes away*. But I will tell you, my friends, the *whole story*; it is short, and is as follows: Christianity was not introduced into England, until 600 years after the birth of Christ. About the meanwhile it had made its way over the greater part of the continent of Europe, and the Pope of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, had long been the head of the church. About the year 600, the then Pope, whose name was Gregory, sent a monk whose name was Austin, with forty others under him, from Rome to England to convert the English. They landed in Kent, and the king of Kent (there were several kingdoms in England then) received them well, became a convert, and built houses for them at Canterbury. The monks went preaching about Kent, as our missionaries do amongst the Indians. They lived in common, and on what people gave them. As the Christian religion extended itself over the country, other such assemblages of priests, as that at

Canterbury, were formed; but these being found insufficient, the lords of great landed estates built churches and parsonage-houses on them, and endowed them with lands and tithes, after the mode in fashion on the continent. The estate, or district, allotted to a church, now became a parish; and in time, dioceses arose, and the division became, as to territory, pretty much what it is now.

Here, then, we learn the motives of our "pious ancestors" in making these endowments of tithes. They wished to have a priest always at hand to teach the ignorant, to baptize children, to visit the sick, to administer comfort, to be the peace-maker, the kind friend and the guide of his people. Nor were these tithes to be devoured or squandered by the priests. They were divided thus: "Let the priests receive the tithes of the people, and keep a written account of all that have paid them; and divide them, in the presence of such as fear God, according to canonical authority. Let them set apart the first share for the building and ornaments of the church; and distribute the second to the poor and strangers with their own hands, in mercy and humility; and reserve the third part for themselves."

The very motives for building churches and endowing them with tithes prove, that the constant residence of the priest, or parson, in his parish was his first duty; for what was the endowment for else? And I state, upon authority as good as any that history can present, that for nearly five hundred years after the introduction of Christianity, no such custom prevailed in England as of hiring curates, or other deputies, to supply the place of the parson who had the living. Our "pious ancestors" were therefore sensible as well as pious: they required duties in return for what they bestowed on the parsons. These parsons were, besides, let it be remembered, unmarried men; and if we are to impute (and which in justice we ought) the institution of tithes to the piety of our ancestors, we must also impute to their piety the establishing of a priesthood

not permitted to marry! We must impute this to their piety, and, indeed, to their wisdom also; for how obvious are the reasons that the tithes never could be applied according to the intention of the founders, if the priests had wives and families to maintain?

Thus, then, if we be to appeal to our pious ancestors, and pious and praiseworthy we must allow them to have been; if Lord Winchelsea and the parsons will insist upon referring us to these our ancestors as examples for us to follow as to this great matter of tithes, we have to remind him and the parsons of these *eight things*:—1. That the doctrines of the Catholic church, which our pious ancestors endowed with the tithes, are, by our present parsons, declared to be idolatrous and damnable.—2. That our parsons call the head of that church Antichrist and the whore of Babylon.—3. That the "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge" advertise no less than fourteen separate works, written by our bishops and archbishops, "against popery," that is to say, against that very faith to support which our pious ancestors instituted tithes.—4. That we may be allowed to wonder how it can have come to pass, that, as the errors of our pious ancestors were found, at the end of ten hundred years, to be so damnable, the tithes which they granted were not at all erroneous, but, as the parsons now tell us, were "dedicated to God"!—5. That our pious ancestors gave only a third of the tithes to the parsons.—6. That they required the parson to expend a third on the building and ornaments of the church.—7. That they required him to distribute the other third to the poor and the stranger with his own hands, in mercy and humility.—And, 8. That they required him to be constantly resident and not to marry, and compelled him to take an oath of celibacy, in order that, divested of the cares and anxieties inseparable from a wife and family, he might wholly devote himself to the service of God, and be in very truth that which the Bible, from one end to the other, requires a priest to be, a faithful and diligent shepherd of the

religious flock : and, for being which merely in *name*, such woes are pronounced against priests both by prophets and apostles.

Of these eight things we have to remind the parsons, when they tell us to look at the conduct of our pious ancestors ; and especially when they tell us to follow the example of those ancestors with regard to tithes. These were the conditions on which the tithes were given, and this might be truly said to be dedicating them to God. Accordingly we find that, as long as the tithes were applied to these purposes, there were no poor-rates : no Vagrant Act was required ; no church-rates were demanded of the people ; and yet all those magnificent cathedrals and those churches were built, the beauty and solidity of which are now the monuments of their great, and of our little, minds.

But is it not worth our while, even if it were only for the curiosity of the thing, to inquire how the tithes, dedicated to a faith which our parsons hold in abhorrence, came to be possessed by our parsons ? Is it not worth our while to inquire, how it came to pass, that, when our parsons found the faith of our ancestors so erroneous as to be called idolatrous and damnable ; when they found the faith so bad as to require rooting out even by most cruel penal laws ; how it came to pass, that, when they found the faith so utterly abominable ; how it came to pass, that when they were pulling down images, confessionals, and altars, and were sweeping away all the other memorials of the faith of our pious ancestors, they should have suffered the parsonage-houses, the glebes, the tithes, and even Easter-offerings, to remain, nay, and have taken these to themselves, and to be enjoyed, too, not in the third part, but in whole ?

The tithes were, as we have seen, given to, and enjoyed, or rather administered by, the Catholic parsons for about ten out of the twelve hundred years of their existence in England. For the first five out of the ten, no such thing as non-residence, or stipendiary

curating, was known. After the Normans invaded England these things began ; and, in time, by one means or another, by kings, nobles, and monasteries, the parishes were greatly robbed of their tithes, and miserable vicars and curates were placed in the churches in numerous cases. At last that event which is called the Reformation took place ; and the struggle ended in the overthrow of the Catholic and the establishment of the Protestant church, that is to say, a church which protests against the Catholic faith, to uphold which the tithes had been instituted.

The new parsons, though they protested against the faith of the Catholic parsons, did by no means protest against the tithes which had been granted to uphold it. They professed to keep all that was *good*, and to cast off all that was bad, of the old church. What was good and what bad, we laymen may, perhaps, not be competent judges of ; but we know that they kept very carefully all the parsonage-houses, all the glebes, all the tithes, all the Easter-offerings, all the surplice-fees ; and that they cast off constant residence, division of tithes into thirds, keeping the churches in repair, living unmarried, and relieving the poor and the stranger with their own hands, in mercy and humility. Such, indeed, was their keeping and such their casting off, that the Catholic said, that Protestant parson meant a person who protested against anybody having the church-property but himself ?

If, indeed, the parsons did the duty which their vows oblige them to do, it would then be another matter. What is the *contract* which they make with the nation ? What is the obligation which they take upon them ? What are the duties that they most solemnly engage to perform ? At their ordination they solemnly profess, that they " believe that they are moved " by the Holy Ghost to take upon " the office, to serve God for the " promoting of his glory, and the edifying of his people." They declare also, that they are " determined, with " the Scriptures, to instruct the people

“that shall be committed to their charge; they promise that they will give their faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same according to the commandment of God; that they will teach the people committed to their cure and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same, that they will be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God’s word: and to use public and private admonitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within their cures, as need shall require and occasion be given; that they will be diligent in the prayers and in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh; that they will be diligent to frame and fashion themselves and their families according to the doctrine of Christ, that they may be wholesome examples and spectacles to the flock of Christ; and that they will maintain and set forwards quietness, peace, and love, among all Christians, but, especially among them that are or shall be committed to their charge.” And they most solemnly ratify and confirm these declarations and promise by receiving the holy communion.

Now, how are they to do these things, or, indeed, any part of these things, unless they be at the places, where they have so solemnly promised to do them? How are they to promote God’s glory and edify his people; how are they to instruct the people committed to their charge; how are they to explain the Word to the people of their cure; how are they to be ready with faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God’s word, and especially from amongst them that are committed to their charge: how are they to fulfil any of these solemn promises, if they absent themselves from the very spot where the people committed to their charge reside?

And if, having already one living, they grasp at another or two, how do they obey the injunction of the apostle, to avoid filthy lucre; how do they obey Christ, who bids them freely give; how do they fulfil their own promise, made at the altar and with such awful solemnity, to lay aside the study of the world, and how do they show themselves followers of the apostle, who bids them “be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility, seeing that God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble!”

Is it not notorious that of the eleven thousand livings in England and Wales, one half are without resident incumbents; and is it not equally notorious that there are thousands of parsons each of whom has more than one living; is it not also notorious that those who do the work of the church, have hardly a bare sufficiency to eat and drink; is it not notorious that, while there are bishoprics worth from ten to forty thousand a-year, one million and six hundred thousand pounds have, within the last thirty years, been voted out of the taxes on our malt, soap, candles, sugar, &c., “for the relief of the poor clergy of this church;” is it not notorious that many of the present beneficed clergy received military and naval half-pay for many years, and the income of their benefices, at the same time; and is it not notorious that, in Ireland, the case is still more flagrant than it is here? How, then, do the parsons fulfil the promises made at their ordination? How do they obey the injunctions of the apostles: “Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.” The apostles tell the teachers to teach publicly “from house to house; to show themselves in all things patterns of good works; to be examples in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity; to warn every man, to teach every man in wisdom, that they may present every man perfect in Jesus Christ.” The teachers of the Gospel are called Ambassadors, Stewards, Shepherds, Watchmen, Guides, Lights, Examples.

But how are they to be any of these if they seldom or never see any of those whom they have pledged themselves to teach?

Jesus Christ says, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature; and, lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." And the apostle Paul, amongst his numerous, urgent, and solemn exhortations, says, "I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have shunned not to declare unto you the counsel of God. Take heed, therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." And he exhorts, too, that the teachers should do their duty for religion sake, and not for the sake of gain. A bishop is not to be "greedy of filthy lucre, nor covetous."

The parsons tell you to read the Bible, and there are plenty of Bible Societies to put the book into your hands. The worst of it is, *you do not read it attentively*. But read it now; see what it says about parsons who do not reside on their livings. The prophet Zechariah says "Woe be to the idle shepherd that leaveth the flock." "Woe" says the prophet EZEKIEL, "Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed, but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. And they were scattered, because there is no shepherd." And is not the flock scattered in England now? Are not the country churches empty, and do not the people wander about after all sorts of sects? There is, in reality, no longer any flock. The prophet, contemplating

such a case, adds: "Thus saith the Lord God, behold, I am against the shepherds; and I will require my flock at their hand, and cause them to cease feeding the flock: neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; for I will deliver my flock from their mouth that they may not be meat for them."

It is clear, from all that we behold, that the church, as by law established, has not answered, or, at least that it does not now answer, the purposes for which it was intended. It does not hold the people in the bond of faith; it does not promote peace and goodwill; but, on the contrary, creates eternal divisions and feuds, while it consumes uselessly a large part of the produce of the land, and takes from the farmer the means of giving you, the labourers, wages sufficient for you to support your wives and children. Besides this, this establishment is a hot-bed for breeding gentlemen and ladies, who must be kept without work, all their lives, somehow or other; and taxes must be raised, and are raised, upon you, and upon all of us, to pay them salaries, stipends, pensions, or something or other. This is so now, and it must be so as long as this establishment shall exist. The sons of the parsons are, for the far greater part, kept by the public in some shape or other; the husbands of the daughters are kept in the same way; they engross the offices, and the employments, and shut out the sons of farmers and tradesmen. I do not blame the government for this; for, in the nature of things, it must be so; it is a necessary effect of the establishment. It is the only establishment in the world, or that there ever was in the world, the priests of which are allowed to marry. Wherever there are priests paid by the public, they are not allowed to marry; and it is clear that they ought not to be so allowed; for, otherwise, what is it but to tax the people to keep a race of men and women to breed persons to be maintained by the public, and to take away from all the industrious classes the chance, even the chance, of sharing in the honours and powers of the country. It is, in short, an establishment which

makes the people keep fathers and mothers, that they may breed children for them to keep also ! And such a thing never was heard of before in the whole world.

My friends, labourers of England, there is a PARSON, of the name of MALTHUS, who has written a book to show that *you breed too fast*; and in order to *check your breeding*, he proposes, that, if you be married, you shall have *no relief from the parish*, but shall be *left to starve*. The Scotch and Irish place-hunters, who live, or want to live, on your labour, applaud this parson Malthus to the skies, and so do our pensioners and parsons. But neither Malthus nor any of his crew ever propose to *check the breeding of the PARSONS and the PENSIONERS* ! Think of that. They grudge YOU, who make all the food, clothing, houses, and fuel; they grudge you parish relief; but they do not grudge to parsons and pensioners paid out of the taxes raised on you ! Oh ! the insolent ruffians ! Is there not a just and merciful God; and is his hand for ever to be stayed ! The ruffians have seen, of late years, a *million and a half of guineas* given by the Parliament, *out of the taxes*, "for the RELIEF of the POOR CLERGY of the church of England;" they know that YOU pay a large part of these taxes; and yet they would *refuse you relief* in cases even of the extremest distress !

But as long as this establishment shall exist, so long must it continue to inflict evils on the country; it must of necessity take from the farmer and tradesman and merchant and manufacturer the means of paying just wages to those whom they employ; and there is no man can doubt, that it is the want of just wages that is the cause, and the only cause, of the present troubles of the country. Well, then, ought not this cause to be removed ? And how is it to be removed ? without legally taking away those tithes and other public property, the leaving of which in the hands of the parsons produce this calamitous cause. The establishment does not now answer the purposes for which it was

intended; those who receive the revenues are, in great part, absent from the parishes; the churches are empty; the meeting-houses are full; those who ~~do~~ *the work* of the church are living in penury; and more than all the rest, the present distribution of this property, helps to make the working-people so poor and miserable, that they must either die with starvation, or resort, for the purpose of obtaining the means of sustaining life, to acts of violence dangerous to the peace of the country. And is it not, therefore, *just* to take this property away ? "THE SAFETY OF "THE PEOPLE IS THE SUPREME "LAW !" How can they be safe, then, as long as they are constantly exposed either to starvation or to the consequences of unlawful acts ? And if they must (and I have shown that they must) be constantly thus exposed, as long as this establishment shall exist, are the people to perish; are we all to be ruined and destroyed, for the sake of those who profit from this establishment ? Is *that* just ? Why, then, it is just to repeal and abolish this establishment.

THIRD: the measure is necessary. This I have, indeed, just showed; but there are still further reasons why this measure is necessary. The weight of taxes is one great cause of the distress and the troubles of the country. Your wages go, one-half, to pay taxes. More than the half of these taxes are required to pay the interest of what is called the NATIONAL DEBT. It is impossible to collect such heavy taxes without a large army. Therefore, it is in vain to hope for relief as long as this Debt, to its present amount, shall exist. The Debt-people *receive more than they ought to receive*. Every man of sense says this, and the present First Lord of the Admiralty (a very clever man) proposed to take thirty per cent., or nearly a third part, away from the Debt-people. Now if this Debt were *justly* reduced, and the tithes and other church property *sold*, and the money paid to the Debt-people, the Debt would be nearly paid off, the army might be disbanded, the heavy taxes taken off, and the

nation be again great and happy, and the working-people well fed and clad as their great-grandfathers were, and the employers and their property in a state of safety. And are we to forego all this; are we to give up the hope of ever seeing England happy again, merely for the sake of upholding this establishment of parsons and bishops! It is just that the Debt-people should be paid less than they are now paid; every one must confess, and every one does confess, this; but every one feels and says that it would be injustice, monstrous injustice, to call down the curses of all mankind, *to take one single farthing from the Debt-people, so long as the clergy continue to receive their enormous emoluments.*

And now, my friends, I have, I think, proved the *legality*, the *justice*, and the *necessity* of this measure. I have no dislike to the *religion* of the church in which I was born and bred and have always continued; I have great respect for many of the *working-clergy*, whom I know to be amongst the most worthy of men, and whose lot would be *mended* by the measure that I propose, as religion and morality would also be advanced by it. I am actuated by no antipathy or personal ill-will: I wish for the measure, for the reasons that I have given; and I exhort you to join cordially with your employers in petitions, and in all other lawful efforts, to cause that measure to be adopted, and that, too, *immediately*, being thoroughly convinced that, until it be adopted, England will never again know happiness.

I am,
my good and honest friends,
your faithful servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LOCAL COURTS, &c.

LETTER III.

SIR,—In my last letter, I committed a mistake in assigning to Warminster a distance of not more than thirteen miles from Bruton. Warminster is about two miles further than this from Bruton, and it is considerably nearer to Melksham,

to the court of which place it will, therefore, more properly belong. I should also be taken to have committed a blunder in having represented that such a number of courts will cover a tract of country of such a length by such a breadth; if I were mistakenly understood, as I may be, that the whole extent of each tract will be within the specified distances from the court town. Within these distances there will, of course, be comprised only the country within a *circle* of the given diameter drawn round the court town; and the four corners of the country necessary to fill up a square of the same diameter as the circle, will be at somewhat greater distances. But this is of necessity; and it does not in any way affect the expediency of the general principle of fixing the court towns within a day's journey on foot of all market towns.

Upon looking into the map, I see, that, with the exception of Bath and its neighbourhood, which will be within the limits of the Melksham court, and of Bristol, which almost, of course, will be provided with a court of its own for the city and county of the city and the surrounding country, the two courts to be fixed at Bruton and Taunton, besides including small parts of Wilts, Dorset, and Devon, will cover all Somersetshire, except two other slices of this extensive county. The first of these comprises Axbridge, with a large number of populous surrounding villages in a most fertile district; the second, the western extremity of the county, including the towns of Dulverton, Minehead, and Watchet. For each of these out-of-bounds districts, it will be very practicable, and, indeed, seems necessary to provide an *auxiliary* court to those of Bruton and Taunton, to be under the same judges and superior officers of court. Or, rather, for the Axbridge sub-district the court may be conveniently made auxiliary to the local court of Bristol. For the western extremity of the county, the auxiliary court to that of Taunton may be fixed at Dulverton; and this court will extend over a number of parishes in Devonshire. But the great object to be kept in view

in locating the courts should be, to fix the principal courts in towns centrally situated within a large number of other towns, in order that by far the principal quantity of business may be disposed of in those courts, and that the business of auxiliary courts, where any such shall be necessary, being kept very subordinate in point of quantity to that of the principal courts, may be disposed of in a day or two, or at the utmost in a few days, after the termination of the session of the principal court. These auxiliary courts should strictly be only "little goes" to the other courts, and should not be suffered to occupy the time of the judge and officers and juries above a fourth as long as the time I shall propose to allow for the duration of the session of the principal courts. In many parts of the country besides Somersetshire, and in most parts, perhaps, more so than in that county, particularly in places near the sea coast (which runs out into such a number of promontories and land's ends), and wherever a town may be peculiarly situated, as is the case with Axbridge, in being at considerably more than the average distance from other towns, it may be necessary to have, here and there, an auxiliary court. But I do not know that I would, in any case, allow of more than one auxiliary to a principal court. I do not, however, apprehend there will be any great difficulty in locating the new courts satisfactorily; and, indeed, I think I could show the means by which it might be done pretty satisfactorily by almost any noodle; but it would not be either for the advantage of the public, or wise or fair as regards myself, so to encourage (and as a noodle would be sure to be quickly found), so greatly to endanger the taking of the execution of my plan out of my own hands.

Another reason why, in fixing on the situations for the new courts, the great object should be to fix the principal court in towns centrally situated among a large number of other towns, is because, by acting on this principle, in nineteen cases in twenty, much of the expense in travelling will be saved to the parties and their witnesses, and

to the jurymen. And this, even though a town of considerably the largest population of any within the jurisdiction of the court should happen to be situated at one of the remoter distances from the court town. Thus, in the proposed Bruton district, Frome is situated ten miles from Bruton, and it has a population of 12,000, which is half as large again as that of any other of the towns; and Bruton itself contains only a population of 1,800 or 1,900 persons. But in the opposite direction from Bruton, and at still rather farther distances from it, there are two towns, Sherborne and Yeovil, with a population of 14,000 or 16,000; and shall these 14,000 or 16,000 persons have to make a journey of twenty-one or twenty-two miles to Frome, being an addition of ten miles to their journey, and the 1,800 or 1,900 inhabitants of Bruton have also to make a journey of ten miles, in order that the 12,000 of Frome may stay at home, instead of having to make their journey of ten miles? There are also Somerton, Ilchester, and Castle Cary, whose inhabitants would have their journey lengthened ten miles, if the court was fixed at Frome. So, too, the journey of the 8,000 inhabitants of Wells would be lengthened three miles, that of the 1,600 or 1,700 inhabitants of Glastonbury seven or eight miles, and that of the 7,000 or 8,000 of Shepton Mallett five miles; while, as Warminster will now belong to another district, the inhabitants of not a single town would have their journey shortened. By the best computation which my knowledge and recollection of the population and distances of these several places have enabled me to make, I find, by multiplying the population by the distances, that if the court be held at Bruton, the sum total of the journeys to be taken will be as 649 to 783 in case the court were held at Frome, and as 649 to 1,155 if it held at Wells.

But my principle of fixing the court town within a day's journey on foot of all the towns within the jurisdiction of the same court, is the great distinguishing principle of my plan: and I look upon it as of such paramount impor-

tance, and, indeed, so absolutely essential to any practicable and just scheme for locating the new courts, that it ought not to be broken in upon, even where there will be a much larger disproportion of inhabitants in some one place to those of any of the other towns, than in the case of Frome, in the proposed Burton district. Thus, one of the largest disproportions which can happen, will be in the Melksham court, within the limits of which will be Bath, with its 40,000 inhabitants, who, as occasion requires, will have to make their journey of ten miles to Melksham. But it is fairer that it should be so (and even in this case I question whether, upon the whole, there will not be a saving in travelling), than that the 8,000 inhabitants of Devizes, the 3,000 or 4,000 of Calne, and the people of East Leamington, whatever its population may be, should have to make lengthened journeys of eighteen or twenty miles, and the 2,000 or 3,000 inhabitants of Melksham a journey of ten miles, and that the 26,000 or 28,000 thousand inhabitants of Warminster, Westbury, Trowbridge, Chippenham, and even Bradford, which last-named place is the nearest town to Bath, should also have their journeys more or less considerably lengthened. The only cases in which I would permit the principle to be broken in upon, should be such as that of Bristol, which, with its 70,000 or 80,000 inhabitants, is a kind of provincial metropolis, and has besides, in its new neighbourhood, several populous places, such as Heynsham, Bedminster and Clifton, though they be not market towns. The market towns of Thornbury and Chipping Sodbury, would also appear by the map to be within the prescribed distance of twelve or thirteen miles from Bristol.

By the plan which I have thus generally submitted for determining the situations of the proposed new courts, although "justice" will not, according to the loud trumpetings of some persons, be brought "home to every man's door," it will be brought within every man's convenient reach.

If it be objected, on the other hand, that this plan will require too large a

number of courts, the answer is, that, centuries ago, there were courts for the recovery of small debts in every hundred, and even in every manor. According to my plan, one court will extend over perhaps twenty hundreds, and over 150 manors. Numerous reasons may be assigned, why the old courts should, for the most part, have fallen, as they have, into desuetude; but it will be sufficient to mention a few. First, The frequency of holding some of these courts, the Hundred Court for instance, which was held at one time from fortnight to fortnight, and afterwards, from three weeks to three weeks, so that there must often have been little or no business to transact, although the suitors or judges, with the officers of the courts, would be put to the trouble of assembling on the day appointed. Secondly, The necessity that there was, for the causes of action wholly arising within the jurisdiction of the court, narrow as its limits were. Thirdly, The courts in general, having had jurisdiction only in certain actions personal, excluding actions on a record, or specialty, or of trespass with "force and arms," and pleas of freehold. Fourthly, Their jurisdiction having been limited, in general, to debts or damages under 40s.; with the clipping, in various kings' reigns, from the shilling, and thence, as well as from the discovery of the American mines, and the invention of the modern system of, for the most part, cheatery, commonly called banking, the great depreciation in latter times in the value of the same nominal sum of money. And this practice of clipping, by-the-by, was renewed to a small extent, even on the last silver recoinage, when an ounce of silver was coined into sixty-six shillings instead of sixty-three. Fifthly, The power of the defendant, on a nominal cause shown, to remove the action into the King's courts. Sixthly, The necessity which existed, for laying, on the face of the proceedings, every material fact to have arisen within the jurisdiction of the particular court, as well as its having actually arisen within it; and hence, as well as for other reasons, the great danger of plaintiffs, and the masters of

the courts charged with the execution of process, exceeding in something or other the jurisdiction of the court, in which cases all the parties immediately concerned was liable to an action of trespass in the King's courts. It must immediately be seen that the most important of these causes of the old courts having fallen into decay will not, and that others of them must not be allowed to, apply to the new courts to be established on my plan; and that, as for the rest of them, such as bear any further depreciation in the value of the current money, against the consequences of which it may not be so easy, or it may be thought superfluous or important, or even libellous, to provide a remedy beforehand, it will be very easy now that we know the causes of the decay of the old courts, from time to time to provide remedies if we be so minded.

But, again, an opposite objection to the one already supposed may very probably be made to my scheme of locating the new courts. It may be objected that the new courts, on my plan, will not be *numerous enough*; and that, as I have heard it objected already by a learned and very worthy and confident friend of mine, but withal one who is a cockney by birth and residence all his lifetime, and who knows nothing by experience of country market towns (further than having had the good luck to find in a country market town a lady whom he made his wife), that a local court ought to be provided to sit in every market town; and my friend even added that it ought to sit every week. Let us see, then, what would be some of the effects of holding a court in each market town. In the first place, in all but the largest towns, there would be generally little or no business to transact, unless the sessions of the court were held at distant periods, and that would be incompatible with a speedy administration of justice. Next, the judges and principal officers of the courts, with their necessary clerks, and, perhaps, one or two men-servants, would have to spend a great deal of time and money in travelling from town to town. The

judge must at least take his clerk with him, and, perhaps, a man-servant; and there must, at least, be one principal officer of the court, call him registrar, or clerk of the court, or what you please, with one or more clerks under him. Even the under clerks must, almost per force, in cross country roads, travel by post-chaise, at 1s. 9d. per mile, post-boys included. It may be thought *infra dignitatem* for the judge to travel in the same vehicle with the registrar, or they may not be mutually agreeable companions. But pack them together in a post-chaise; the judge must maintain his place in one corner. The registrar and the judge's clerk may represent Bodkin (I think it is called), by sitting forward in the middle by turns. Or, let them take a travelling-chariot, with a dickey behind for two. In this case the post-masters will require them to use four horses, or they will charge an extra price per mile; and still all the parties will scarcely be provided for. How many day-labouring or shop-keeping plaintiffs and defendants may then not make a day's journey out and home for the expense of moving the judge and officers of a court a stage! But in the Bruton district there would be thirteen or fourteen such moves to make. Besides, there must be such officers as criers, ushers, and door-keepers, who, on this plan, though the inhabitants of the town will serve very well for such offices, will occasion no inconsiderable increase of expense, inasmuch as a fresh set of them must be retained in every market town at each session, though the session last but a quarter of a day. The very judges and officers of court will become tired of, and, when there is no business to transact, may even be puzzled to know whether they ought to undergo, the form of so incessantly opening and closing the session—it will be such "great cry and little wool." All the parties, too, would be at the expense of new lodgings in every town; and those who have gone circuit know something of the expense of lodgings in sessions and assize times. Then, again, the public will have so much the more rent

to pay for the use of court-houses, or of large rooms in inns; or so many more court-houses must be bought or be built at the public expense.

But in addition to those reasons against holding a court in any market town, what a heavy call will there be on the time and trouble of jurymen! A panel of jurymen for every market town! And how many times a year with such planners, there is no saying. My friend before alluded to, has suggested every week; but let it be from two weeks to three weeks, as was, at last, the case with the old hundred courts. We shall have then a parcel of jurymen in attendance in every market town once in every three weeks, if not to try causes, at least to be on the watch for the entry of a cause for trial. I have known in my own time, but of one example of such provident foresight and watchfulness, and that was in the case of some middle-aged women, whose whereabouts I should be loath to mention, but who, in the time of Bonaparte, laid the cloth, and put the bread and cheese on the table, and sat up at nights watching for the coming of the French. But it is not only the additional call on the time and trouble of jurymen, which forms so strong an objection to holding a court in every market town, but, drawn as the jurymen would be from such very circumscribed districts, every plaintiff and defendant would be individually more or less known to every jurymen. The juries would thus be exposed to the danger of finding their verdicts in many cases, rather on their estimation of the general characters of the parties, than on the evidence in the cause. Not only so, but it must often happen that one or more of the jurymen would not be free from the influence of one or other of the parties. A plaintiff may be a poor man, and the defendant may be rich, or be otherwise a busy and influential person. He may be a good customer of several of the jurymen, or be the landlord of one of them, and the creditor of another.

The foregoing considerations are, I hope, abundantly sufficient for knocking on the head any scheme for planting

a local court for the trial of causes, in every market town. And I may here simply venture to ask any person to devise a plan different from mine, which shall have equal regard to saving unnecessary calls on the time and trouble of jurymen, and be as well calculated to ensure juries equally free from the danger of personal prejudices or personal influence.

In making these observations I have, of course, supposed, that we are to continue to have panels of a sufficient number of jurymen, and juries of twelve persons. But since writing my first letter, I have learned that which, I fear, will draw me a little aside from the direct course of going on with unfolding my plan. I have since found that some person, originally half-witted and now half-crazy, through egregious self-conceitedness, or some insidious and double-dealing impostor, would seem to have brought over the, at once, vast and acute, sagacious, discriminating, accurate, and close-reasoning mind of the Chancellor himself, to allow of juries of SIX being introduced into his late bill. I have procured from an obliging gentleman, who contrived in a breath to pay the late bill and me equally a compliment, "it is of no good to any one, "and therefore you may have a copy of "it," a copy of the bill, but only "as amended on report." I am, therefore, still ignorant of what was its provisions in its original state, and, consequently, it may not originally have contained the clause, or, as an Essex justice of the peace used to say, the *claw*, which I am about to copy. But "as amended on report," the bill contained the clause or claw following: "And be it further enacted, that all actions (except in the cases hereinbefore last mentioned) whereof any judge in ordinary has cognizance by virtue of this act shall be tried by such judge, and a jury of SIX PERSONS, according to the course of the law of the realm, except in so far as it is otherwise provided by this act." As if, forsooth, a jury of six persons was according to the course of the law of the realm, and was not the most daring and direct stab that was

ever attempted at that great land-mark of old of our country; or, as if it was necessary to provide, any further, than by this proposed enactment for the trial of the actions "otherwise" than according to the course of the law of the realm. What law? What realm? There would, at this rate, ere long, be neither law nor realm. But there it was, and without a syllable being condescended in the way of preamble, or the assigning of reasons for the intended enactment. I will not trust myself just now with attempting to express at any length, or in any regular order, my sentiments on this most rash or most insidious, this most fool-hardy or most presumptuous and insolent clause. But I will do so, I hope in good time, in case the project be ruined: and I will do so, our inimitable law of libel, as it ever has been, and is now judicially expounded, and I fully admit, is *now*, in so far as respects the judges, *necessarily* so expounded, and as it is most commonly acquiesced in by juries, this supposed and understood law of libel notwithstanding. A law, it is, however, which, so expounded, in every case of libel prosecuted criminally, involves an absurdity, and thereby becomes especially calculated to uphold and perpetuate abuses through punishing the denouncers of them, however just and appropriate all their statements may be, and however provisionally their motions, not only in part, but in the real conviction, it may be of the juries themselves. But, again, juries of six, and without a reason assigned! This is too much for my poor nerves. It deprives me of my real judgment, and puts me in some sort beside myself. It drives me, for once, to apostrophize in imitation of my brothers, and the more incoherently the more close will be the imitation. Shade of Alfred, then! But no. This will not do. You did not come, like our great law reformers, counsellors and handicraftsmen, from far enough north. You, too, I am persuaded, as well as Friar Bacon, Locke, Blake, Fielding, Rodney, and others such, must have been a dull-headed Zummerzetshire man. As that shire

was your shelter in your reverses of fortune, and the theatre of your greatest exploits in the field, so, I am persuaded, you were born there. But good old king (good you are as yet admitted to have been), could not you hit on the choice of juries of six instead of juries of twelve? What! not when there would have been such a *saving of expense*, and so much greater a facility of handling and *managing* them? O, squanderer, and man wholly wanting in cunning! O, west-country clodhopper, cudgel-player, what a zany! O, farthest-born from the wise men heretofore of the east, but now still farther north! O, Isle of Athelney hind-serving-man, who was so deservedly drubbed by your mistress for burning her cakes, was it a like remissness, or was it the poverty of your intellect, that made you hit upon juries of twelve instead of the so-much-more-cheap, facile, handy and dandy jury of six? What, not know that the northern lights were to come a thousand years afterwards, and changing pale and evanescent though they be, and visible only at night or by twilight, were to aim at a flash, at taking away from your juries arithmetically a half, but in fact and reality seven-eighths of their life and strength, and all their soundness and safety? I do hope that it will not be necessary, but, if necessary, I can and will strip from more than one chattering and noisy daw, his borrowed plumes, be they the feathers of the peacock or of the jay. Let the fifteen be content to be alternately flummured and rapped on the crown. That, for any thing I care about, with indeed one exception, may be proper enough, if they think they ought to submit to it. But, for my poor and obscure self, I will not contentedly or silently, nor at all if I can help it, suffer noise and pother and sounding pretension to be ranging abroad uncontrolled, aiming at sweeping away every thing established good or bad indiscriminately, and imposing on the understanding of our greatest men in Europe. Like the mouse in the fable, I will rather come with my little teeth, and, gnawing away the meshes which enclose the lion, set

the royal animal at large, taking care immediately to creep into my hole out of the reach of his paw.

I have not, sir, in this letter, made so much progress in unfolding my plan as I could have wished; but it was necessary to give complete and practical answers to the objections I have above anticipated, that my courts will be either too few or too numerous; and you see how my simple mind has been led astray in the last long paragraph. But I hope, in my next, to keep more closely to the immediate business in hand.

I am, Sir, your most obedient
humble servant,

J. GEORGE.
Temple, Sept. 4, 1833.

Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

HILTON, J., Cumberland-place, New-road,
wholesale-grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMISTEAD, R., Church-street, straw-hat-
manufacturer.

CARTWRIGHT, H., Shrewsbury, victualler.
CHARD, W. B., Clutton Inn, Somersetshire,
innkeeper.

HEMINGS, T., Great George-street, Ber-
mondsey, bacon-drier.

HOWARD, J., St. Mary-at-Hill, victualler.

JOHNSON, J., and J. Gibbs, Warwick,
linen-draper.

RICHARDSON, T., and W. Clarke, High
Holborn, printers.

ROUNTHWAITE, G., Salisbury Arms
Tavern, Bear-street, Leicester-square,
hotel-keeper.

YOULTON, W. W., Devonport, tailor.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BELL, J., Exmouth, Devonshire, coal-factor.
FURNISS, F., Longstone, Derbyshire, seeds-
man.

HAMPSON, S., Pilkington, Lancashire, dyer.
WILKINSON, W., Handsworth, Staffordshire,
tailor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

SHAND, W., Arnhall, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 9.—
We had this morning a fair supply of Wheat
from the home counties, which, added to the
parcels left over from last week, caused the
stands to be tolerably well filled. The new
samples, fresh up, did not prove in quality
equal to those of the previous week, and the
condition of many cold and damp, which may
in part be attributed to the weather. Our
millers evincing little disposition to purchase,
the trade ruled extremely heavy, at a decline
of 2s. to 3s. per qr. on the rates of this day
se'nights. Old Wheats, however, maintained
their former currencies. For bonded qualities
a partial inquiry was experienced, but we did
not hear of any actual business being trans-
acted.

Barley was in limited supply, and old
grinding descriptions quite as dear. A few
parcels of new quality were at market, the
best of which, proving of rather better quality,
obtained more money, say 37s. per quarter.

Old Malt of good quality was firm, and the
demand rather improving.

Oats were in short supply, and the article
experiencing a fair retail demand, the prices
of good feed were fall 6d. dearer than this day
week.

Old Beans continue scarce, and were 1s.
dearer. New Mazagin steady at 30s. to 33s.

Good boiling peas were worth 1s. more
money, and grey and maple firm at their late
advance. Though a government contract for
500 quarters of white Peas was announced to-
day, yet the first delivery being on the 15th
of October, the period was too far distant to
have any effect at present on the trade. Flour
in good demand, and prices unaltered.

Wheat	58s. to 64s.
Rye	38s. to 33s.
Barley	34s. to 26s.
— fine	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White	31s. to 34s.
— Boilers	38s. to 42s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 53s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new	60s. to 62s. 6d. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	75s. to 78s. per cwt.
— Carlow	76s. to 79s.
— Cork	74s. to 75s.
— Limerick	74s. to 75s.
— Waterford	73s. to 76s.
— Dublin	72s. to 74s.

SMITHFIELD, September 9.

This day's supply of Beasts was tolerably
numerous, but a great part of middling and

inferior quality: the supply of each kind of small stock rather limited, but fully equal to the demand—trade was, throughout, dull—~~with~~ Beef and Veal at a depression of from 2d. to 6d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

About a fourth of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire; the remaining three-fourths about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts, with, perhaps, 100 Town's-end Cows, and a few Sussex Beasts, Staffords, &c.—About 400 of the Devons, runts, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 of the Scots, and the Town's-end Cows, were from the London marshes: and most of the remainder of these breeds, and nearly the whole of the Herefords, from the above-mentioned northern, and our midland, with a few from our western grazing districts, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridgeshire.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Downs and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, and Scotch and Welsh Sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

About seven-eighths of the Lambs appeared to consist of about equal numbers of new Leicesters, chiefly of the Downish cross, and South Downs: the remainder of Dorsets, with a few Kents, Kentish half-breds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 12.

The arrivals this week are short. The market dull at Monday's prices.

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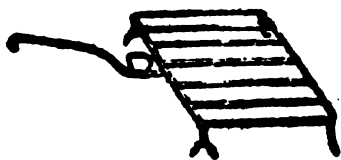
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21st, 1833.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



THE THIRD and last letter to Mr. WORTLEY, is too long to come into the present *Register*, without excluding matter, which, as the reader will see, could not have been postponed for another week, without manifest *injustice*. There was chastisement to inflict, and to have postponed the infliction, would have been very wrong. Mr. WORTLEY's affair is of greater importance, but it is of a nature not to suffer from seven days delay.

WALWORTH AND CAMBERWELL PETITIONERS.

I UNDERSTAND that these good men propose to have a cheap dinner to celebrate their victory over the spies, to invite me to the dinner, and, at the dinner, to present me with a *piece of plate* as a mark of their gratitude for my defence of them. I very much approve of all this, except of the *piece of plate*, which I will by no means receive, nor any other thing which shall cost them one penny. I deem the invitation a very great honour, shall certainly attend, and request as many of my friends and acquaintances as can spare the time to be with me upon this occasion; but I will not receive any present whatsoever, and, above all things, not a *piece of plate*. I have seen too much of *pieces of plate* being presented, to make me set any value upon such things; and too much, indeed, not to make me despise them. Upon how many insignificant, how many useless

and inefficient, how many false and corrupt men, have, I seen "*pieces of plate*" thus bestowed: on how many pig and ox and sheep breeders and fatteners, rivalling these good creatures in fat, but inferior to them in natural good sense and fair dealing! Oh, no! Pewter or wood is quite as good as silver for all purposes of eating and drinking; and as to intrinsic value, why, then, it is MONEY, which the petitioners have not to spare, I am very sure, and which, in such a case, it would be almost corrupt in me to receive. As the member who presented the WALWORTH and CAMBERWELL petition, I receive the compliment of an invitation to the dinner as something of which I am worthy; but with regard to the *inquiry*, and the *result and effect* of that inquiry, I wish to be considered merely as one member of that committee, the whole of whom did their duty to the people; or, if any one ought to have the pre-eminence in this case, it is he who was our *chairman*, and that was Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD. I shall, in the next *Register*, be enabled to name the *day* and the *place* and the *price* of the dinner.

DESPERATE TAX-EATERS.

It was naturally to be expected, that the pulling out of roaring RUSHTON by the hair of the head, and of sly and creeping PARKES by the heels, and the hustling of JOHN WOOD about, as we do a detected shop-lifter; it was natural to expect that these vermin, thus exposed as they were in the last *Register*, would become furious and extremely *tonguey*. That which I expected has taken place. JOHN WOOD, snug in his sixteen hundred a-year, eats his fat meat, and keeps quiet, like a yard-hog, when he comes at night for the swill: you may half-beat his brains out; but to squeak, he must cease to eat; and, as my Lord ALTHORP knows as well as any man in

England, the devil can't make him do that, while there is a drop at the bottom of the trough. How often these greedy tax-eaters must remind my Lord of these hogs, of which he has long been as famous a breeder, and a pair of which, such as he once gave to JOHN PRICE, I wish he would give me, not of his *two-legged* ones, for God's sake! Not of his roaring RUSSETONS, his PARKERS; but of those honest, and much more intelligent four-legged creatures, being of a reddish brown ground with yellow stripes. How often, when beset by the swinish multitude of tax-eaters at the Treasury, he must look back with a sigh towards the more moderate herd that he has left in Northamptonshire!

It was natural to expect that these vermin would come forth with most bitter reproaches. They were lying, as they thought, out of sight, and forgotten: "quiet as a sow in beans," is an old saying. You cannot see her the beans are so high; the food is just upon a level with her mouth; it is at once nutritive and moist (just like taxes); she munches and stuffs and sleeps; the beans afford her food, drink, and shelter, and, taking good care not to grunt, these she bides very often till pigging-time. Thus happily situated ten days ago, were WOOD (emphatically called *John*), roaring RUSSETON, and JOSEPH PARKER. If you drag out the sow, my Lord ALTHORP knows what a devil of a noise she will make: you would think that murder was committing, in every part of the village at one and the same time. When I was at *Havre de Grace*, rather more than forty years ago, I saw the people in the *Grande Place*, running towards a spot, whence issued female screams of "*on m'assassine! on m'assassine!*" Believing that somebody was assassinating a woman, I ran amongst the rest; but to my agreeable surprise, I soon found, that it was a woman that kept a certain sort of house, receiving discipline at the hands of a sort of beadle, who had her hands fast to a whipping-post, and was applying a cat very efficiently to her naked shoulders. Something in this sort of way, roaring RUSSETON and PARKER have

been crying out against me, since I pulled them out in my last *Register*. As the means of putting forth their cries, they have resorted to Dr. BLACK, who, by a long series of tackings-about and of dulness, has, at last, brought the poor old *Chronicle* to that point, at which the doctors usually say, "You may let her have what she likes." I most solemnly declare that I believe it to be more than two months since I so much as saw a *Morning Chronicle*, until the 14. of this month, when a neighbour in *Fleet-street*, who generally sees it on its way somewhere else, saw the article which has called forth these remarks, and, which I shall presently insert; and, seeing that there was something about me, he, the next day, got the paper second-hand, and made me a present of it; and thus, once more, I had a sight of dismal old *Chronicle*. The bare sight of her so impressed upon my mind the idea of her approaching dissolution, that I instinctively ran my hand into my waistcoat-pocket to search for a couple of old LIVERPOOL's heavy pennies to lay upon her eye-lids. The article to which I have alluded, she called a *criticism* on the last *Register*. The first part of it was stupid beyond all conception; a sort of hash of church-history, bountifully bespangled with downright falsehoods, so impudent, that one can hardly believe one's self when one reads them. The old thing said, that I said, that as to the church, "*all would be right, if the parsons were not allowed to marry;*" but that I should not be able, "to make the people of England in love with an unmarried priesthood." My readers know well, that I never said the former, and that I never attempted to do the latter. In stating the causes which had produced the feebleness of the establishment, I had to represent the change from a single to a married clergy; and the great public injury arising from there being a numerous body in the nation, whose main business it was to breed gentlemen and ladies for the people to keep in some way or another. So far from my being singular in this respect at any rate, I have all the great author

rities on my side; and, particularly, Lord Bacon, who regards this very evil, of a numerous married clergy, who must be continually producing persons that will not work, as one of the great causes of the ruin and overthrow of a state. This old doting *Chronicle* says, that "my argument applies with equal force to the aristocracy of the country." The devil it does, stupid Doctor! The aristocracy have estates of their own, which are either entailed upon their children, or to be bequeathed to their children. When the parson dies, the income dies. When the lord, or the baronet, or squire dies, the income remains. And yet, in the half-German-half-Scotch brain of this murderer (I say it with tears in my eyes); this murderer of my poor old acquaintance the *Chronicle*, my opinion about the parsons' affair "applies with equal force to the aristocracy of the country." After this, he volunteers, as a sort of slaving, following a more copious and violent emission from his mouth, the following assertion: "An economical expenditure of the public money will in time cut up aristocracy by the roots." Why should it? An economical expenditure of the public money would, naturally, on the contrary, preserve the estates of the country in the hands of the owners. The fifty millions of taxes are now "cutting up aristocracy by the roots," and cutting up industry by the roots at the same time! But, to reason with such a thing as this, with this crack-skulled quack, who has brought my old acquaintance to the verge of the grave, would, indeed, be to cast pearls before swine. The latter part of the article I shall, in compliment to my Lord Almoner, insert here entire, exhibiting, as it does, a considerable herd of his tax-eaters. It contains the cry of roaring RUSHTON and of the *pis-aller* PARKES, who, they tell me, are pot-companions of this murderer of the poor *Chronicle*, who, if she, indeed, were to cry out "on *massassine!* on *massassine!*" would have reason enough on her side. The German-Scotchman says, in the course of the passage, which I am about to insert, that I have lost all "moral

station." The poor *Chronicle* has not, for she is *moving*, God knows, fast down towards that "bourne from which no traveller returns." The passage to which I have alluded, I shall now insert, begging my readers to have the patience to go through it with as much attention as they can make shift to bestow upon it.

"In like manner, as on the question of the celibacy of priests, Mr. Cobbett displays his prejudices and lust for personal abuse on the question of corporate reform. If a liberal Ministry continue Tories in office, Mr. Cobbett protests and abuses; if they select men of liberal, or even radical political opinions, to accomplish or clear the way for necessary reforms, Mr. Cobbett vilifies their promoters, and denounces those *honourably appointed* to useful station. His notions of corporation reform are very curious, and still more ridiculous.

"Mr. Cobbett would have two musty antiquaries, a few magistrates and judges, employed to investigate the state and amend our municipal institutions; that is to say, he would entrust their reformation to the very persons whom he has all his life represented as the patrons of corporate abuses! Mr. Cobbett then pours out his last vial of wrath on the members of the corporation commission, and especially on Mr. Parkes, whose name has been long actively associated with the cause of reform in times preceding the administration or probable rule of the Whigs, and whose publications on the laws and judicial institutions of his own country and republican America are some proof of his honest capacity and competency. Indeed, the nomination of the commissioners to revise the criminal and statute law, and to investigate the present state of corporations, is justly regarded as the most honourable act of the present Administration—the names of Mr. Starkie, Mr. John Austin, Mr. Amos, Mr. Blackburne, Mr. Serjeant Perrin, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Charles Austin, Mr. Henry Roscoe, Mr. Rushton, Mr. Parkes, and indeed of all the gentlemen on the commissions, being

"proof of the political intentions of the Government, and security for an effective and popular result. We believe we are rightly informed that the Irish corporation commission is half composed of Catholic barristers, some of them even ' repealers,' selected for their professional ability and political sentiments. Such is the ministerial demonstration of real and practical reforms, *gratefully received by the country*, which Mr. Cobbett denounces in that habitual style of vituperation, which in rotation he indulges in against *all public men*—indeed all men, save one, with whom he is never out of conceit, namely, himself. It is by this habit and vice of contemptible detraction and vulgar prejudice that he has long lost all *moral station* as a political writer, and is read only by those who estimate his real power, and are amused by his command of the vulgar tongue at the same time, but despise his prejudices and slanders.

"Like the man who, under the lash, was dissatisfied whether the drummer hit high or low, we may observe, that Mr. Cobbett hates some commissions because they are paid, and others because they are unpaid. In short, hating with him is the great matter; and one reason serves his turn as well as another. It is not astonishing that Mr. Cobbett should *revile Mr. Spring Rice, Sir Robert Peel, and the members of the reformed House of Commons*, among whom, as a senator and logician, he speedily found his level, as all such persons do in a representative assembly; but it is somewhat unnatural that any man, excepting Mr. Cobbett, should spend a long public life, *now drawing to a close*, in constant enmity to those *most nearly approximating to his own popular opinions*. We remember hearing it observed on one occasion, by a certain individual, that Mr. Cobbett hated all mankind—those who thought as he did, as rivals; and those who differed with him, as enemies. We recollect, a few years since, when he wrote, in *one week's Register*, against the *Bible*,

"*potatoes, and inoculation for the cow-pox. This week he opposes education, the diffusion of knowledge, corporation reform, and marriage; and, nevertheless, recommends the study of the Scriptures as a means of putting down the church of England!*"

Now, reader, what is one to do with fellows like these. Get at them with point of shoe or broomstick, we cannot; no practicability in applying the contents of slop-pails upon their heads. We must, therefore, do as we can with pen and paper, first noticing, in a sober manner, the falsehoods. They assert here, that I have attacked men who have been "*honourably appointed*." I lash them because they have been *dishonourably appointed*. I trace their appointment to their own servility, to their being tools of the most miserable description. Therefore, this is a falsehood.

The next falsehood is, "that I would entrust the reformation of corporations to the very persons whom I have all my life represented as the patrons of corporate abuses;" that I would have entrusted it to "*musty antiquaries*," and to magistrates and judges whom I had accused as the *upholders of the very abuses*." Now, these are, perhaps, the most malignant falsehoods that ever were pumped up from the stomach of this half-German Scotchman. Take what I did say upon the subject; and, then, suggest if you can punishment severe enough, and sufficiently degrading for this lying and mercenary crew: "the persons to perform this task ought to have been profound lawyers; lawyers thoroughly skilled in all the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom; in tenures of every description; in the rights still retained of all the guilds and fraternities and chartered establishments. Two men, at least, of this description, associated with magistrates well known for their impartiality, and deeply interested in the well-being of the kingdom; such a commission, having the most learned of the judges occasionally to advise with, is what ought to have been, and

"without any regard whatsoever to any
"of the distinctions of party politics."

Such were my words; and was not this the proper sort of commission? And what have we here? Probably, amongst the barristers here named as the commissioners, there are some men fit for the office, and I know that Mr. Serjeant PERRIN is fit, because I have seen and heard him; and, in short, know him to be a lawyer, learned in his profession, and a member of Parliament of great integrity and utility. The other names are quite new to me, except that of roaring RUSHTON; and, as I never heard of them before, though I do not consider RUSHTON to be a fair sample of them, I have a right to consider, that they have been selected from something approaching towards the same motives as those which led to the appointment of roaring RUSHTON. At any rate, it should not have been a batch of lawyers and nothing else. There ought to have been some gentlemen, not lawyers, and one peer or two, perhaps, unless war was to be declared against the whole of these orders. The scheme manifestly has been, and is, to introduce a *Bourbon-police* into all the towns of the kingdom; and that is what gentlemen of estate would never have submitted to recommend; and what, I trust, they never will assent to. I am sure that it is not what I shall ever assent to; but will fight against it, expose it; and mar it, in all the ways that I possibly can. In spite of BROUGHAM and all his crew, England shall not have a *Bourbon-police*. So far is the country from regarding this corporation-scheme as a thing to be "*gratefully received*;" so far is the scheme "regarded as a most honourable act of the Ministers;" the country views it with great suspicion, as I have always viewed it; the country regards it as a scheme for introducing a paid magistracy everywhere; a companion-piece of the "*local courts*"-scheme; a settled intention to root out that species of government, which has preserved liberty in this country for a thousand years; and, without which there can be no liberty; a scheme to bring every parish in immediate contact

with the Ministers in London; a scheme, in short, to give us that amiable and simple thing called a despotism; rather than see which established in England, I would, as I told the Ministers to their faces, if I held the island by a string, let it down to the bottom of the sea, and go along with it.

I now come to the mere reptile part of this article. These fellows say: "it is not astonishing that Mr. COBBETT should *revile* Mr. SPRING RICE, Sir ROBERT PEELE, and the members of the reformed House, amongst whom he soon found his *level*." Now, when have I ever, since I entered that House, *reviled*, in my writings, either of these two members of Parliament, or the members of the House generally, or any portion of the House? I was foully treated, and especially by Lord ALTHORP, in the case of my motion relative to Sir R. PEELE; my honourable and excellent colleague was still more foully treated upon that occasion; and the House behaved in such an unfair manner, that I was compelled to publish my *reply* to Sir ROBERT PEELE; but never have I *reviled* Sir ROBERT PEELE since I have been a member of that House; never have I *reviled* the House, or any portion of the House in any writings of mine. On the contrary, I have abstained from doing that which I should have had a right to do, in censuring members of Parliament; I have laid it down as a rule; that, having now a seat in the House myself, anything that I have to say against members of the House, is to be said to their faces, and not behind their backs. Why, there are many of them on whom I could take vengeance, and most ample vengeance, for the ill-natured and unjust things that they have said of me in the House, when they knew that I had not an opportunity of defending myself; but, I never have done this; I never have availed myself of this great advantage that I possess over them: my legal right to do it is clear enough; but the moral right is doubtful; and, therefore, I never exercise this power. I have a memory as well as other men; and it is for me to take vengeance where the wrong has

been done me, or not take it at all. And, as to Mr. SPRING RICE and Sir ROBERT PEEL, they themselves, will, I am sure, be the two very first men in this kingdom to reprobate the meanness of these reptiles. My contests with Mr. SPRING RICE have been the effect of a sense of duty on both sides. He resorted to a species of hostility quite consonant with the laws and customs of Treasury warfare; but, I am sure that he will never say, that my language deserved the appellation of *reviling*; or that he ever saw in me any signs, either of anger, or ill-humour; and above all things, any signs of mean spite, proceeding from mortification. The contests between me and Mr. SPRING RICE are to be *renewed*: the campaign is ended, but the war is not over; and it never will be over, on my part, as long as the stamp-laws exist with their present provisions in them. Mr. SPRING RICE is a most industrious, active, and ever-ready opponent; and, knowing the virtues of the bench on which he sits, and the value of the heavy forces at his back, he now and then, stretches the limits prescribed by the rules of war to their *utmost extent*, to say the least of it. But I have never *complained* of Mr. SPRING RICE; happen what will, I never complain; and, if people complain of me, there I am to receive any vengeance that they are able to inflict. As to Sir ROBERT PEEL, besides, that I have never availed myself of my own literary means of assailing him, I have not copied from others who have assailed him; and that I might have done, without any departure from the rule of conduct which I have laid down for myself. He will not say, that he has perceived any lurkings of resentment in my conduct. He was on a committee with me, had to investigate a matter in which he naturally felt a deep interest. His opinions and the bias of his mind upon the subject were precisely opposite to mine on the same subject. He entered into very long cross-examinations of witnesses whom I had brought forward and examined in chief: this was a case to try men's tempers; and, let these (no not these

reptiles!); but let any gentleman ask Sir ROBERT PEEL, whether, during the whole course of that proceeding, he discovered in my conduct, anything indicating prejudice, partiality, a desire to come to a wrong conclusion; and, above all things, whether he ever perceived anything in my conduct, of ill-humour, or of lurking resentment. He will at once answer, no.

But, do these miserable reptiles believe, that they can creep under the gaberdine of Mr. SPRING RICE and Sir ROBERT PEEL, and *tickle them on to resentment and assault against me*? "No, thank you," these gentlemen will say: "rather not, if it is all the same to you." Mr. SPRING RICE will think of his constituents, for he has some now; and Sir ROBERT PEEL will not fail to remember, that this same mercenary hack, who is cutting the throat of the poor old *Chronicle*, always calls him JOSEPH SURFACE, when the base Whigs think it their interest to order him so to do! That is to say, calls him one who is the profoundest of hypocrites for the most selfish and basest of purposes; a name, be it observed, which I never gave him; and I never imputed to him any base or selfish motive, even when he praised the Whigs, and DENMAN in particular, for their manly conduct in prosecuting me. I found fault with this at the time; but, having resented it, I have never even mentioned it since, though I might have done it upon many occasions, and made it most annoying to him; but, not even this could ever have tempted me to impute base and selfish motives to him, as this vile murderer of the *Chronicle* has been continually doing, when the Whigs thought that the Baronet's movements indicated danger to themselves. When, in short, they have trembled at the thought of seeing exerted those talents, before which their coward hearts and empty heads could not have stood, provided all things had been duly and judiciously arranged. After all this "*Joseph Surfacework*," resorted to upon all these numerous occasions, here are these reptiles, creeping under the skirts of Sir ROBERT PEEL, in the vain hope, that he and Mr. SPRING

RICE will give them that protection from me, which, after looking about them wildly in all directions, they think that they can find no others. Figure to yourself, for example, me with a horse-whip flogging RUSHTON into a double roar, making PARKES squeak like a guinea-pig, while JOHN WOOD skulks off, silently, to *Somerset House*; see Mr. SPRING RICE and Sir ROBERT PEEL seated at table, see roaring RUSHTON and *pis-aller* PARKES, one running his head under the skirts of one of them, and one his head under those of the other; see both begin to kick, toe and heel, with a "D—n you, get out, you vermin;" see them sprawling upon the floor, and my heavy-thonged whip cracking upon their sides, and then you have a correct graphic description of the present moral state of things with regard to these plundering parties.

But, though it is difficult to bear that, the close of this article must not be wholly overlooked. I am accused of "constant enmity to those most nearly approximating to my own popular opinions." The creatures pulled out here by me are, this murderous fellow BLACK, JOHN WOOD, roaring RUSHTON, and *pis-aller* PARKES. Have these most nearly approximated to my popular opinions? BLACK, whose opinions have always been opposed to mine, except in the cases where he has been obliged to come over to me; BLACK, who really *abused* me when I first started the proposition of poor-laws for Ireland, which was in the year 1822; BLACK, who has been constantly on the side of the spy-police-system; BLACK, whom I actually CUT, openly and publicly out, because he recommended the establishment of a *rural police* and a *paid magistracy*, all over the country; JOHN WOOD, who, and whose cunning old father, and their canting crew, flung me out of the seat for PRESTON, with the aid and assistance of the partizans of Mr. STANLEY, whom, however, I do not accuse of having had any participation in the base act; and though he did say some ill-natured things of me at the time, his conduct was as free from meanness and

disguise as mine was: roaring RUSHTON; what the devil of approximation is there between his opinions and mine, he having been the hired bottleholder of JOHN WOOD at PRESTON, never having had any opinions except about mathematical instruments, perhaps, and the grinding of newspapers at LIVERPOOL, going to the bar, or what he calls "*studying the law*," at the suggestion significantly given by the sleek WM. HUSKISSON, having been at the bar about a year, in virtue of having crammed his greivous carcass at *Lincoln's Inn*, for which he ought to have been charged double price, never having been heard of at an assize, a quarter-sessions, a petty-sessions, or even at a police-office, his head covered with the growth of grey mares' tails, and his body with the camlet that ought to have gone to make his wife a gown, covving now, and sacking public money, as a sage of the law, to unravel the history of ancient charters, and to suggest a code for the municipal government of a great kingdom! What approximation (my God! I shall go crazy!) is there between the roaring RUSHTON and me? And last comes the *pis-aller* PARKES, whom I actually *defected*, caught him in the fact, carrying Whig-whispers about London, to prepare the way for the announcement of BROUGHAM's twenty-pound-qualification project; absolutely caught him, as I have done a pole-cat, when I was a boy, took him by the neck, shook him, held him up over my head, and with the damnable sight, frightened all the great towns in the north, BIRMINGHAM excepted, and made them rush forward to defeat the project, to pave the way for which this gabbling attorney was employed! Pretty *approximation*, is there here; and thus, the reptiles stand exposed to the ridicule of this whole nation.

Encore un coup, say the French, and I say, in a better language, *one more stroke at them*. The savage murderer of the *Chronicle* concludes thus: "We remember hearing it observed upon one occasion, by a certain individual, that Mr. CANNIBAL hated all mankind—these who thought as he did, as

"rivals; and those who differed with him as enemies. We recollect, a few years since, when he wrote, in one week's *Register*, against the *Bible*, *potatoes*, and *inoculation for the cow-pox*. This week he opposes *education*, the *diffusion of knowledge*, *corporation reform*, and *marriage*; and, nevertheless, recommends the study of the Scriptures as a means of putting down the Church of England!"

I should suppose that this was scrawled down by the grimy fingers of BLACK, while he and roaring RUSHTON and pis-aller PARKES were guzzling down sloe-juice, bought with the public money. Rivals! I never had a rival in my life, in anything. As to the grand affair of *heart-rivalship*, I should no more have thought of a rival of flesh and blood, than I should have thought of a rival in brass or marble. For the forty-four years, during which that affair has been upon my hands, I have been as completely free from the thought as have been the shoes that I have worn on my feet; and this has been, and I always confess it, one of the great causes of my wonderful capacity to labour. While many other clever men's heads have been filled with fears, or doubts, or cares, on this score, my clear and sound head has never been bothered with any such thought for a single moment. Then, as to the other great source of anger-inspiring rivalry, *authorship*, my only fault, in this respect, has been, that I have been too ready to bestow *praise*, for which I have discovered grounds that nobody else could discover, which I have never withheld from either friend or foe, when I have thought it due; and this is a fact notorious to this whole nation. I have not, indeed, praised the writings of Mr. pis-aller PARKES, upon the "*laws of his own country and Republican America*;" and I could not very well do it, without first reading them, which I might have done, because he did me the honour to present them to me for the purpose, and which I should have done, or have prevailed upon one of my sons, or my secretary, to do it for me, if I had not, and fortunately for me, perhaps, seen the author first, and, what

was more fatal, heard him talk! These were quite enough for me. With my experience, it was quite unnecessary to read after these. But, never in my life, have I read any thing, which I thought worthy of praise, come from whom it might, that I did not bestow my praise upon.

It was not, you guzzling sots; it was not the *Bible*, *potatoes*, and the *cow-pox*: it was "*SHAKESPEARE, MILTON, and POTATOES*," an essay, published in the *Register*, in the latter part of 1815 or 16; and an essay which will be read long after your carcases shall have been food for worms, a complete set of the book, in which it is contained, now, not unfrequently, selling for from forty to sixty pounds, in gold money. Write a book like that; and then talk about rivals. It was "*Shakespeare, Milton, and Potatoes*," and it was the first open and direct blow at that accursed root, to promote the cultivation of which, canting WILKESPOON had, in Parliament, proposed to enact a premium, the cultivation of which has, since that time, in evidence and reports, laid before Parliament, as well as in various other ways, been acknowledged to be one of the great evils of Ireland, as we well know, that an attempt to induce the working-people to live upon the accursed root, was one of the causes of the riots in England.

Inoculation for the cow-pox has proved to be inefficacious as a remedy against the small-pox in thousands and thousands of instances. So that I was right there. It is false to say, "that I oppose education;" but that matter is the subject of the article which follows this. It is *not* the "*diffusion of knowledge*;" but the diffusion of what BROUGHAM and the pis-aller call "*knowledge*," and that I call nasty nonsense. "*Oppose marriage*," do!! When one of my Sermons is, "*On the sin of Forbidding Marriage*," when my comedy, called, "*Surplus Population*," in which PETER THIMBLE is the principal character, has for its object, to satirize the schemes for preventing young people from marrying; and when it is notorious that the hellish doctrine of

MALTHUS, whether inculcated by BROUGHAM, or by Mr CARLILE, has been an object of my almost incessant attack from the day that it was first broached to the present hour; and yet, because I object to the industrious part of the nation giving a *premium* for matrimony to parsons, pensioners, dead-weight people, and tax-eaters of all sorts; because I object to these swarms being kept to breed gentlemen and ladies for the working people to keep; and that too, while we are taxed in order to get rid of the working people, as being too numerous; because I do this, these pole-cat-like vermin accuse me of being opposed to marriage; I, who have been married one-and-forty years, and who verily believe, that I should have been but a middling sort of fellow, if I had not been married. I am *opposed to marriage*, however, when paid for out of the sweat of the people, and when it must naturally tend to produce new swarms of idlers to live upon the people. I have no objection to roaring RUSHTON, for instance, being married, and think it right, provided that he maintain his wife and family out of his own labour, of some sort or other. Let me see this great strapping fellow bring his body into reasonable compass by digging, or ploughing, or hammering away at a lap-stone, or even let me hear him roaring at a quarter sessions, or at a police-office; let me see *pis-aller* PARKES with a black pen behind his ear, pushing in and out like a dog at a fair, with his writs and his summonses and his capias, and all the necessary dirty deviltries, belonging to the thing; or, as he is rather a weak vessel, let me see him weeding corn, or hop-picking, along with the women and girls: let me see them engaged in this way, and know that they do not live upon my labour, and are not breeding others to live in the same way; let me see this, and I will fulminate upon the man, who shall preach up a doctrine which shall prevent them from enjoying "*conjugal felicity*." But, when I see their mouths opening to swallow what is really my victuals, under pretence of being "*lawyers*," employed to adjust some of the

most difficult and intricate affairs of the nation; then I put in my protest; then I say, that to have one to keep, is better than to have two to keep, and that the prospect of a brood to follow the present devourers, is absolutely insupportable.

So far, so good. Having clenched those nails, let us go to the next board, which, thank God! is pretty nearly the last. The murderer says, that I *oppose corporation reform*. From the very first mention of the thing, I have said, that it was most desirable; I voted for the law authorizing the commission; I did not think myself competent to state the reasons for such a measure, and, therefore, I contented myself with giving my vote for it. When objections were started to the establishing of corporations in the new boroughs, I did my best to answer those objections, and amongst other things, I mentioned the great good which the cities of America had derived from their establishing corporations; and, with regard to a reform of the present corporations, it required the dirty soul of these reptiles to enable them to put forth the shameless assertion, that I had ever been opposed to such reform. "Aye, aye," say they, "but you are opposed to us, roaring RUSHTON and *pis-aller* PARKES, getting our backs covered, our maws crammed, and being able to strut about like gentlemen by the means of this reform; or, rather, under pretence of making such reform." Very true: in this sense, I am very much against corporation reform; and this is the sense in which you understand it, and in no other sense whatever. But, as to this corporation reform in itself, my opinion is, that it is intended, and principally intended, to introduce a *Bourbon-police system*, to supplant the municipal government of England. Look at the whole of the proceedings, distant as well as proximate. The scheme is BROUGHAM's, who is a schemer that never will be at rest while there is a head upon his shoulders. He has a design, or he *had* a design, manifestly, to make a total revolution in the manner of governing England and Wales. It

was Lord GREY's great and unfortunate error to consent to put so much power into his hands. He was sure to work with the press; was sure to have swarms of schemers about him; was sure to attempt to do, that which he has attempted, and is still attempting to a certain extent. By a display of well-grounded complaints about charity-abuses, he got a *charity-commission* appointed, and thereby got at the means of overawing those who had the charities in their hands. He had declared, long before, that he was ready to defend the doctrines of MALTHUS to their full extent. As soon as he was in power, he asserted, that he himself would prepare and bring in a new poor-law. This being too perilous an undertaking, and being *dared* to it by me, he got a *commission* appointed to inquire into the state of the poor-laws, and to suggest remedies. The commissioners were the Bishops of LONDON and CHESTER, with STURGES BOURNE, HARRY GAWLER, SENIOR, the "*politecal economeest*," COULSTON, who was JERRY BENTHAM's amanuensis, and also a *reporter*, and one TATE, or TRALL, or something, who had been a something to Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY. As to the two bishops, they had, one would think, quite enough to do with their diocesan and parliamentary duties, without becoming part of a poor-law-commission. And, then, the other five were a pretty set to make inquiries and offer suggestions, the result of which was to be, an entire new code of laws, relating to matters the most interesting and the most ticklish in the world, and directly affecting, in one way or another, every square inch of real property in the kingdom. These commissioners, would, by this time, have had a good parcel of our money in their pockets, had they and their master not been in too great haste. The sages themselves, COULSTON, SENIOR, &c. met and sat in London, whence they sent out scouts, called "*assistant-commissioners*," to go about the country, with written instructions to make inquiries and to report the result. The conclave in London, always at hand to hold com-

munication with the POPE of the scheme, intended to have a report ready to lay before Parliament, during the last session. But it was thought necessary that such a grand affair should be preceded by an *avant courier*, in imitation of the rascally old Bishop BURNETT's preface, so admirably ridiculed and exposed by SWIFT. This *avant courier* was an octavo book of 4 or 500 pages, distributed amongst the members of the House of Commons, which may be truly called the *Book of Lies*. It is stated to contain extracts from the reports of the scouts; and it contains those extracts, together with the *instructions* given to these scouts. Long before this book appeared, I had repeatedly denounced this poor-law commission, as intended to forward a project for introducing a hired magistracy and a spy-police into every town and village in England and Wales, to reduce the working-people to live upon potatoes, by abolishing all relief through the poor-laws; to bring all power, hitherto local, into the hands of the Government in London; and, in short, to establish an iron despotism, equal in ferocity to that of Austria or Russia. The *Book of Lies* verified all that I had said; laid the scheme bare; but, it roused the people, and roused the magistrates themselves. A petition from HORSHAM brought on a discussion that blasted the Book of Lies, in an attempt to defend which, not a soul opened his lips. On the "*rural police*," for which the infamous *Chronicle* had been preparing the way, the Calthorpe-street-affair, the affair of POPAY, and the night-milking of the cows by the police-vagabonds at PECKHAM, formed a very effective commentary. No question that it must be for the happiness of the country, to milk the cows by night! Mr. LENNARD, member for MALDEN, who appears to be a very worthy man, dropped a word, very early in the session, about the necessity of a "*rural police*." When such a man had been so deceived, it was high time that somebody should be vigilant; and the scheme got pretty well dragged about, a month before the close of the session: *just at the close*, not leaving

time to print it, and give it to us, came the grand report, apparently consisting of an immense volume or two in folio, when it shall be in print. I beat about, by question after question, to know whether there was any MONEY to pass between us and COULETON and Co.; and I never had peace of mind till I got an assurance from Lord ALTHORP, that the commissioners were not to be paid, and that the scouts were to have little more than their expenses.

Thus stands this part of the scheme at present, of which "*simplyfying*" scheme, the *Local Courts Bill* formed a part. But, the commissions, of which there is a notable instance in the *charity-commission*, seem to be the grand source of the Whigs for the feeding of their hangers-on. This roaring RUSHTON and Co., have already swallowed up fifteen thousand pounds. In a letter from HULL, which will be found in another part of the *Register*, and which I take from "*Nicholson's Commercial Gazette*," my readers will have a view of another *Whig commission*, of which Mr. HILL, one of the members for HULL, is a member. Accounts are coming from all quarters, with piercing outcries about the charity commissioners. Then there is to be a West India commission, an Irish corporative commission, an Irish poor-law commission; a commission to make inquiries about the statute and common laws; and God knows how many besides. So that, here is a Government carried on by commissions, which will cost, in one way, or another, half a million of pounds sterling a-year. It will be the business of the House of Commons in particular to put a stop to this dreadful work; for, if it be suffered to go on, it will become an evil a thousand times greater than rotten boroughs.

Thus have I, having not the least thought of doing it, been lead along into this long train of observations by the miserable spite of BLACK, roaring RUSHTON, and *pis-al'er* PARKES, the whole of whom, if they were tied up in a string, would not sell for the paper upon

which I have been writing this; nor for so much as the bare signature of
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Further on in the *Register* will be found an account of the proceedings in *Dorsetshire*, relative to the *Book of Lies*. Also, a letter from HULL about the law-courts commission. Also the commission of CRIMINAL LAWS; and here they will see, STARKIE, AMOS and AUSTIN, in *this commission too*, though already in the CORPORATION COMMISSION! These fellows are double-jointed, I suppose; they ought to be working in two places at once: at any rate we shall see an attempt, at least, to give them *double pay*. The other two sages in this commission are WHITMAN, who was DENMAN's *under-strapper* in the *prosecuting of me*; and BELLENDEN KER, who attempted to get in for Norwich along with Dick Gurney, but who was beaten by Lord Stormont and Sir James Scarlett. This "Duke Gawler's" son and HARRY GAWLER's (the Poor-Law Commissioner) *nephew*!—But, now I think of him, what is become of PETER WILKINS? who went to Manchester to speak *against* me, and for Mr. POULETT THOMSON? Is there no commission for Peter? Hard case that! They must *quiet* Peter, somehow or another; for Peter has a *tongue in his head*! This brings "our right trusty and well beloved THOMAS WILD into my rambling brain." What! No commission for him! Nothing! Are his arduous toils at *Winchester* to have no reward!

"EDUCATION."

I HAVE not yet had time to treat of this subject in the manner in which I shall treat of it before I have done; and, as to the outcry of the lazy devils who want to be reading and scrawling, as a pretence for slinking out of their share of the work of making shoes and coats, laying bricks and stones, sawing out, and nailing on, boards, and ploughing the ground and thrashing out the corn;

as to the outcry and abuse of these lazy devils, and the disapproving squalls of the dirty-skinned wenches, who soil all over WALTER SCOTT'S books, for want of industry enough to apply soap and water to get the grime off their hands; as to the outcry and abuse of these creatures, I should be well set to work, indeed, to take any notice of them; but, the following letter is from a man of sense, of talent, and of that real modesty with which real talent is ever associated. He will hardly be angry at my publishing it, especially as it brings forth from me, that answer which I would have given to hardly any other man in the kingdom :—

*" St. Patrick-square, Edinburgh,
4. September, 1833.*

* RESPECTED SIR,

" In answer, oblige your sincere friend
" and warm admirer, by furnishing him
" with a satisfactory answer to the
" query — ' Ah ! Dun, what do you
" think of Cobbett now ? ' ' He has
" been speaking in the House against
" *educating the lower classes !*

" Since ever I presented the Edin-
" burgh inhabitants' address to you, I
" have had to defend you against all
" those attacks which the blockheads of
" the modern Athens pick out of the
" dirty columns of the vile newspaper
" scribblers, who are enemies to you,
" and to that cause of which you are the
" able and indefatigable supporter.

" Your having *spoken against edu-*
" *cating the lower classes, is considered*
" *a crime of the most unpardonable na-*
" *ture.*

" If you could spare as much time
" from your useful avocations and im-
" portant duties, as to furnish me with
" your reasons, it would be conferring
" a high honour and a great kindness.

" I trust that you have been misre-
" presented, or that you objected to the
" plan of *national education*, with refer-
" ence merely to the *tax* meditated.

" The remark generally made here,
" even by your friends, is, ' How does
" Mr. Cobbett reconcile this with his
" *writing a Grammar for plough-*
" *boys ?*

" If aught in this letter seem imper-

tinent, attribute it to anything save
" want of respect.

" I am,

" with the highest esteem, Sir,
" your obedient servant,

" B. F. DUN.

" Wm. Cobbett, M.P."

ANSWER.

DEAR SIR,—I acknowledged the receipt of your letter the moment I received it, and told you that I would answer it more fully hereafter; but, at the same time, I think I told you, what I must tell you now, that I had so many fish to fry just at this time, and that they called so loudly for the frying-pan, that I should be compelled to defer an elaborate essay upon the subject, until another time. But, the great respect that I have for you, and, indeed, for the whole of the inhabitants of that city, of which you are a worthy inhabitant, induces me to make an observation or two, which, I think, will make these criticizing " friends " of mine, begin to perceive, that the case against me is not quite so clear as they seem to imagine it to be.

In the first place, sir, I never have either spoken or written against the lower classes being educated; or, to use the words of these accusers, " against educating the lower classes." And, I ought to stop to observe here, that I never have acknowledged, that those who do the work of the country are *lower classes*. I have spoken against, written against, and shall speak and write against, laying a *tax* upon the people, though to the amount of one single farthing a head in twenty years, for the purpose of promoting what is called "*education*." Never shall a vote to the amount of one penny pass for this purpose, without my dividing the house upon it. What! I lend my hand in taxing the industrious shoemaker, in order to make him pay for the education of the children of the shoemaker who is not industrious? I *tax* the ploughman, make him pay a tax on his beer, on his sugar, on his tobacco, to compel him to assist in what is called the educating of the children

of the shirking slipshod that has been jostled into matrimony from behind his master's chair; I will do no such a thing, even if I had no other objection than this, which is so consonant with justice and with common sense; but I have other, and many other, and most powerful objections, to *any plan of "national education,"* which must of necessity create a new and most terrific control in the hands of Government. I am further of opinion, and I know it to be true, indeed, that such a thing must be most injurious, not only to the morals, but to the liberties of the country; and I am ready to maintain these opinions against all the *doctrinaires* and canters in the world.

But the strong ground is, it seems, that this speaking against a plan of "*national education,*" is irreconcilable with the fact of *my having written a Grammar, expressly for plough-boys.* Why, Mr. DUN, I, who wrote the Grammar, was a plough-boy myself, and a zeal and good and true plough-boy too, and so early was I such, that I was compelled to get up upon a gate, to put the *bit-halter* upon a cart-horse's head. And, observe this Mr. DUN, that I never went to school, and that a schoolmaster's shins would have stood a very poor chance (having to face the toes of my "iron-pelted" shoes), if he had attempted to keep me shut up amidst his noisy community. I was, indeed, attempted to be sent to a day-school, and it might cost my father a few shillings, perhaps; but never did I acknowledge schoolmaster to be my master; and, long after I could mow short grass in the Bishop of WINCHESTER's garden, I could no more have read this paragraph and understood the sense of it, than I could have driven the bishop out of his palace.

Being a plough-boy, and having had resort to Grammars to teach myself, when I took a fancy to book-learning; having experienced the want of a Grammar at once simple and profound, I wrote one myself for the use of other plough-boys, and to commemorate my attachment to that class of society, amongst whom I was born, and to live

and die amongst whom impediments raised up by hell itself shall not prevent me. What, then, is there irreconcilable in this? My Grammar is for the use of plough-boys, soldiers, sailors, and schools. But do I now say, or have I ever said, that there should be *no schools?* Oh, no! and these critics know this very well. Schools are very proper things, in many cases: in large cities and towns, they are absolutely necessary for many reasons. But, because it is undoubtedly true, that there are many professions and pursuits in life, which require book-learning; because it is equally true, that book-learning is very frequently not to be acquired without schools; because these are truths which nobody doubts, does it follow, that all boys and girls, nine-tenths of whom must live by manual labour, or become thieves and strumpets, are to be crammed up in schools, instead of being employed from their very infancy in those little labours and cares which make them valuable when they grow up to be men and women? But, "they can go to school before they are old enough to work." Two or three years ago, I had a string of diggers at work in a field at Barn-Elm. In this string an awkward big boy from the country happened to have his station cast between two gardeners of *Fulham*, the name of one of whom was JOHN IVES. The young chap, though very tall, was only about sixteen; and though he would have beaten Ives at plough, there he was with both feet up close to the trench, toiling and sweating, while Ives and his companion were going on, leaving him upon a narrow causeway, and laughing to themselves all the while. "Come," said I, "IVES, why don't you show that young fellow how to dig? You were young yourself once, recollect." "Aye, sir," said he, "and *very* young, too, when I did not know how to dig." And, Mr. DUN, how soon the *doctrinaires* would take them from school, and put them to work, I do not know; but I do know, that I myself was at work in the fields before I was quite six. And this is "*education,*" properly so called.

You know, as well as I, that education means *rearing up*, not teaching to read and write. He is a learned man, who has great knowledge in his profession or calling; and not he who can read about the knowledge of others. You know as well as I, that learning means knowledge; and, of course, he who has the knowledge to make shoes well, is more learned than the shoemaker who cannot make them so well, though he has read all WALTER SCOTT'S novels, and all the paragraphs in those beastly newspapers, to which you allude; and, Mr. DUN, I am clearly of opinion that I, in teaching the good people of the ORKNEY ISLES to raise that straw, and to make that plait, which has now supplanted the LEGHORN, have rendered a greater service to the country than can ever be rendered by all the swarms of *feelosofers, doctrinaires, and canters*, unless their *lazy carcasses could be turned into manure, and flung over the land.*

But, America! You have praised the state of things in America. Never: never, in any respect, but in the absence of taxation; and Mother MARTINEAU and Lord ALTHORP, observe, would tax the working people for the purposes of what they call "education." But the Americans have "national schools;" a national plan of education, supported in every township by a tax. In the first place, the tax is direct; you know its amount; it is not stolen from you under the name of a *consolidated fund*. In the next place, the tax is imposed on owners, or occupants, of estates, in house or land, and that, too, to property to a considerable amount. So that the working people, whose children are sent to the schools, pay not a farthing of the tax; their heads never having given admittance to the beastly idea, that it is for the benefit of the working man, first, to tax him, and then to tell him that you are going to lay the tax out in the education of his children by masters and mistresses appointed by you.

However, if the philosophers and Mother MARTINEAU will have America to keep their scheme in countenance, let them have it, and here I toss it to them, most earnestly calling upon the devil,

to take them and it, too; and if he cram the *doctrinaires* and the *canters* into the same wallet, so much the better. There is, I must confess, however, one benefit in this "*heddikashun*," as the loose-jawed and dirty-skinned housemaids call it, when they come from the reading of their master's letters. There is one benefit attending this "*heddikashun*," and that is, that it enables sensible and reflecting gentlemen in England and Scotland, to read the following article, which I have taken from the *London Morning Chronicle* of the 14. of this month, and which it took, it says, from the "*NEW-YORK DAILY ADVERTISER*." Now, then, let my "*friends*" at EDINBURGH, who condemn, or criticize, these opinions of mine, read this article; let them give us an essay upon the subject; and when they have done that, it will be time enough for me to go into the subject, with that care and that desire to do justice to it, which have been awakened in my mind by your very polite and kind letter. In the meanwhile, I remain,

Dear Sir,
Your faithful and most
obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

"We had occasion not long since to allude to, and deplore, the great increase of crime in our country; and we observe that other journals make it also the subject of comment. A morning paper attributes, '*The general increase of poverty and crime*' both in England and the United States, to 'the extensive charities and 'the number and variety of societies 'for the relief of human wants and 'the cure of human vices.' This would, indeed, throw us back into the dark ages; and were the remark well founded, would prove philanthropy to be a curse. If charities are so misdirected as to weaken the inducements to industry, that misdirection is undoubtedly, *pro tanto*, a drawback upon the benefits they are otherwise calculated to produce. But even that does not prove that such charities are not useful in the main—nor does it apply at all to those that are founded for the

"relief of such as by infirmity, age, or accident, are unable to labour. Many charities, and many societies too, have been founded for the express purpose of promoting industry, and are, in their organization, well adapted to that end. Despair is as fatal to industry as reliance, and proper encouragement is often a powerful auxiliary in its advancement.

"That much of the increase of crime is attributable to the *'amendment of the Criminal Code, to the abolition of corporal punishment, and to the misplaced sympathy for criminals,'* we fully admit; but we also think that not a small portion of it is to be ascribed to the *public journals* which minister to the morbid taste of the age. The articles most eagerly sought for and most readily inserted are those which detail the cunning contrivances of thieves and pickpockets, or deep malignity and unhallowed passions of murderers and other felons. The most disgusting details are sought for, and our police-offices and criminal courts are almost literally besieged, for the attainment of such records of depravity as they may be made to furnish. We cannot so well express our views of the dangerous tendency of this course of proceeding as by giving place to a brief article on the subject, from the pen of our friend, the editor of the *Boston Mercantile Journal*. He observes—

"The times are out of joint. Mankind seem to be vying with each other in the commission of atrocities. The papers are filled with accounts of murders, suicides, duels, robberies, and other crimes. Of suicides in particular there is a fearful amount. To inquire into the source of this diseased state of the general mind would lead us into speculations not exactly adapted to a popular newspaper, but the subject would be an interesting one provided there was plenty of time and plenty of room. Are not editors somewhat to blame for feeding the public with highly-coloured narratives of all the wild and monstrous shapes in which

'guilt appears? We can hardly open a newspaper without 'sipping full of horrors.' No one can be constantly reading of horrible crimes and dwelling upon them without some injury to the moral sense, and in some men the contemplation of the imaginary picture begets an uncountable desire to experience and know the true one. And then too, what *ecstacy* a murderer acquires. His name and deed fly from one end of the Union to the other. His portrait is stuck up in the shop windows—his trial is copied and commented upon—crowds attend him to the scaffold, and he is the hero of the day. What notoriety can be so easily obtained—it is no wonder that many aspire after it.'

"Once more we appeal to the better feelings of the fraternity, on the subject of uniting in an effort to improve the character of the public press. Why may not a convention be formed, agree upon a plan, and establish rules that shall be calculated to make our papers more useful, less offensive to good taste, and in all respects render them more worthy of the patronage of the public? Why is it not as practicable as it is to establish, by mutual agreement, uniform prices for advertisements, and such other regulations for mutual benefit as have been from time to time agreed upon and adhered to? Let us throw aside the little bickerings and the personal squabbles too often indulged in, and give to our journals a higher moral tone; and instead of groping in the purities of courts and jails—of police-offices and bridewells, for items of news, let them be devoted to the higher objects of imparting such kind of information as may *elevate the mind, purify the morals, and refine the taste of our patrons.*"

P.S. Ah! Mr. DUN! They may found societies as long as they please, "for the express purpose of promoting industry;" they may found such societies; and BROUGHAM and Mother MARTINEAU and Lord ALTHORP, with roaring RUSSETON for a mouth-piece (what

a mouth !), and silky JOSEPH PARKES for a *pis-aller* ; but never will they have industry, properly so called, as long as, amongst those who are destined to labour when they become men and women, the early years are wasted in learning *a b abs* and *i b ibs*, or in *singing*, as the little creatures are now doing in this very Bolt-court, the *Apostles' Creed*, the *Magdalen Hymn*, and the *Pence Table*, almost in the same breath, instead of being shoying off birds, or tending pigs and geese in the stubbles. Train the twig in the shape in which you would have the pole : if you would have an industrious man, or woman, let their little hands and feet begin very early to move in useful avocations. A hurdle-maker in a Hampshire copse, he twisting the rods round the stakes to make the hurdle ; his eldest boy with his little hook, splitting the rods and laying them ready to his hand ; his second boy cutting off the twigs from the rods and making them smooth for splitting ; his third boy cutting down the rods ; his fourth boy, bringing them, two or three at a time, to the second boy ; his fifth, four or five years old, wrapped up in warm rags with bits of old cloth tied round his little legs and ancles, with his little hands tucked in amongst the rags to keep them from the cold, standing and looking at the operations of the rest, or warming his fingers by a little fire made of the offal, collected by himself, and having already more real sense than BROUGHAM, Mother MARTINEAU and roaring RUSHTON, all put together : *that*, or something like it, and of the same sort precisely, I have seen hundreds of times in Hampshire and Sussex. *That* is a "*school of industry* ;" *that* is education ; those are the valuable people ; not the sauntering, conceited, lazy wretches, who are stuck up to burn their shins, while they are sighing over novels, or singing hymns to the praise and glory of *cant*. How sweet the hunchion of that hurdler and his boys ! How justly divided amongst them ! How sweet the bit of hot bacon for supper ; and how sweet the sleep ; how much more *good sense* is there in that family, than there would be, if the boys spent the day in the

gabbling of a school ; and, oh ! how deep the damnation due to those, who would put a hog's mess of potatoes in the place of that bit of bacon !

But, here is the devil and all for Mother MARTINEAU in this American account ; for here is the increase of poverty and crime both ascribed to the newspapers ! By Heavens, a famous argument for Lord ALTHORP, when he has again to refuse to take off the "*taxes upon knowledge*," which some of my brother members-of-Parliament held me up as a blasphemer when I called it a "*tax upon nonsense*." A famous argument for my Lord, who has everlastingly been reproached with keeping the "*taxes upon knowledge*," and who has had to fight against the terrible argument afforded by the brilliant example of America, the *innocent* and *happy* state of which the feelosofer vagabonds have always ascribed to the extensive circulation of newspapers ! Faith, my Lord is prepared for them now : this American account will puzzle them to death ; they will firk their polls, and shake their ears, like a dog with the mange, and, as such dogs do, bring up a sort of half-growl half-groan from the bottom of their stomachs. FIELDING, in one of his romances, giving the figure of great discomfiture, says something of this sort : "Imagine a quack doctor standing upon his stage, his hand stretched out, proving the infallible efficacy of his nostrums, citing the instance of a particular patient ; and then imagine that patient brought and tossed down dead upon the stage, having expired with the nostrum in his throat." A case requiring strong imagination, to be sure ; but a case not more complete, and, if the devilish feelosofers had any shame, not more effective, than this American account ; which, however, though it may fail to have any effect upon the brazen humbug feelosofers, will, I am sure, not fail to produce effect upon my Lord of the *Exchequer*, who has now got his answer cut and dried, and who, if he do not make use of it, has not one drop of true financiering blood in his veins.

GARDEN SEEDS.

I took a farm for several purposes : 1. To please myself, and to live, at the end of my days, in those scenes in which I began them ; 2. To make the life as long as nature, unhurt by smoke and confinement, would let it be ; 3. To make a complete TULLIAN FARM, raise large crops of MY OWN CORN, and to set an example for others to follow ; 4. To make a LOCUST-COPPICE, and to rear hop-poles in eight years to last for twenty ; 5. To raise GARDEN SEEDS in the best possible manner.

The 3 and 4 are things not to be accomplished in one year ; but I have a good piece of Cobbett's Corn ; I have mangel wurzel, turnips and cabbages in the Tullian style ; I have the locust plants for a little coppice.

And, as to GARDEN SEEDS, I have a complete crop of all sorts, raised with the greatest care ; placed at distances to keep them true to their kind, and managed properly in every respect. These seeds will be sold, as they were last year, at the shop where the Register is published, and they will be packed up for sale in the same manner. That is to say, in BAGS OF CANVAS. There are, all together, more than FIFTY SORTS of seeds. Each sort will be put into a paper-bag, and then the 50 or more paper-bags will be put into a canvas-bag, sewed up at the mouth. Each paper-bag will have a number upon it ; and there will be a printed paper in each bag, containing the names of the seeds, each name having a number against it, corresponding with the number on the paper-bag which contains that sort of seed ; and, the paper-bags shall now be tied, which, they were not last year ; owing to which I was sorry to find, that some of the purchasers experienced inconvenience.

This mode of doing the business was attended with great success last year. Many gentlemen have called at the shop to express their satisfaction at the produce of the seeds, and I am sure, that their satisfaction, on this account, cannot be greater than mine. This year my bags will contain what they did not contain last year ; namely, some of the KNIGHT-PEA, of which, by means of

the farm, I have been enabled to raise a considerable quantity, and which is not only beyond all measure superior to all other peas, but by proper plantings, gives you fine green peas till the *hard frosts come*. I have them now, on the 20. September, as fine and fresh as ever peas were in the month of June ; and this pea is particularly calculated for *hot countries*, where all other peas, that I have ever seen, *mildew*, or will not grow at all, *after midsummer*. I have the KNIGHT-PEA now bearing fine peas fit to eat, and having fresh bloom still coming out.

Some little time ago, a gentleman called to get some bags of seeds to take to NEWFOUNDLAND. I had none ; but the bags of new seeds will be ready by the 15. of November ; and the gardens in Newfoundland are not planted till April. I once thought of sending a part of my seeds to be sold at NEW YORK ; but I have changed my mind about that. If any body there, or in any part of the United States, wish to have them, there are ships enough, God knows, to carry them, unless the owners think that having anything *really useful* on board would sink the ship.

There will be two sizes of bags, one for a *large* garden and one for a *small* one ; the latter will contain half the quantity of the former. The price of the former, 25s. ; the price of the latter, 12s. 6d. ; always ready money. It is impossible for any man to raise such an assortment of true seeds in any one garden ; and, if he could do it, the doing of it would cost him six times the sum that I sell these seeds at.

Any person who purchases ten bags, will pay the price of eight, and, if twenty bags, will pay the price of fifteen ; and, if 100, pay for 60. The bags will be so strongly done up that they can be sent with safety to any part of the kingdom or of the world, and each bag will have on it, or in it, a card, with these words, in *fac-simile* of my hand-writing : "GARDEN SEEDS, RAISED, in 1833, BY WM. COBBETT, M P. FOR OLDHAM." And my constituents will remember, that *La charne, L'épée et La plume ne deroge pas*.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THE following documents will speak for themselves. My readers will recollect Mr. YEATMAN'S publications on this subject.

At a special session of the justices acting for the division of Sturminster Newton, in the county of Dorset, held at the Crown-inn, at Sturminster, on the 22. July, 1833,

It was unanimously resolved,—That the cordial thanks of the justices of this division be given to their colleague, the Rev. HARRY FARR YEATMAN, for the trouble and expense which he hath incurred in establishing his very able defence of their conduct in the administration of the poor-laws, as well as for his complete and successful refutation of certain passages in a recently published "Report of the Assistant Commissioner," which covertly and unjustly charges the justices of the said division with mischievous interference and party bias in the execution of their magisterial duties.

It was also resolved,—That these resolutions be reduced to writing, signed by the justices of the division, and presented to Mr. Yeatman, and inserted in the *Dorchester and Salisbury and Winchester Journals*, and also in one of the London papers.

JOHN BASTARD,
G. THOMSON JACOB,
GEORGE C. LOFTUS,
JOHN HUSSEY,
WILLIAM BOUCHER.

Though prevented by indisposition from attending the special sessions, at Sturminster, I desire to add my signature to the above resolutions.

HENRY KER SEYMOUR.

MR. YEATMAN'S REPLY.

Mr. Boucher and Gentlemen,

I beg to offer you my sincerest and very heartfelt thanks for the flattering and truly valuable testimonial, indicative of your confidence and approbation thus kindly and thus publicly presented to me. It is a source of the highest pleasure to me to be assured, that you are satisfied with the humble efforts

which I have made to emancipate the justices of this division from the charges and insinuations preferred against them by the poor-law commissioner, lately acting for this county; and I am the more gratified and delighted at the approbation which you have thus been generous enough to extend to me, because, so far from considering it as a mark of esteem rendered to me on your parts, on the ground of mere prejudice and partiality, I can positively declare, that I have received from other persons from gentlemen of great influence and consideration, from those who reside in distant parts of England, and consequently from those who are, and must be, divested of all suspicion of being actuated by either local or party feeling, an assurance on their parts, that the defence which I set up and established in the name and on the behalf of the justices of the Sturminster Newton division, has been, in their opinion, both unanswered and complete; and that we, the said justices, are absolutely, and entirely, and honourably acquitted from the charges which have been preferred and alleged against us.

But if I had not only in view the emancipation of the justices of this division from the charges and insinuations which were groundlessly, and somewhat gracelessly, advanced against them, in the report of the aforesaid poor-law commissioner, I felt, at the same time, that I was endeavouring to clear away a certain portion of that unmerited odium and disrespect which ill-affected persons have, for some years past, endeavoured to throw around the whole magistracy of this kingdom. Attacks like these, levelled against the motives and conduct of the justices of Great Britain, can only be considered as so many steps taken by those who are ready and determined, at the first convenient opportunity, to put them aside, and to supersede them altogether. But, gentlemen, I would ask, if the provincial magistrates are put down, and the stipendiary justices are appointed in their stead, I would ask, what are the consequences which are likely to arise, and what are the benefits to be derived from

the introduction of a municipal regulation, so new and so uncalled for as this? In the first place, annual salaries must be paid to these stipendiary justices, which will add somewhat considerably to the taxation and the distresses of this country, and which, therefore, must impoverish the Government, without benefiting the people! For I ask, with confidence, whether our successors—if in evil hour they should happen to be appointed—would bestow more time and labour, or self-devotion, than we have done to the consideration of the several cases which will come before them? and whether, secondly, the introduction of a new system of practice on the formal and rigid principles which prevail in the courts above, will give greater satisfaction than the very indulgent and temperate mode of inquiry and decision, which is at present adopted by the provincial justices of this kingdom? Does any one conceive, that they will make more allowance for the unlettered simplicity and slow comprehension of those who come before them, either as prosecutors, as witnesses, or as defendants, or that they will be better acquainted with the habits of the people, or search deeper into the causes of those irregularities which they are appointed to put down? Will the inhabitants of this country *prefer strangers* as their local judges, to those gentlemen amongst whom they have lived; with whose kindness and benevolence they are hourly and daily and continually made acquainted; and of the purity of whose motives they are conscientiously convinced. As a proof that this mutual confidence and reciprocity of good-will and good-feeling does exist between the provincial and district magistrates on the one hand, and the public at large on the other, I can state one fact, at all events, by way of confirmation, so far as this division is concerned, calculated to show that the existence of such feelings are not imaginary, viz., that although it has happened during the last twenty years, that I have been present at, a party too, and through your indulgence the propounder of a vast number of convictions, under the

several and multifarious statutes which we have been called upon to administer, yet, that in the whole course of my life, I have never experienced the slightest degree of unkindness or incivility from any one of the *ten thousand* persons who reside within the Sturminster Newton Division; and that during the agricultural riots and the popular excitement which frightened “this isle from its propriety,” in 1830, I received but one single communication, and that was from an humble individual, who kindly offered to come forward to defend with his life, if necessary, both my property and my person! Lastly, as a proof that if we have administered the poor-laws so as to afford relief *generally* to the impotent and infirm, as well as *occasionally* to the unemployed and able-bodied paupers of this division, in extreme and urgent cases, as a proof that we have not been unmindful of the rights and interests of its rated inhabitants, wherever to be found, or dipped our hands too deeply into their purses, and beyond the exigencies of the time, I state this important and additional fact, as well, first, that we, as justices of this division, have for some time past been in the habit of ordering very little more for the relief of a pauper family, if six persons, than Lord Chief Justice Hale considered to be sufficient and also necessary for the same number of persons 180 years ago; and that, secondly, taking the whole twenty parishes of this division, with a population of ten thousand persons within them, the average amount of poor-rate does not exceed the very moderate sum of two shillings and nine-pence three farthings in the pound sterling; and, what is more, that in *eleven parishes*, out of the aforesaid *twenty*, the poor-rate has actually decreased in amount within the year now last past, with a sure and certain prospect of that decrease being extended to others at the end of the parochial year now passing away. It was in support, then, of a system of legal practice conferring advantages like these upon the public,—a system which resembles, in the language of our great bard, “an hoop of gold, to

bind the people in," which unites and comprehends the rich man and the poor man under one goodly form of legal remedy and restraint,—which amalgamates and consolidates contending interests and feelings,—which brings home justice to the door of every man, and that, too, at little cost, much upon the principle of the great charter of our privileges and rights; and it was also in defence of the justices of this division, or who had by prudence and caution upheld that system, from which they had been unjustly accused of having departed and stepped aside, and who had so administered its provisions as to deprive the poor-laws of nearly all the evils which, under ordinary circumstances, they are too well known to occasion,—it was in defence of principles, that, belonging to the Constitution, and of a system of jurisprudence, was valuable and blessed, that I ventured to go forth; not presuming to deny the impolicy of the present poor-law system, when forced and driven by adverse circumstances into extremities, which are attributable principally, if not solely, to the imperfection of the existing statutes—but, *at the same time, fearlessly denying that the evils of that system had been aggravated by myself, or my brother justices of the division!* To be assured that I have succeeded, and to be presented with so kind and flattering a mark of the approbation of my honourable colleagues, is, to me, and ever will be, a source of pride and of pleasure, of the most exalted description: and I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that as long as health and strength will permit me to do so, so long will I endeavour, by increased exertions in the discharge of my public duties, to make something like an acceptable return for the great honour which you have now been good enough to confer upon me, and to earn, if I can do so, what I value above all ordinary considerations, the continuance of your confidence and esteem.

THE WHIG COMMISSIONS.

*From Nicholson's Commercial Gazette,
14. September, 1833.*

TO THE EDITOR OF "NICHOLSON'S
COMMERCIAL GAZETTE.

"Mr. HAMPDEN insisted that 'there could be no real settlement, nay, that it was a jest to talk of settlement, till the manner and time of calling Parliaments, and their sitting when called, are fully determined; and this, in order to prevent the practice of keeping one and the same Parliament long on foot, till the majority was corrupted by offices, gifts, and pensions!'"—HOBHOUSE.—*Defence of the People*, p. 25-6.

Sir,—The electors of Hull are indebted to you, for having informed them that, at the last general election, they sent to Parliament a man who was, at the time of his election, in the pay of the Government. We marvelled at his deeds; but we attributed his defalcations to his *cloak*! But you have given us *data* to which we can refer them with a certainty.

Spurred to it by your article in the last number, I have procured a copy of the parliamentary return to which you there allude; and, as your notice of it was very short, I wish, for the information of my brother electors, to trouble you with a more detailed account of the "pots and pay" doled out in this instance. You are politician enough to know, that, of all the fertile sources of corruption, none has been more fertile than "commissions." We have had them of almost permanent duration; they have been the sly means of providing maintenance and fortune for creatures incapable or unwilling to gain either in any other way; and, of all others, a commissionership has been the choice bait for a vacillating patriot. However, to my narrative:—

An act was passed in July 1830 (11 Geo. IV. and 1 Wm. IV.) to regulate the fees, &c. to be in future received by the officers of the superior courts of common law. In October, 1830, just before the Whigs came in, the commissioners were appointed to examine into the matter under the above act. They were Sergeant GOULBOURN (brother to the then Chancellor of the Exchequer) FORTUNATUS DWARIS, Esq., T. F. DICKENSON, Esq., and G. FAULKNER, Esq. The business of these commissioners under the above act was, "to ascertain the gross and net annual value of the lawful fees and emoluments of all offices and employments in the superior courts of common law, according to a fair average of the ten years next preceding the 24. May, 1830, and to certify the same, &c." On the 2. of September, 1831, the Lords of the Treasury allowed 2000*l.* to be granted to each of the commissioners for all their services until the business should be concluded: "PROVIDING however, that if any considerable additional labour was thrown upon them by any further interference of the legislature, or otherwise,

"their lordships would consider what additional remuneration the commissioners might be fairly entitled to." They directed that 1000*l.* should be immediately paid to each commissioner.

Thus, then, though these commissioners were to be paid *by the job*, there was still a hole left to creep through; and, accordingly in *less than a month*, they found that they could not go on without "*interference of the legislature*," which came in the act of 1 and 2 Wm IV. c. 35, entitled "An act to *explain and amend*" the other acts! And, therefore, on the 4. of September, 1832, the Lords of the Treasury sanctioned an additional grant of 1000*l.* each to those commissioners on account of this act to *amend*, and directed another 1000*l.* each to be then advanced to them.

In December, 1831, Mr. FAULKNER resigned. The return does not state why, nor does it state what became of him; but he resigned. And in the January next following Mr. HILL was appointed to his place; and concerning this matter, I find the following in the return laid before Parliament:—

"In the minute of the 4. September, 1832, their Lordships adverted to the resignation of Mr. FAULKNER, and the appointment of Mr. HILL, and Mr. FAULKNER having received the first payment of 1000*l.*, their Lordships conceived Mr. HILL entitled to a second payment, and directed accordingly; but *part of the year having elapsed before Mr. HILL was able to enter upon the performance of the duties of the commission*, he (Mr. HILL) received 500*l.* for the year 1832, and 500*l.* for 1833."

Now, Sir, first just observe that this commission could do without one of its members for half a year, and yet go on! How do we know that it could not as well do without *three* of them as without *one*? The fact is, that all that these parties were instructed to inquire into, was more properly matter for the investigation of some rummaging attorney. No one of the officers whose tables of fees these Commissioners had to examine is ever entered by a barrister, nor does he know anything at all about them. They are all immediately under the Courts of *King's Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, and they are all locally situated in the Inner Temple and Sergeant's Inn, and a London attorney would know where to put his finger upon them all at once; he would be conversant in every matter concerning them, and, having to pay the fees, he would be, of all men, the man to bring them to light. Oh, no! but here were twelve or thirteen thousand pounds to be given away, and this brings out a swarm like the hatchlings of a midsummer's afternoon. Out come *Fortunatus* this and *Fortunatus* that, as ready as if they had been begotten, born and bred for the very occasion. This was no job for an attorney! Here was meat for the brother of a Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, peradventure, if the thing could be kept a-going long enough by *acts and acts to amend acts and acts to explain acts*,

here was a fortune a-piece for the unsuccessful brothers of a whole cabinet and its dependencies!

But, Sir, our chagrin is, that we, the electors of Hull, should have sent a "*Fortunatus*" to represent us in the Parliament; and as we were deceived, I wish you to answer me this question: *How can we get rid of him?* He came to us saying not a word about his *commission-ship*; he professed the most ardent patriotism; vowed that he was connected with no party; that he was of principles similar to our own; that he had learned out of the same book, and would walk by the same light; that we were moved by the same interest, and, therefore, feeling that "*idem velle atque idem nolle*," which the moralists tell us is sure to produce harmony in spirit and concord in action; hearing in substance all this (and more) from him, we trusted him to represent us by his voice and by his vote. How have we been disappointed? But that is not the question: *How shall we get rid of him?* is what we ask.

We complain that we have been deceived; we elected a man who represented himself as above; and you have discovered him to be the reverse. We are *tax-payers*; is it likely that we should elect a *tax-eater* to represent us? No: the man obtained his seat by *suppressing the fact*, and, as this is equal in the eye of the law (when WE fall under the law) to telling a falsehood, why cannot we rid ourselves of the man who has so deceived us? There is law for almost every thing now-a-days. Is there no law, parliamentary, common, statute, equitable or divine, that will dissolve a contract of this nature? Surely there must be! At any rate, I am sure that our forefathers had the means which the electors of Hull now want. I read in one of their books that "a man may be excused of such a promise in conscience *by casually that cometh after the promise*, if it be so, that if he had known of the casualty at the making of the promise, he would not have made it." This I find in a book of great authority, called the *Doctor and Student*; but the other doctrine is more apt to this case: that where a deception is practised in the making of a bargain, either by direct falsehood, or by *withholding an important fact*; that is, a fact which would have guided the party from whom it is withheld to another course had he known it, the law will dissolve such a bargain, calling this *act suppressio veri*.

Now, Sir, this last is our case. We should not have elected Mr. HILL if we had known that he was a *tax-eater*: he did not tell us that he was a *tax-eater*; ought not our bargain to be void? We send him to Parliament to take care of our purse, and we find him paid out of that purse, and by the very persons whom we send him to watch. Scarcely and shily paid, too! Paid in such a manner as comes to light only by a kind of accident! In the management of your affairs, do you suffer your servants to handle your purse at their pleasure, and to pay the steward whom you

appoint to guard it? Absurd! and if our representatives want *pay*; if they must have 500*l.* or 1,000*l.* a year, we had much rather pay them ourselves for minding our concerns than that they should get paid by those whom we send them to watch. In short, unless we have short parliaments, we are in the same state that we were in before the Reform Bill passed. Look at the job with your own late representative! Look at that with ours! Jobbing and bribing is now the only resource of vicious ministers; and it will be more rife than ever now that it is their *only* resource. The rotten boroughs gone, they are driven to this. It behoves us, then, to meet corruption in this double, and thwart her workings to the best of our power; and I see no way so effectual, as making great and constant efforts to effect the shortening of parliaments.

I would say more upon the merits of the commission itself; but, as my principal object has been to thank you for your exposure of our "patriot" representative, and to aid you in your course, and as I have already troubled you at great length, I shall omit what I meant to say upon that point,

And remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

AN ELECTOR OF HULL.

Hull, 10. Sept., 1833.

COMMISSION ABOUT CRIMINAL LAWS.

THE following is the Commission which has been issued by his Majesty for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent it is practicable to reduce to a systematic code the statute and common law of this country:—

"William IV., by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith. To our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Starkie, Henry Bellenden Ker, William Wightman, Andrew Amos, and John Austin, greeting. Whereas we have thought it expedient, for divers good causes and considerations, that a commission should forthwith issue for the purpose of digesting into one statute all the statutes and enactments touching crimes and the trial and punishment thereof, and also of digesting into one other statute all the provisions of the common or unwritten law touching the same, and for inquiring and reporting how far it may be expedient to combine both those statutes into one body of the criminal law, re-

pealing all other statutory provisions, or how far it may be expedient to pass into a law the first-mentioned only of the said statutes, and generally for inquiring and reporting how far it may be expedient to consolidate the other branches of the existing statute law, or any of them. Know ye, that we, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, ability, and discretion, have authorized and appointed, and by these presents, do authorize and appoint you, the said Thomas Starkie, H. B. Ker, W. Wightman, A. Amos, and J. Austin, or any three or more of you, to digest into one statute all the statutes and enactments touching crimes, and the trial and punishments thereof, and also to digest into the other statute all the provisions of the common or unwritten law touching the same, and to inquire and report how far it may be expedient to combine both these statutes into one body of the criminal law, repealing all other statutory provisions; or how far it may be expedient to pass into a law the first-mentioned only of the said statutes, and generally to inquire and report how far it may be expedient to consolidate the other branches of the existing statute law, or any of them; and for the better effecting the purposes of this our Commission, we do by these presents give and grant to you, or any three or more of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any three or more of you, such person as you shall judge necessary, by whom you may be the better informed on the subject of this our Commission, and every other matter connected therewith; and also to call for, have access to, and examine all such official books, documents, papers, and records, as may afford the fullest information on the subject, and to inquire of and concerning the premises by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever. And we do hereby give and grant to you, or any three or more of you, full power and authority, when the same shall appear to be requisite, to administer an oath or oaths to any person or persons whatsoever to be examined before you, or any three or more of you, touching or concern-

ing the premises. And our further will and pleasure is, that you, or any three or more of you, do, and shall, within the space of one year after the date of this our Commission, or sooner, if the same can reasonably be, certify to us in our court of Chancery or Parliament, under your hands and seals respectively, your several proceedings in this matter, as the same shall be respectively completed and perfected, particularly how far it may be expedient to combine both the statutes so digested into one body of the criminal law, repealing all other statutory provisions; or how far it may be expedient to pass into a law the first mentioned only of the said statutes, and generally how far it may be expedient to consolidate the other branches of the existing statute law, or any of them; and we will and command, and by these presents ordain, that this our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you or our said commissioners, or any three or more of you, may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment. And we do hereby direct and appoint that you, or any three or more of you, may have liberty to certify your several proceedings from time to time to us in our said court of Chancery, as the same shall be respectively completed and perfected. And we hereby command all and singular our justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, officers, ministers, and all other our loving subjects whatever, as well within liberties as without, that they be assistant to you and each of you in the execution of these presents. And for your assistance in the due execution of this our commission, we have made choice of our trusty and well beloved James Lonsdale, gentleman, to be secretary to this our Commission, whose services and assistance we require you to use from time to time as occasion shall require.

"In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, on the

23d day of July, in the 4th year of our reign.

"By writ of Privy Seal,
"BATHURST."

SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY.

THE case of Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY is a thing to be remembered, not only now, but long after his persecutors shall have ceased to exist. There is not a more worthy man in England, nor one whose cause calls for more zealous support. His whole case is stated by himself, in the following letter, and in the letter to Lord LYNDBURST, which is subjoined to it. When I have inserted these documents, I shall have a few remarks of my own to add.

Wolseley, 17. July, 1833.

SIR,—I enclose you a copy of a letter to Lord LYNDBURST, which was written two or three months before he was turned out of office. I sent it to my brother in London, and in order that there should be no excuse for not acknowledging it, I added a postscript, saying "*that any answer his Lordship might choose to give, might be sent to my brother's address, so and so.*" A month went by—no acknowledgment—I wrote a note to him then, to say, I had written him a *certain letter*—waited another month. I wrote him another note, telling him that I had written him *two letters*, and that my notion of common courtesy was, that he ought to acknowledge them; but courtesy was not the order of the day with the Chancellor, and no answer came. I waited near another month, and in that time he was *out*—out or in I stuck to him. I then wrote him a damned rap of the knuckles, for his rude and ungentlemanly conduct, and sent it to him by my brother, who by chance got an interview, demanding the original letter I wrote him *to be given up*. It would make you laugh to hear the account of the interview, for he thought my brother was come from me *to challenge him*; however, he told my

brother a long rigmarole, and said he would send me the letter, and in three or four days after I received it, with a long *foolish* note, excusing himself (*now mind*) on account of my letter coming from abroad! but then there was "*the postscript*," now what do you suppose he did with that? Why, he scratched and re-scratched it out with his pen; and, in his note, he made an excuse for having made some *notes* on the back of my letter!! only conceive of this! Well, while he was *scratching* out my postscript, I sent a copy of *the letter* to Brougham, just made Chancellor, telling him I had sent it to Lyndhurst, and that up to *that moment* I had not had an acknowledgment of it, which was a *hint* for him not to do *the same*. He, however, was more inclined to be civil; and before forty-eight hours were gone by, I was, by appointment, at his house. He was kind and civil, and the conversation was curious—something like the following:—"Sir C. your case is the hardest case in England; even more hard than Mr. Knight's. You may remember I spoke in the House of Lords the other night, but I did not think of your case." "My Lord," I said, "I was aware you meant Mr. Knight, although you did not mention his name." "Yes, but we Lord Chancellors cannot do as we will on the subject of gentlemen's names being put down on the commission of the peace, we must take their names from the lord-lieutenants of counties—we know nothing of the character of the county gentry. *Who is your Lord Lieutenant?*" "Lord Talbot," and he shook his head, "that will not do—but it shall be done—I will not write to Lord Talbot, but I will get some friend of his to speak to him, to send your name up—it shall be done." I took my leave, but the devil a bit has it been done, and here are almost three years gone by!"

I have not the slightest wish to be in the commission—for I would not act, and carry into effect their *laws*; but, without taking out my *dedimus*, I can sit on the bench, and I was always a thorn in their side, by looking them

up, and telling them so; therefore I might be of service.—Yours, &c.

C. WOLSELEY.

TO LORD LYNDHURST.

MY LORD,—At the commencement of a new reign, already distinguished by acts of royal grace and favour, and the disposition of the Sovereign to enter into a closer relation with the people than heretofore, your Lordship cannot think I choose my season ill to call your attention to an injustice which I suffered under the last, and which it is entirely within your competence to redress.

It will not have escaped your recollection, my Lord, that in the year 1820, I was brought to trial at Chester, for alleged "*seditions speaking*," and "*a conspiracy to overturn his Majesty's Government*." Now, that the heats and animosities of that period have passed away, and a better feeling of the rights and duties of Englishmen seem to be prevailing over the mere feeling of party, no English jury, the worst that could be packed, would be found to convict me on the same evidence, your Lordship knows it as well as I do, of such crimes as I was convicted of then. A conversation with five men at the corner of a street in *Stockport*, of which nothing is heard by the witness called to prove it, though it should be but four hours before some public meeting, could not now be twisted into a conspiracy to overturn his Majesty's Government. No perjured BURGLAR could now fix on me *seditions* expressions, which were never uttered, and flatly contradicted by the paid reporters of the *ministerial* press of the day, sent to the spot for purposes which were disappointed. No, my Lord, this could not now be; no, not even if *Chief Justice Warren* were to rise from his grave. Upon such evidence, however, and before such a judge, was I then convicted, and sentenced thereon to the heavy punishment of eighteen months' imprisonment, which I suffered without the remission of a single day.

It is not, however, my Lord, to the time which was lopped off from my life

and liberty that I at present call your Lordship's attention; what I do call your attention to is, the farther wrong I suffered, by my name being struck out of the commission of the peace for Staffordshire, when I was dragged to prison, to the cruel increase of a cruel sentence. In virtue of the high office you hold in the state, *this still existing part* of my punishment can be removed by your Lordship's act.

You will surely, my Lord, not hesitate at the present day to enter into the position of an English gentleman, who, smitten by a civil disqualification, is driven from his home; nor judge him otherwise, than that he must esteem a wrong done to his consequence in the face of his native county, where his family has been constantly seated, and honourably known for near 700 years, to be far beyond all manner of suffering; and consequently not refuse, I would venture to assure myself, by replacing his name in the commission of the peace for the county of Stafford, and do him *that justice* which he respectfully requires at your Lordship's hand. And I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient servant,

C. WOLSELEY.

To the Right Hon. Lord Lyndhurst, &c.
31. Aug. 1830.

These documents speak very plainly for themselves, and the scrubby and selfish Whigs may take what they can get by it. Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY was prosecuted merely for *words spoken*; and upon evidence such as would not be listened to for a moment, in any fair court of justice. And there is POPAY, the spy, proved by witness after witness, whose evidence is on record before the House of Commons; for the truth of which evidence a committee of that House has vouched. Here is this spy, who, amongst other things, suggested the propriety of assassinating a privy-councillor; there is this seditious spy, not only walking at large in the vicinage where he committed his crimes; but swaggering about like a gentleman, and insulting the people. However, this is

not done with yet. Michaelmas Term is not yet come, to be sure; but the law-officers might have proceeded before now. This *Chief Justice WARREN* was a WHIG; rather a Jacobin-Whig. I dined with him, I remember, in a great company at ROBERT KNIGHT'S, in *Baker-street*, in 1806. And I remember, that he spent a considerable part of the night in endeavouring to persuade me, that I was very wrong in the notions which I had imbibed relative to the truth of revealed religion. Sir CHARLES did not know this, or else he would not have talked of the Judge's *coming up again*; though, perhaps, when he came to be engaged in the prosecuting of sedition and blasphemy, he might have changed his notions with regard to religion as well as with regard to politics. These things are not to be forgotten.

COVENTRY ELECTION.

THE following letter to Mr. ELLICE may serve as a hint to him, and a pretty broad hint, too. The contents are stated with great ability, great force, and great effect. It is impossible that he can face the people of COVENTRY again, unless he give up his place, and become their member in reality. Mr. ELLICE is a sensible, considerate, and good-tempered man; but, in these cases, it is a question of DUTY; and it is his bounden duty to cast aside all considerations but those which arise out of a sense of that duty. What are his engagements with his colleagues; what are these when put in competition with his duty to his constituents. There is not a man in England who more clearly understands, who can more accurately estimate, the monstrous injustice and cruelty inflicted on the industrious classes by the debt, the army, the pensions and sinecures, and their consequent savage taxation. There is not a man in England more capable of estimating these wrongs done to the people: and, therefore, in him it is to be ten-fold negligent of his duty, not to insist upon putting a stop to this injustice.

Most assuredly that poor miserable pinner, JOSEPH PARKES, of BIRMINGHAM, would not have been visible in COVENTRY for five minutes if I had gone thither in March last. With regard to my son who was nominated there, and who was by accident unable to go; that would not have signified a straw, if I could have gone myself; and, it was singular enough that I, who never was unable to move from place to place more than about twenty days in the whole course of my life, should have been stopped half way to COVENTRY by the accursed *influenza*, which actually laid me by the heels for two whole days. However, please God I live, things shall be in due preparation next time. I shall go to OLDHAM, some time in *October*; and, on my way, either backward or forward, I will stop one day at COVENTRY; and I will settle beforehand with friends there, whom I beg to write to me upon the subject as soon as convenient, upon the plan of operations. I remember well the conduct of the good-spirited fellows of COVENTRY. It was the corrupt ruffians who went down from London, who prevented my election in 1820, and which prevention was effected by as foul means as ever were made use of in this world. Personally, Mr. ELLICE committed no offence against me, and he never has; and his conduct in the affair of NEWSHAM the soldier, for whom he has very wisely and humanely obtained a discharge, has been such as to do him the greatest honour. But, what is all this to the people of COVENTRY? They have claims upon him not at all connected with private character, or with conduct as Secretary at War; and the first claim of all that they have upon him is, that he shall do his best, and above all things give his votes, for taking off the intolerable burdens from their shoulders; and, if he do not do that, not only shall I, or any other person, have a right, a clear right, to oppose him at COVENTRY; but, if we have the means within our reach, it will be our duty to do it; and, as far as I am concerned, that duty shall not be neglected. A seat for COVENTRY is due to the name of CO-

BENT; but, if there be not one of that name fit for it when the time shall come, I will assist the best man that I can find out in England, who is ready to take upon him so important and sacred a duty.

A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HON. E. ELLICE, M. P.,

His Majesty's Secretary of War.

SIR,—As the first session of the reformed Parliament is terminating, and all the hopes and expectations of a noble people have been disappointed by the retrograde movements of the Legislature, it is time for the electors to take a view of the actions of their representatives, in order to show them that the people are not retrograding, if the law-makers are. Of one thing I am certain, that the electors of Coventry are far in advance of either of their representatives in the march of improvement, for you meet with but few of them who do not decry the old expensive and corrupt mode of conducting the elections for this city, and I speak within compass, when I say, that there are more than two thousand of the electors who not only see the necessity, but are willing to vote for the candidates of their choice, without putting them to any expense whatever; therefore, as the old drunken system will be annihilated, and a new system established, it will be the interest of future candidates to explain themselves through the printing press; and in order to give you an opportunity of embracing the new system, I will put a few plain questions to you respecting your actions in the reformed Parliament, and you will find it much cheaper to print a thousand copies of your answer to this letter than to explain yourself through the old system of ward managers, pot-houses, &c. First, sir, how can you, as a reforming and retrenching Minister, reconcile your professions of economy with the fact of your name appearing in all the midnight majorities for voting away the public money? Take the following as a specimen of the economical grants of a reformed Parliament in one night:

To defray the salaries of the officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons.....	£.	s.	d.
For the expenses of the Houses of Lords and Commons....	45,350	0	0
To make good the deficiency of the fee-fund for the Treasury.....	25,200	0	0
For the fee-fund for the Home Department.....	37,200	0	0
For the Foreign Department.....	10,745	0	0
For the Colonies.....	12,462	0	0
	12,275	0	3

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
To make good the deficiency in the fee-fund of the Privy Council and Council of Trade	13,500	0	0	For the foreign and secret services	39,400	0	0
On account of the Lord Privy Seal	2,000	0	0	For printing acts of Parliament, bills and reports...	56,000	0	0
For contingent expenses and messengers' bills in the Treasury Department.....	7,500	0	0	For stationery, printing, and binding for both Houses of Parliament	113,988	0	0
For the like for the Home Department	6,284	0	0	For the expenses of the Mint, in the coinage of gold and the re-coinage of silver....	31,700	0	0
For the Foreign Department..	39,600	0	0	For Mint prosecutions	8,000	0	0
For the Colonies.....	5,600	0	0	For law charges.....	15,000	0	0
For the Privy Council	5,453	0	0	For confining, employing, and maintaining convicts at home and in Bermuda, and for clothing the convicts in New South Wales	89,654	0	0
For the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer	4,366	0	0	For the support of captured and liberated negroes.....	25,000	0	0
To defray the expenses and salaries of certain professors at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge	1,264	0	0	For the maintenance of the convicts in New South Wales and Van Diemens Land....	130,000	0	0
For defraying the effective charge of the registration of aliens for the year ending April 1, 1834	1,533	16	0	For the record commission ..	8,000	0	0
To defray the charge of the Penitentiary at Millbank for the ensuing year.....	8,581	5	0	For the purchase of the pensions granted by King Chas. II. to Colonel Fairfax and his heirs for ever, and to the heirs of Nicholas Yates and their heirs for ever	3,646	13	9
To make good the deficiency of the fees in the office for the registry of slaves in the Colonies	1,514	0	0	To pay the annual compensation awarded to Sir Abraham Bradley King, late King's stationer in Ireland, for losses sustained by him by the revocation of his patent	2,500	0	0
For salaries and other expenses in the State Paper Office, &c. &c.....	4,570	0	0	In aid of the voyage of discovery to the polar regions ..	2,000	0	0
For the expenses of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the practice and proceedings of the superior courts of common law	7,907	0	0	To W. Morton, on account of his invention of a patent slip	2,500	0	0
To pay the salaries and incidental expenses of the commissioners appointed on the part of his Majesty, to prevent the illegal traffic in slaves	16,500	0	0	For fees payable on turnpike road bills	6,000	0	0
For the salaries of Consuls-General, Consuls, and Vice-Consuls for the ensuing year	70,875	0	0	For the civil establishment of the Bahama Islands	2,140	0	0
For the salaries and expenses of the commissioners of Public Charities to 1834..	13,150	0	0	For the establishment of the Bermudas	4,249	0	0
For retired allowances and superannuations to persons employed in the public service	55,976	0	0	For the civil establishment of Prince Edward's Island	3,220	0	0
To relieve the Toulonaise and Corsican Emigrants	11,112	0	0	For the civil establishment of Newfoundland	12,861	0	0
For the National Vaccine Establishment	2,200	0	0	For the civil establishment of Sierra Leone, the river Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Fernando Po	17,393	0	0
For the Refuge for the Destitute	3,000	0	0	For the expense of our clergy in our North American Colonies	18,700	0	0
For confining and maintaining criminal lunatics.....	2,698	0	0	For the expenses of the colony in Western Australia	6,291	0	0
For the Protestant Dissenting ministers in England, the French refugee clergy, &c.	4,990	0	0	For the Indian department of Canada	20,000	0	0
				For the works of the Rideau Canal in Canada.....	40,000	0	0
				For the governors and deputy-governors of the West Indian colonies	14,587	0	0
				For the promotion of education in Ireland	25,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
For the Foundling Hospital in Dublin	22,000	0	0
For the House of Industry and the Lunatic Asylum, Dublin	19,609	0	0
For the Royal Marine Society, Dublin	650	0	0
For the Female Orphan Society, Dublin	1,016	0	0
For the Lock Hospital, Dublin	2,764	0	0
For the Lying-in Hospital, Dublin	1,500	0	0
For Dr. Stevens's Hospital, Dublin	1,500	0	0
For the Fever Hospital, Cork-lane, Dublin	3,800	0	0
For the Hospital of Incurables, near Dublin	500	0	0
For the Roman Catholic College of Ireland	8,928	0	0
For the Royal Dublin Society	5,300	0	0
For the Royal Irish Academy	300	0	0
For the Royal Hibernian Academy	300	0	0
For the Board of Charitable Donations and Bequests ..	700	0	0
For the Belfast Academical Institution	1,500	0	0
For the Board of Works	17,600	0	0
For the salaries of the Chief and Under Secretaries of Ireland	22,000	0	0
For the salaries of officers and attendants of the household of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	14,144	0	0
For the office of Vice-Treasurer and Teller of the Exchequer of Ireland	6,850	0	0
For publishing proclamations in Ireland	4,100	0	0
For the non-conforming and Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland	24,244	0	0
For criminal prosecutions in Ireland	50,000	0	0
In aid of the funds for the maintenance of the police department in Dublin	12,000	0	0
For public works in Ireland ..	3,276	0	0
For the repairs of Dunmore-harbour	4,000	0	0
For the town-land survey of Ireland	3,000	0	0
For carrying on and completing certain new roads in the county of Galway	5,000	0	0
To repay Mr. Orpen on the intended purchase by him of the office of one of the Six Clerks in Ireland	1,600	0	0
For completing the repairs of Whitehall Chapel	2,670	0	0
For the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of municipal corporations in Great Britain and Ireland, for 1833	15,700	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
For light-houses on the eastern coast	10,000	0	0
For the erection of school-houses in different parts of the country	20,000	0	0
For the miscellaneous charges of Scotland	57,227	0	0

Add to these twenty millions compensation to the worst class of men in existence, the West India slave-dealers, a set of wretches who have set at defiance the laws of God and man, and yet they are to be remunerated with twenty millions of money from the sweat of British labourers; and although you have consented to this waste of money for a partial emancipation of black slaves, you seem very reluctant to soften the condition of the white slaves, for I find you supporting Lord Althorp in refusing protection to the factory girls, who have entered their thirteenth year. Now as these girls are made of as good flesh and blood as any of your children, I put it to you, as the father of *motherless children*, to say how you would like to see one of your daughters at that tender age, after working sixteen hours in one of those infernal cotton bells, knocked on the head with a billy stick because the poor girl had fainted, and was unable to endure the last hour's torture, and if you would not like to see your *tender offspring* treated in this inhuman manner, how could you give your vote for torturing other children? I can assure you, Sir, that this vote for slowly murdering lovely women in the North, is not calculated to set the ladies of Coventry to canvass for you at the next election; and one million of money you have granted to the lazy Protestant clergy in Ireland because they cannot with the assistance of the martial law bill force the Catholics to pay tithe to a sinecure church, and why should the Dissenters of England, who voluntarily support the pastor of their choice be compelled not only to support the established church in this country but likewise be saddled with an extra burden to support the lazy parsons in Ireland? When you free-trade gentlemen introduced a scheme to destroy silk-weaving in England, you said the weaver must turn his hand to the plough or some other calling; why not tell the Irish parson, when he could not force the Catholics to pay tithe to a sinecure church, to turn Catholic: they will not be the first parsons who have changed their religion for love of money. Sir, I think the zeal and enthusiasm displayed by the new class of voters for your return at the two last elections merited some little attention being paid to their interests, instead of the contempt with which you have treated them every time a question in which they were most immediately concerned has been brought forward. Twice you have insulted this class of your constituents by opposing an inquiry into the distress of the country; but if, instead of being a tax-eater, you had been a tax-payer, with your hand continually in your pocket for poor-rates and

other local assessments, besides king's taxes, you would have been glad of an inquiry, in hope of keeping some of the fruits of industry for your own use. Your knowing that the Whig Government had resolved to make no attempt to relieve the distress is no excuse for opposing the inquiry. Had the inquiry been made, evidence would have been produced for better men to have worked upon. When Mr. Robinson proposed to take off 45 millions of taxes from the shoulders of the *useful* classes of society, and put them on the idle and *useless* classes, you opposed him, and by that opposition you insulted every useful man in the British empire. Three times you have opposed the repeal of the house and window taxes, well knowing that the ten-pound renters are the principal persons who pay these taxes in this city; and they will be unworthy the name of Englishmen if they do not let you know it, if ever you offer yourself again for their service. And by opposing the repeal of that clause of the Reform Bill which compels them to be clear of these taxes before they can exercise their ten-pound franchise, you passed a vote of insolvency on all who have not registered on account of being unable to pay their taxes; and should any prying creditor take advantage of the omission of their names on the church-door, and send a bailiff upon them, they ought to have good ground to bring an action against you for all the damage they may sustain. You have voted against the ballot, but your experience at Coventry elections ought to convince you of the necessity of it in this city; for although poverty is not a crime, it frequently leads to it, in causing men to vote contrary to their better judgments, either from gratitude for past favours, or promise of future gifts from the corporation; and the protection of the ballot would for ever prevent this crime. On the 10. of December, 1832, freemen who had ventured to vote for your opponents were stripped naked, and hunted through the streets like mad dogs, and by your vote you have declared that these men needed not the ballot to protect them from that violence. You opposed Mr. Tennyson's motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act, although you had previously voted for the repeal of that unconstitutional law, and called those men traitors to the constitution who first passed that bill. Now, sir, if it were well-timed to vote for the repeal of it in a corrupt Parliament, it certainly was ill-timed to vote against its repeal in a *reformed* Parliament, unless like a true Whig you say that you voted for the repeal in the unreformed house with a view to embarrass Government. In the well studied electioneering speeches delivered by you at the different ale-houses where you met the electors at the last election, you professed to be the enemy of all monopolies, and yet you have voted for the continuance of every one that has been brought before the present Parliament, and with respect to the Bank, you have not only renewed the charter for conti-

nuing that monopoly, but you have made them partners with the King in his royal prerogative of coining money, by making their notes a legal tender, well knowing that that measure will cause an advance in all the necessaries of life; while machinery, encouraged by a paper currency, will progressively reduce the price of labour; but it seems that you think it ill-timed to take off taxes, well-timed to cause an advance in all the necessaries of life, and to encourage machinery to reduce the price of labour, but very ill-timed to sweep off the unmerited pensioners from the Black and Grey List. And notwithstanding all your raving about the injustice of the Corn Laws, you have voted against the repeal of them, because you think it ill-timed to let your constituents have a cheap loaf, and ill timed to bring forward any measure to prevent the importation of French ribbons from robbing them of their labour. But for one vote I must give you credit, as it was good and independent, whatever might have been the motive that prompted you to give it; I mean your vote against the corruption of the Liverpool election; but when I look back to your last election for this city, and see that all the corruption practised was on your side, I am inclined to think it was more a vote of policy than principle, seeing that the Whig Government was at that time hourly expected to be dissolved, and by showing yourself hostile to your colleagues on a minor question, there were great hopes of your being chosen one of the next administration, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion when I recollect, that from the time of nomination to your leaving the town, was not more than forty-four hours; and here your immediate friends say, that the election cost you more than two thousand pounds, while your opponent, Mr. Thomas, the conservative candidate, polled better than 1,200 voters, for one hundred pounds expenses. And the radical opponent paid all the demands of his committee for check-clerks, messengers, printing, posting, &c. &c., together with the unreasonable and extravagant bill of the sheriffs for the hustings, with a seventy pound check. Now, Sir, as you spent twenty pounds to your opponents' one, I will ask you, if the tables had been turned, and Mr. Thomas spent twenty pounds to your one, whether it is not likely that he would have been the sitting member instead of you, seeing that he polled the majority of the resident freemen without corruption. The fact of Morgan Thomas having polled the majority of resident freemen, proves to a demonstration, that you are not at this time so much the representative of the inhabitants of Coventry, as you are of *secret service-money, cunningly drawn from the blood, marrow and brains of British slaves.*

I am, your very obliging servant,

AN INDEPENDENT ELECTOR.

Coventry, 14. Sept., 1833.

LOCAL COURTS, &c.

LETTER III., in the last Register.

THE following extraordinary number of *errata* in the printing of this letter, have, somehow or other, partly, no doubt, from the not very legible character of the hand-writing of the manuscript to those not accustomed to it, found their way into the last *Register*; and as many of these errors, besides completely destroying the grammar, make such abominable nonsense of a dozen sentences, that it must be impossible for the reader to guess at what was the author's meaning, it is absolutely necessary to point them out. Many of the earlier ones, however, are not very material.

Page.

- 687 l. 5. for "further," read "farther."
 688 l. 15. *dele* "the."
 — l. 48. after "be," insert "more."
 690 l. 16. for "Yearl," read "Yeovil."
 — l. 49. after "it," insert "were."
 691. l. 9. for "Burton," read "Bruton."
 — l. 22. for "Leanington," read "Lavington."
 — l. 27. *dele* "thousand."
 — l. 38. for "new," read "near."
 — l. 40. for "Heynsham," read "Keynsham."
 — l. 42. after "Thorubury," insert "Marshfield."
 693 l. 5. for "was," read "were."
 — l. 10. for "must," read "need."
 — l. 13. for "bear," read "there being."
 — l. 18. for "important," read "impertinent."
 694 l. 14. for "them," read "three."
 — l. 28. for "then," read "there."
 — l. 37. for "offices," read "officers."
 695 l. 5. for "those," read "these."
 — l. 6. for "any," read "every."
 695 l. 13. for "two," read "three."
 — l. 16. for "parcel," read "panel."
 696 l. 3. for "simply," read "safely."
 — l. 36. for "was," read "were."
 697 l. 20. for "ruined" read "revived."
 — l. 36. for "provisionally" read "praiseworthy."
 — l. 37. for "tions" read "tives."
 — — for "part" read "fact."
 — l. 42. for "real" read "cool."
 — l. 45. for "brothers" read "betters."
 — l. 49. for "reformers" read "reformer's self and his"
 698 l. 7. for "choice" read "device."
 — l. 14. for "what a zany" read "block-head, zany."
 — l. 33. for "soundness" read "sacredness."
 — l. last but three, for "men" read "man," and before "greatest" and after "Europe" put inverted commas.

I am sorry that Mr. George has experienced this inconvenience; but it has certainly arisen from his writing being difficult to read. The printers made me say, "*inhabitants*" instead of "*inheritorance*," in last *Register*, p. 659; and they, or I, in speaking of the Whig-Revolution, put it in 1668, instead of 1688.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

WRIGHT, P., High-street, St. Giles, bookseller.

LAWS, R. L., South-street, Greenwich, master-mariner.

BANKRUPTS.

GROOM, T., Welch Pool, Montgomeryshire, whurfinger.

HOLDEN, G., Salford, Lancashire, calenderman.

HOPKINS, A. B., and P. Burgess, Commercial-place, City-road, tobaccoists.

MOON, W., East Stonehouse, Devonshire, victualler.

SPEARS, J., Nottingham, lace-manufacturer.

WARD, G., Clare street, Clare-market, hatter.

WILSON, G., Brompton, Yorkshire, linen-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

COCKERILL, D., late of Little Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, but now of Edmonton, cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BERENBURG, J., late of Bloomfield-street, London-wall, tobaccoist.

BRAGG, R., Southmolton, Devonshire, wine and spirit-merchant.

BRYANT, J., Watlington, Sussex, draper and grocer.

CHAMBERS, C., Duxford, Cambridgeshire, grocer.

COOK, S., Weston, Somersetshire, gardener.

ENSELL, H. C., Winchester, glass-dealer.

FLETCHER, T., W. S. Roscoe, R. Roberts, J. Tarleton, and F. Fletcher, Liverpool, bankers.

HARRISON, J., Birmingham, auctioneer and general agent.

HODGSON, J., Liverpool, merchant.

LINDEGREN, J., Portsmouth, merchant.

MOORE, T., Dursley, Gloucestershire, iron-monger.

SHORT, W., Henrietta-street, Brunswick-square, Compton-street, Brunswick-square, and South Crescent mews, Barton-crescent, cabinet-maker.

TRENT, G., North-street, Lisson-grove, dealer.

WILBY, D., Nottingham, currier.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 16.—The supplies of Wheat, fresh up to this morning's market, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, were very moderate; but as the neighbouring country markets are well supplied, and prices lower than in Mark-lane, the millers evince little disposition to purchase at the present currency, prices were in consequence further depressed, and though selected parcels were worth as much money as last Monday, yet the generality of the better descriptions were 1s. and secondary parcels 2s. lower than this day se'nnight.

The quality of the new parcels though rather improved, yet many still handled cold and rough. A remarkably fine sample of Lincolnshire Wheat was exhibited weighing 62 to 63lbs. Old Corn supported its former rates. In bonded descriptions we heard of no business transpiring.

Several new samples of Barley were at market, but the quality of most of them was inferior even to those of the previous week, few proving fit for malting, being generally thin and steely, and prices on the whole were rather lower; middling obtaining 30s. to 34s. and the better descriptions 36s. to 38s. Old grinding Barley scarce, and 1s. dearer.

Malt dull, but prices unaltered.

An increased arrival of Oats rendered the trade dull, and Friday's quotations were barely supported, though the currency may be noted from 6d. to 1s. better than this day se'nnight.

Old Beans were in better supply, and 1s. to 2s. lower; new were also 1s. cheaper.

White Peas being in short supply, and now in request, advanced 2s. and grey and maple 1s. per qr.

Flour experienced a steady demand at full as good prices as last week.

Wheat.....	58s. to 64s.
Rye.....	30s. to 32s.
Barley.....	24s. to 26s.
—fine.....	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White.....	31s. to 34s.
—Boilers.....	33s. to 42s.
—Grey.....	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small.....	—s. to —s.
—Tick.....	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato.....	22s. to 24s.
—Feed.....	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack.....	50s. to 52s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new....	100s. to 105s.
—Moss, new ...	60s. to 62s. 6d. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ...	76s. to 77s. per cwt.
—Carlow	76s. to 79s.
—Cork	74s. to 75s.
—Limerick ..	74s. to 75s.
—Waterford..	73s. to 76s.
—Dublin	72s. to 74s.

SMITHFIELD, September 16.

This day's supply of Beasts was the most numerous we have witnessed here, since the coming into season of this year's grass-fed Beef, but was in great part of indifferent quality; the supply of Calves was good, of Sheep, Lambs, and Porkers rather limited.—Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

The Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Herefords, short-horns, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, about 200 Scots, 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex Beasts, Staffords, &c. The Herefords, short-horns, Devons, Runts and Irish Beasts, chiefly—say, 2,400 of them, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire, with a few from our western and midland districts: the rest, with the Scots, &c., in about equal numbers, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and the London marshes.

About four-sixths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a sixth South Downs—and the remaining sixth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Full seven-eighths of the Lambs appeared to consist of about equal numbers of new Leicesters—chiefly of the Downish cross, and South Downs—the remaining eighth of Dorsets, with a few Kentish half-breds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 20.

The arrivals this week are good; but the prices remain the same as on Monday with a dull market.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
Cons. Ann.		89½	89½	89½	89½	89½	89½

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such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 21.—No. 13.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28TH, 1833.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



LETTER III.

(And last.)

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY.

Bolt-court, 25. September, 1833.

SIR,—In the preceding letter (*Register*, 7. September, 1833), I took you off the *red-herring scent*, and, in putting you on the true scent, showed you, that it was the *bushel of wheat*; that it was the gentleman's standard, and not the Jew's-standard, the *market price of gold*, that you ought to have been guided by. There now remains to be proved the 3rd and the 4th propositions, stated at the outset of the aforementioned letter; namely,

3. That the nation has paid the fund-holders something nearly double the amount that it ought to have paid them, and that it continues to pay them at this rate at present.
4. That if this rate of payment be not soon put a stop to, there will not be an established church and a House of Lords in existence, in not a great many years from this day.

Beginning with the *THIRD*, it is, in fact, already proved to all those who do not think that good faith requires that a man who has borrowed a bushel of wheat should give two bushels of wheat in return; and to those who are unjust enough or unflinchingly stupid enough to entertain such an opinion, all fact and all argument must be thrown away. But, the Jews endeavour to puzzle us, and they do puzzle stupid and besotted persons, by telling us, that

those who lent their money, before the depreciation began, lent it in sterling gold, and not in vile and infamous paper. I shall by and by have enough to say upon the *nature* of this lending; upon the fraudulentness of the transaction from the beginning to the end; of the base usuriousness of the whole affair: I shall have to show and shall show that, even supposing the loan to have been a bona-fide loan; and supposing that the nation, a hundred years ago, had a right to contract debts to be paid by us of the present day; I shall suppose that all this is so; suppose it I shall merely for argument's sake; and in order to show that your ignorance is "*unflinching*," even upon this hypothesis; which hypothesis I shall, before I have done, tear to the very rags, and blow into the air.

I will not, like you, go poking about the *price of stocks*; I will not go to 'Change Alley, but let you go there, and keep company with the Devil and the Jews, if you choose to do it. I will come to something sensible; something that we all understand or ought to understand; and will refer to documents which your father has had passing through his hands ever since he has been a man. It is not with the "*price of stocks*" or with the Three per Cents; or Four per Cents. or with any of the devilish stuff that we have to do. What we have to do with, is what *we have to pay*; our affair is, not with exchanges, price of gold, mint-price, market-price, per cents. or any of the infernal rubbish, but with the amount of taxes which we have to pay annually as the interest of this atrocious and infernal debt. Well, then, my Yorkshire lad, fix your eyes on the following facts:—

Annual charge on account of debt, including outstanding debt and everything, in the year 1792	£9,000,000
Annual charge on account of debt, including as above, since 1818	..... 30,000,000

Look well at this statement. Every thing belonging to the debt is included in the nine millions; and if we include in the like manner in the latter case, the sum has been above thirty millions a-year, ever since the year 1818. Now, observe, the borrowing of the money was going on from 1793 to 1816; and during that time the price of wheat was *more than double* what it had been from the time that the debt commenced, in 1694, to the year 1792. Then this borrowing was going on; I mean the *depreciated* borrowing, was going on for twenty-three years; and, during the borrowing in that depreciated paper, the rest of the debt was contracted, to raise the interest from nine millions a-year to thirty millions a-year. Now, it is very certain, that the old fundholder, the old Jew and usurer, that lent or pretended to lend his money to the nation before 1792, was, from 1793 to 1818 both inclusive; that is to say, twenty-six years, receiving only one-half of what he called his due; because he was only receiving as much as could buy half the quantity of wheat which could have been bought with the same money before the year 1792. Then, the whole of the interest of the nine millions which we paid during that twenty-six years having amounted to two hundred and thirty-four millions, we paid, allowing this hypothesis to be good, a hundred and eighteen millions too little to these old fundholders during the twenty-six years up to 1818, inclusive.

Very well: now see how we have been over paying, in the case of the thirty-millions a-year. We have paid in interest, since 1819 inclusive, nine millions a-year in the first place, for the old Jews; the old "glorious revolution" Jews; and, we have also been paying twenty-one millions a-year to the Pittite or Tory or mongrel or Devil-Jews; to the bonus Jews, and all that abominable swarm, hatched by Pitt and his crew. They lent their money as they call it, during the twenty-six years of depreciation; they lent it during a time that a pound would buy twice as much wheat as it will buy now, though there is a corn-bill to make wheat dear.

Multiply the twenty-one millions by fourteen, the number of years that we have thus been paying: you will find that we have paid them two hundred and ninety-four millions, during that time. Divide it, and you will find that we have paid them a hundred and forty-seven millions too much. Deduct the hundred and eighteen millions which you say we have paid the old Jews too little; and which we have paid them too little, according to their cunning and your stupid view of the matter; deduct this; contend that *national faith* requires that we should take a hundred and eighteen millions from one bunch of them, and give these millions to another bunch of them; contend "*unfinching*" son of a Lord, that this is right and reasonable and just, and demanded by national faith: contend for this and make the deduction accordingly; and even then this oppressed and toiling people have paid the whole body of them, the whole gang, twenty-nine millions too much: and, we are *now paying them ten millions five hundred thousand pounds a-year too much*.

This is the great point. The *past* we might possibly put up with; but, it is the future: it is the continuation of this atrocious oppression. Stop now, to be unjust; give to those who lent their money during the time of depreciation, the half of what they are now receiving; and then, according to your principle, and according to my facts; according to my unerring standard of value, you act justly.

Thus have I proved that, even according to your own principle, it was just, on the part of Sir JAMES GRAHAM, to propose a reduction of thirty per cent., taking both classes of fundholders together; and, as I said before, the only thing which he did which was unjust was, omitting to propose the lopping off pensions, sinecures, and grants, and the re-payment of the money which the parsons had unjustly received. But, Sir, if such be the result of this discussion as far as relates to the mere debtor and creditor accounts, admitting the loans to have been bona-fide, and admitting the working people of the present day

bound to pay debts contracted by the Whigs in 1694; if such be the result, making these admissions, what will the result be, when we come to take the reasonable and just view of the matter. This view must be taken, however, in what I have to say upon the last proposition, viz. :—

4. That, if this rate of payment be not soon put a stop to, there will not be an established church and a House of Lords in existence, in not a great many years from this day.

Being at perfect liberty to commit plagiarism upon myself, I shall here begin by pretty freely robbing my own writings upon this subject, which I have the greater right to do, seeing that I am constantly robbed by my brethren of the press, who argue thus: "Genius, or 'facility of writing,' say they, 'is a gift of God: what God gives to any one of us, he gives to us all; and that one has no right, in morality, and ought not to have any in law, to appropriate the fruits of his literary labours to his own exclusive enjoyment; nor, indeed, has he any right to enjoy them at all, in any way whatsoever, until his poorer brethren of the quill be amply provided for.' I shall not stop to dispute this doctrine; it is quite sufficient for me to know by experience that it is acted upon; and that all the 'race that write,' deeming themselves to be of one family, take from me whatsoever and whensoever they please, without any sort of ceremony. I may therefore be allowed, I think, to take a little from myself; and, as you are now one of the 'race that write,' tender this little to you for your service; which I shall now do, from my Manchester lecture on the subject, adding here and there, observations which I omitted at the time, and, when I have done that, offer such further observations as the occasion appears to me to call for.

If the Reform Bill do not lighten the burdens of the people, it is agreed, on all hands, that the bill will be of no use. We all agree, except BABINGTON MACAULAY perhaps, that unless the Reform Bill lead to measures of *relief*; unless it lead to a great taking off of taxes, it

will be a mere mockery of the people; and that, like *Catholic emancipation*, it will make things worse than they were before. This is natural: for the nation wants the reform, because it is overburdened; it has great hopes and expectations from this reform; and we all know what are the invariable consequences of sanguine expectation disappointed. The labourer, who is discontented at having nothing but potatoes, when he ought to have bacon and bread, will not feel satisfied with those potatoes, upon merely being told that he has now got *reform*.

To this we come, then; without a great lightening of our burdens, the reform will be a mere mockery; a temporary delusion, and a permanent addition to the grounds of discontent. The next thing then to be considered is, how this lightening of the burdens of the people is to take place; and every one must answer, that it cannot take place at all, and that it is an abuse of words to talk of it, unless there be an annihilation of the debt. When you hear men talk of retrenchment and economy, as you will hear Babington Macaulay, and others, and all the school of Brougham, and all the Whigs themselves, who are in power, and hear them at the same time declare their firm resolution not to touch the interest of the debt; declare that *national faith*, as they call it, must be kept sacred, though, by-the-by, their *national faith* means a most infamous plundering of the nation; when you hear men talk thus, set them down as hypocrites or madmen; for, how is relief to come, except by a ceasing to pay interest on the debt?

Gentlemen, there are none of you, I am certain, crazy enough to suppose that the Ministers can pay this interest out of their own pockets; if you wish it to be paid, you must wish yourselves to pay it; and if you wish this, there can be no diminution of our burdens; and the state vessel must go on, blundering about among the rocks, till it go to pieces. The case stands thus: The total clear amount of the revenue, after paying charges of collection and management, and all sorts of things, is

stated by the Government to be forty-seven millions. This may be true, to be sure ; but I make it a rule never to believe any of their statements or returns. It may, however, be true, and we will take them upon their own showing. The expenses of collection, together with other innumerable charges, direct and indirect, over and above this clear revenue, would still bring the gross amount, squeezed out of the people, to sixty millions ; but, at any rate, it would bring it to fifty-six. Now, then, out of the forty-seven millions, thirty are taken for paying the dividends upon the debt, and paying the charges of all sorts relative to the debt. We must give the debt, half at least, of the expenses and charges attending the collection and management of the revenue ; and that makes its annual cost thirty-four millions and one-half. This is still far from being all that it costs ; for out of the debt grows the necessity of this thundering standing army in time of peace. The debt causes the heavy taxes ; these cause distress ; distress causes discontent ; violent discontent creates threatened commotion ; and then it becomes the duty of the Government to have a force at hand to put down commotion. To cry out, therefore, against the standing army being kept up in time of peace ; to inveigh against oppressive taxation, and to complain of distress and suffering, and *starvation* even, is to be stupidly unjust, as long as you keep up the idiot-like cry of *national faith*.

Thus much, then, for the plea of *necessity* ; and, though Milton has called that the tyrant's plea, it is only the tyrant's plea when it is false. In this case it is true ; and it is, in fact, the plea of industry and want against all-devouring usury. But, now, for the *justice* of the propositions, even if we were to leave this plea of necessity out of the question. This robbery, as it is called, is really no more than imitating the practice of the wisest and most just of mankind. Many of you, gentlemen, well know, that when Solon became lawgiver of Athens, he found that ancient and famous republic in a state of

utter confusion and destitution ; he found it unable to make war against its enemies, unable to defend itself ; and he found besides, that all the active and industrious persons in the community were ground down into a state of beggary and ruin by the *usurers*, who had made a great part of the people in a great measure their actual slaves. Rome was in a similar state, and from a similar cause, in the time of Julius Cæsar. Both of them resorted to an adjustment, which freed the people from the claws of the usurers, by making these latter in some cases take a part of their demand, and in other cases relinquish the whole. But not to mention the kings of France, who repeatedly paid off the debts of the state by lopping off, directly or indirectly, the amount of the demands of its creditors ; not to mention these, who effected their purposes by clippings of the coins, and by other tricks, upon an equality, in point of baseness, with the tricks that have been played here to lower and to raise, and to lower and to raise again, the value of money ; not to cite the example of these *grand* and shuffling *monarques*, let us come to our brethren across the Atlantic, who, having borrowed money to an enormous extent, for the purpose of effecting that "glorious revolution" which, until it had succeeded, we used to call "a foul and unnatural rebellion ;" having borrowed of all sorts of people, of all ages and all sexes, an enormous sum of money for this holy, or, as it would have been, *unholy* purpose, and having effected that purpose, never paid one single farthing principal or interest of the borrowed money. It would have been a jest, indeed, to make a revolution in the name of liberty, and to have ended it by making all the people slaves to the usurers ! But let us come to our own countrymen, and hear what illustrious persons amongst them have said upon the subject, and that our authorities may be as high and undoubted as possible, let us go in amongst the Ministers themselves, where, sitting with the King himself in council ; not the Birmingham council ; but the real London council ; and not the

council from which Sir F. Burdett absconded; but the real King and council, who sit at Whitehall, with Bathurst for their clerk, though crammed in by the Tories, and kept in by the Whigs; let us go into that council, which my Lord Coke describes as "an honourable, noble, and reverend" assembly; let us go in among these reverend persons, and clap our hand upon the shoulder of Sir James Graham of Netherby; a member too in another place of the "*noblest assembly of freemen in the world*;" and let us pull out his pamphlet of 1827, and therein let us read a distinct, a most unequivocal proposition, to deduct *thirty per cent.* from the interest of the fundholders. Only one-third; but we may ask Sir James, reverend as he is, upon what principle it is that he would take thirty per cent., other than that principle which would apply to the taking of the whole?

From this oracular suggestion let us come, if it be robbery to take the interest from the fundholders; let us not amuse ourselves with these small game, but let us come to the robbers upon a grand scale; namely, those who propose to make new emissions of paper of some sort or other. Sir HENRY PARNELL, and all the Scotch tribe of political economists; all the Scotch bankers, and Mr. MABERLY amongst the rest, whom the Scotch have always pointed out for many years past as a profound financier; all this tribe, who propose joint-stock banking companies; and who always propose to make the paper-money a legal tender, or, whether they be divided as to this latter point or not, all propose to make prices higher than they now are, by the means of this paper. Of course, then, they propose to *lower the value of money*; of course, they propose to deduct in a base and fraudulent manner, from the interest of the debt. At any rate, they are either mad, or they must intend to give the fundholder *less than he now receives*; and if they intend to give him less than he now receives, they intend, to use their own stupid phraseology, to commit a breach of national faith, and to rob the fundholder; and if they do

not intend to give him less than he now receives, how can the measures which they propose lighten the burdens of the tax-payer? Supposing the act to be unjust in itself, the only difference between their proposition and mine is, that mine is taking by open and undisguised force, while theirs is theft or private stealing. Our different modes of proceeding serve to mark our different motives: mine may, at any rate, be sincere and honest, but theirs must be in its nature *furtive*. The sly manner in which they are foolish enough to believe they can effect it, would, in any court of justice in the world, be a proof of the furtive intention; that is to say, the thievish intention arising from a roguish mind. Mr. Attwood's scheme, which has many partisans, though paper be one of its ingredients, is open and honest; for he says, and he says truly, that owing to Peel's bill, and the various other tricks of our at once bungling and bragging Government, the fundholders, the mortgagees, and other usurers, are now receiving twice or thrice as much as they ought to receive; that they ought to be compelled by law to receive less; and a paper-money ought to be made, and they ought to be made to receive it, which paper-money would be worth a great deal less than the King's coin, pound for pound. In all but the remedy I perfectly agree with Mr. Attwood, who is a man of great talent; and whose brother, the Member of the House of Commons, has shown more sense and more virtue (except in his opposition to the Reform Bill) than all the whole crew of Ministers and Ministers' underlings, who have been upon the stage during the whole of the twenty-eight years that I have been knocking their heads one against the other, and finding no sense in them, have finally been dragging them in the dirt. I differ with the Attwoods as to the remedy; because, in the first place, it would violate all recent contracts; because I know it would enable me to rob my yearly servants of one-half of their yearly wages; because I know that it would give like ability to all other employers; because I know that it would

rob English, Scotch, and Irish merchants and manufacturers of half the debts due to them abroad; because I know that the mortgagee who lent his real gold upon an estate, would be paid off in paper not worth half the money, and so with regard to recent marriage settlements, rent charges, annuities, and every contract and stipulation for time; but, secondly, and of more weight than all the other considerations put together, because the Attwood remedy might, by some chance or other, prolong the existence of the debt, and of that truly infernal gamble carried on in London, called the Stock Exchange; rather than not see the destruction of which I would behold and endure my share of any possible evil that could afflict us.

Now, then, there is no scheme for lightening the burdens of the country, which does not amount to what my opponents designate a robbery; so that I am not singular in this respect. All agree to take away something: we only differ as to the manner of the taking. But I deny that it is robbery, in any of its shapes or forms; I deny that the nation owes the fundholders anything at all; I deny their claim to a single farthing from the nation; and, when I propose to take the church-property and crown estates, for the purpose of giving the proceeds to the fundholders, it is not a proposition founded on an opinion of mine, that they have a *right* to demand anything; but founded in the right of the nation to dispose of certain property that it possesses, and which is now of no use to it, and which it in policy ought to bestow on that part of the fundholders, who would be totally ruined, unless this relief were afforded them; and especially that part of them who may have been compelled, against their expressed will, to have their property deposited in the funds. This is the principle upon which I would give the fundholders anything at all, they having, in point of right, no claim upon the nation whatsoever.

No nation, supposing the whole nation to have been the borrowers, has a right to burden its posterity. I might

stop here to show, and I easily could show, that it was those, whom the present Ministers have accused of having usurped the legislative rights of the people, who borrowed the money. I might insist upon, and prove it most clearly, that it was not *the nation* that borrowed the money; but, grant that it was, what right had your fathers to load you with this intolerable debt? What would be said of a law that should compel the children to pay the debts of the father, he having left them nothing wherewith to pay? Of a law that should make the children work all the days of their lives, to clear off the score run up by a drunken and profligate father? Of a law, which should say to the father, Spend away, run in debt, keep on borrowing, close your eyes in the midst of drunkenness and gluttony; imitate the frequenters of Bellamy's all your life; and your children, and children's children, shall be slaves to pay Bellamy and others with whom you have run up the score? Would not the makers of such a law be held in everlasting execration?

And, in what respect does this case differ from that of a prodigal and borrowing nation. "Oh!" say the advocates of the Jews, "the difference is very great; for the nation borrows money to defend itself against an enemy, which defence it could not effect without this borrowing of money." I might stop here, and flatly deny that one penny of this money was ever borrowed for that purpose; for it is notorious, that it was almost all borrowed for the purpose of carrying on one war to force unjust taxation on the American colonies, and another war to force back the Bourbons upon France, and thereby prevent the overthrow of boroughmongering in England. This is perfectly notorious; but I will not disfigure my argument by any reliance upon it. Let it be admitted that the money was borrowed for the purpose of defending the country; and then, I ask, what right your fathers had to *purchase* ease and safety, and to leave you to pay the debt? What right should we of the present day have to throw upon our

children the burden of defending ourselves? If we be in danger, we are to come forth in our persons, or by our purses, for our own defence. By the very argument of our opponents, the resources of the country are the great means, if not the only means, of its security; what right have we, then, to anticipate these resources? What right have we to take beforehand the means of security from our children? A man cannot mortgage that which is entailed on his children. He can mortgage for his *own life*. If these Jew-vermin can show us that the whole nation did by lawful means give its assent to the pretended loans made for them; still they get no further than to prove that the then nation contracted a debt with them. They get not on a single inch towards proving that we owe them anything. He that can mortgage beyond his own life; he that can mortgage an estate for any term beyond his own life, can **SELL** that estate. Could your fathers have sold England? Have not you as much a right to England as they had? Have not you, the people now living at Manchester, as good a right to live in England as your grandfathers had? To live in England is inseparable from having England and owning it, taking the whole of the people together; and, therefore, as the borrowers of this money could not sell England, neither could they mortgage it; much less, still, could they mortgage the labour of the child unborn; this reform of the Parliament will be a base delusion, if we do not very shortly dissipate all notions so stupid and slavish, and if we do not put an end to this matchless oppression.

Gentlemen, not another word need be said with regard to the right of mortgaging the strength of the child in the cradle; not another word need be said about the want of the right in a nation to burden posterity, and very little is it necessary to say about the right of the lender to demand a liquidation of the burden. For, if there existed no right in the borrower to make the loan, what right can there be in the lender to demand repayment? This latter knew

and he knew also the base and dishonest intentions of the borrower to throw the debt upon posterity. If, in consequence of the unjust and cruel law, which I have before supposed, to make children pay the debts of the father, he leaving them nothing wherewith to pay; if, in that case, a lender were basely to administer to the father's profligate extravagance, would not the world call him monster, when he came to grind the children to death for repayment of the loan? Yet, in what respect would he be more detestable than the atrocious Jews, whether calling themselves Christians or not, who now come and demand from us the pound of flesh in virtue of their bond? In the affairs of individuals, the law knows of no such anticipation as this. The law not only will not allow the children to be answerable for the debts of the father, but will not allow them to be answerable for their *own debts*, contracted before they arrive at the age of maturity. And why is this? They are not answerable for the debts, because the law considers them as incapable of giving their assent to them. How then can you be answerable for these debts, the greater part of which was contracted before scarcely ten men here assembled were twenty-one years of age?

Not one farthing, therefore, of these debts is due from you to the fundholders. The great advocate of the abominable Jews, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, resorts to a couple of curious arguments in defence of their claims, the first of which is this: that the nation having "*suffered*" the Government to borrow the money, or rather to make the loan (for it was not *money*); the nation having *suffered* the Government to do this, is bound to pay the debt. So that here is a Government, with an army, with all the means of compelling the nation to submit to what it pleases; to resist its will is treason; and the Jew, who comes and lends money to this Government, is to come, when the people have got the power of altering the law which enabled the Government to do this, and tell them; the blaspheming Jew is to come, and tell them that they

are bound in conscience to pay back the money that he lent for the purpose of keeping them down, and to threaten to have them crucified, if they hold back a farthing of his demand. But, gentlemen, even if we were to admit this, monstrous as it is, it would not come up to the purpose of our opponents. For, if the nation ought not to have *suffered* the Government to borrow the money, and if it assumed responsibility for this loan, in consequence of suffering it to be made, it must be the nation that was *then alive*; and how are you, who were not then born, or at most were infants, to be held responsible for payment because you did not prevent the Government from borrowing the money?

The other argument of this new disciple of the synagogue, this new child and champion of the hell called the Stock Exchange, is this: that if an invading enemy besiege a town, and demand a *ransom* to spare it from being abandoned to the soldiery, and a sum of money be borrowed to pay the ransom, and thus save the town, the people of the town are bound all to contribute according to their means to repay the money thus borrowed. Certainly, Rabbi; nothing more just; but, then, it is the people *then alive*, that are to repay the ransom; and this is precisely my argument; not only did no man living ever hear of the repayment of such a ransom being thrown upon the posterity of a town, but the thing cannot be, for mankind have never yet heard of a law to tax people for such repayment; and if such law were to be passed, if any lawgivers of a town were equally foolish with the lawgivers of this nation, the people would avoid the tax by abandoning the town, as they are now abandoning England to the amount of *ten millions a year* of rents and income, in order to avoid paying their share of this unjust burden called the debt. And this is one great evil of the thing. All the world acknowledges what dreadful evils have fallen upon Ireland in consequence of the absentees not expending their revenues in the country. How many projects have we heard, and sometimes even in Parliament, for taxing the pro-

perty of absentees at a higher rate than that of other people! Base indeed it is, that those who live on the taxes, and particularly those who live on the tithes, shameful it is in them to carry their revenues out of the country. Sorrowful it is to see men going off with their wealth to the United States of America; but, while in the former instance there are no means of prevention, in the latter instance there is neither prevention nor ground of blame. Men flee from unjust pressure; they flee from a law that compels them to pay the debts of their fathers; and flee they will, as long as that law shall exist. I am, therefore, for putting an end for ever to this unjust law, and for the doing of which I have, I think, produced much more than argument sufficient. But I must not dismiss the subject without asking a little, what after all, would *really be due* to these fundholders if we were for argument's sake to admit that they had a claim to anything at all? The sum is stated in its most modest amount, at eight hundred millions. It would not be right to have an appearance of boldness in addressing persons who are worth eight hundred millions of money, but one might just ask them **WHERE THEY GOT THE MONEY?** Where did you get it, gentlemen and ladies? There are a good many of you, to be sure, but you have lent more money here than there now is, or ever was in the whole world; more pounds of gold and silver than ever came out of the mines. It amounts to more than the whole of the kingdom, lands, houses, mines, and woods, would sell for, if put up to auction, and if foreigners could bring gold and silver into the country, and purchase them. There must be some great mistake then. It is physically impossible that you can have lent this money.

Gentlemen, it has all been a jugglery from the beginning to the end. A loan-monger, or the maker of a loan, has never lent any money at all. He has written his name upon bits of paper; these he has distributed about in sales to under loanmongers; these have been turned into other bits of paper; and

these bits of paper the Government have paid away. I cannot adopt a better mode of explaining this matter than by describing to you a transaction by the means of which I was once likely to become a loanmonger myself, and which first opened my eyes with regard to this matter. When I came home from America, in the year 1800, I was looked upon by the Government people as likely to become one of their vigorous partisans. It was the custom in those glorious times of Pitt and paper, to give to the literary partisans of the Government what were called "*slices*" of a loan. For instance, *Moses* was the loanmonger; and, as the *scrip*, as it used to be called, was always directly at a *premium*, a bargain was always made with the loanmonger that he should admit certain favourites of the Government to have certain portions of scrip, at the same price that he gave for it; I was offered such portion of *scrip*, which, as I was told, would put a hundred pounds or two into my pocket at once. I was frightened at the idea of becoming responsible for the immense sum, upon which this would be the profit. But I soon found that the *scrip* was never even to be shown to me, and that I had merely to pocket the amount of the *premium*. I positively refused to have anything to do with the matter, for which I got heartily laughed at. But this was of great utility to me; it opened my eyes with regard to the nature of these transactions; it set me to work to understand all about the debt and the funds and the scrip and the stock and everything belonging to it. At every step I found the thing more and more black, and more and more execrable; and it soon brought my mind to a conclusion, that the system was what the *accursed thing* was in the camp of the Israelites, and that the nation never could be happy again until it was got rid of; in which opinion I have remained from that day to this.

Now, if I had pocketed this money, it must have come out of the estates, skill and labour, of the people. I should have been a robber indeed; this would have been real robbery, and a great deal

more worthy of the gallows than the forging of a bank-note, or the stealing of a sheep. From this, gentlemen, you may judge what loan-making was. If I did not get the hundred pounds or two, somebody else did; and we have had to pay interest, and compound interest upon it, from that day to this. I should have thus taken from the nation enough to support four or five labourers and their families, for one year at any rate; and, if I had taken it, and had bought stock with it, as it is called, would it not have been right to pay me with a halter, instead of paying me in money? If certain proprietors of newspapers, whom I could name, were brought to a strict account, what, good God! are the sums which they have got in this way! How soon they would come tumbling from their chariots, and lie by the wayside, food for kites and carrion-crows, unless, out of pure benevolence, taken up by the grave-robbers and Burkers, and carried "for the benefit of science," to Mr. Warburton's schools of anatomy!

When a man lends money, he knows, or ought to know, the sufficiency of the borrower. He ought to know what security he has. In the case of a mortgage, rent-charge, annuity, he has the land or house as security. In the case of money lent on bond, in other manner, he has the goods and chattels, and, after all, the person of the party; but what security did these loanmongers take? It is the common talk with them, that they have a mortgage upon all the lands and houses and other real property in the kingdom. Let them, then, produce the deed and the bond. They can do no such thing. They have no deed and no bond, and they have no mortgage upon anything. Their security consists solely of an act of Parliament, or acts of Parliament, which are properly called *loan-acts*; and a loan act is of this nature. The Government contracts a loan with a loanmonger; and an act of Parliament is passed, to provide that the interest of the loan shall be regularly paid, without any deduction, out of the proceeds of the *consolidated fund*. Now, then, what is this fund? The

fundholders, and particularly the ladies, have an idea, natural enough, that this fund consists of a monstrous heap of gold and silver money, kept somewhere or other, under the guard and protection of the Government or the Bank. I beg leave to assure the ladies that there is not any such heap of money, or any heap at all, or any chest, or box, or receptacle for the gold and silver; but that the *consolidated fund* means the clear proceeds of the taxes that the Ministers are able annually to squeeze out of us: that these taxes are paid into the Bank when collected; that out of them the Bank pays the interest to the fundholders half-yearly; and that, if the taxes in the hands of the Bank be not sufficient to pay the half-yearly interest, which is frequently the case, the Bank *lends the Government enough to make up the deficiency*; that is to say, 'makes some of its bank-notes, and lends them to the Government; and for the bank-notes thus lent, *we have to pay the interest*. Now, gentlemen, did the world ever hear of such a thing as this before?

However, here we have a clear idea of the nature of the security; and a very consolatory appearance it has to the ladies who do us the honour to lend us money; for, though it does not actually come up to the beautiful scriptural idea of the "*munition of rocks*;" it at any rate takes a very wide spread; and really is good as long as the loan-acts shall continue in full force. *Consolidated fund* is a very imposing phrase; but still it consists only of words, and conveys no idea of anything fixed to the earth; in short, a loan-bill is the fundholder's contract; it gives him a claim upon the taxes annually collected; it gives him no other claim, and if the taxes be not collected, he has no claim at all; which brings us directly to a very important matter closely connected with the subject of parliamentary reform; seeing that every man in his senses deems the reform to be of no use at all unless it produce a great diminution of the taxes, which, in other words, seems, at the very least, a great diminution of the security of the fundholder. And yet, is any one of you, gentlemen, prepared to

say that no taxes ought to be taken off; and are you prepared to say that the Corn Bill ought to continue in order to prevent this security from being diminished?

When the Bank stopped payment in gold in 1797, one of the arguments urged against the measure, or rather one of the complaints against Pitt, for having reduced the Bank to the necessity of stopping, was this; that amongst other things, it would be a *fraud* upon the fundholders, a *robbery* of the fundholders, because it put forth a depreciated and compulsory paper instead of the King's coin, and thereby did, in fact, violate all the loan-bills by compelling the fundholders to take less than the loan-bills had stipulated for. The answer of Pitt was, that it was a case of *necessity*, and that it was the duty of the Government to preserve the country even if it did cause some loss to the fundholders. Pushed hard on the other side, the then Solicitor-General, Sir John Mitford, since Lord Redesdale, rose, and as a lawyer, said that there was no wrong done to the fundholder; that he lent his money with the knowledge of the *risk* that he ran; that he received an interest *proportioned to the risk*; that the nation was not bound to secure him against all risk; that many persons in the kingdom had a claim *prior* to that of the fundholder; that the soldier and the sailor had a *prior* claim; and he asked if any one would assert that the King himself had not a *prior* claim! There was no answer to this argument *then*; and who is to find an answer to it now? And is it not as clearly a case of necessity *now* as it was *then*?

Thus, then, we see that the interest can be lowered, and that the whole can be withheld without any real violation of the contract. But to come closer to our own affair; if we cannot withhold the interest without breach of national faith, how can we without breach of that faith diminish the security for paying it? We have seen that the source of payment is the annual produce of what is called the consolidated fund, and that means the taxes; and has not the security been diminished then by the repeal of the salt

tax, the beer tax, the candle tax, and the numerous customs and taxes, which have been recently taken off? Has not the security been diminished by reducing the proceeds of the consolidated fund from a clear fifty-four millions a-year to a clear forty-seven millions a-year? And will the security not be further reduced, when the *malt tax* shall be taken off? And do you, gentlemen, imagine that the malt tax can remain on many months after a reformed Parliament shall assemble? Oh! But I had forgotten: there is the HOUSE AND WINDOW TAX! What, would you have these taken off? Oh, you sad rogues! What, "*rob the public creditor*?" Be guilty of a breach of "*national faith*!" Refuse to pay a tax on your comfortable dwelling, out of which your bed is now and then taken by the tax-gatherer! Refuse to give some money to have the light of heaven let in upon you; and that, too, when you know, rogues as you are, that these taxes are "*necessary to the support of national faith*." Oh! if you want to skulk out of paying the fundholders in this sort of way; if you want to be guilty of plundering the fundholders in this sort of way, I will set off again up to the *honest* folks of London, and leave you to yourselves. In short, national faith requires house and window-tax to be duly and fully paid.

Well, then, to this point we come at last: even admitting the debt to be a valid debt, which I do not; even admitting that the last generation had a right to burden this, which I deny, as being a thing abhorrent to every principle of reason and of justice; to this point we come; that the Reform Bill is to produce no effect good to the people, and the working people especially, unless the security for the payment of the interest of the debt be taken away. Will any one pretend to deny that the Parliament had a right to repeal the tax on salt, the tax on candles, the tax on beer? Then how can any one pretend to deny its right to repeal the tax upon malt and upon hops? Of what use, then, can this reform of the Parliament be, unless we acknowledge the right of a reformed Parliament to repeal taxes;

and if we do allow this right, on what foundation stands the interest of the debt, other than that of expediency and convenience, respecting the power and disposition of the nation to pay? Some years ago, a great loanmonger said, that "*the nation was bound to pay, as long as it had anything to pay with*." This loanmonger chose to place the nation upon the footing of an individual in common life; and insisted that, like the bankrupt, it was under an obligation to surrender all it had. The bankrupt is bound to surrender all the worldly goods that he has then in his possession; but the bankrupt *himself* has been the borrower, or has become the debtor, from some cause or other; it is for his *own* use that he has contracted the debt, and not for the use of his successors. He surrenders *his* all; but he does not extend the surrender to his children. Besides this, the bankrupt is not stripped of the clothes that cover his body; the tools necessary to earn his bread are left him; an act of bankruptcy or insolvency clears him of the past; his creditors cannot deprive him of the use of his limbs, and of his means of making future provision for his wants and his safety. But these inexorable creditors of ours would make us, and even the child in the cradle, slaves to them; would leave us no part of our future earnings; would take all from us except our bare lives; would leave us none of the means of providing either for the safety, or for the upholding of the honour of our country; would make the country submit to invasion, conquest, and everlasting servitude, rather than give up their claim upon the resources of the country! If there be anything so audacious as this; if any pretension equal to this in cruelty, as well as presumption and profligate defiance of the moral sense of mankind, I should be glad to have pointed out to me where I am to find it ever was heard of.

Now, Mr. WENTLEY, I turn to you; and, the first thing I have to observe is, that, if you be wise, you will read the whole of this argument of mine several times over: second, that you will please to observe, that not only it is not *I* who

owe this debt, but that my way of life exposes me to the payment of as small a share of it as is paid by any individual in the kingdom, however small the means of that other individual may be, and that, therefore, it is not for myself that I argue. *Third*, I beg to observe to you, that you appear to me not to see the ultimate consequences of a payment of the interest of this debt at the present rate. When you look at the various taxes, you do, indeed, see that they fall chiefly upon the industrious classes of the kingdom, and you see that the landed proprietors, generally speaking, get, in one way or another, part of their taxes back again. This leads you to the conclusion that, though we are, even according to your own principle, applied to the real facts of the case, paying the fundholders ten millions and a half every year too much, *this is no injury to persons in your rank of life.*

Now, Sir, this is a grand mistake of yours. It is a mistake, which you make in common with the far greater part of your order; but, it is nevertheless a mistake, and a mistake, too, which will, in time, lead to most fearful consequences. Look at the state of the country at this moment. Is it in a state much short of that which will justify the term *revolution*? What! when the Church of Ireland is overthrown by act of Parliament; and when the doom of the Church of England is as clearly written down as if an act of Parliament was already passed for extinguishing it for ever. Can the nobility stand as they are now, after that church is pulled down? It would require "*unflinching*" confidence indeed, in any man to answer that question with a "yes;" and, what is it, then, that is shaking all the whole of this grand fabric to pieces? *What is it*, I say? How came tithes, which have never been deemed an unmixed evil for a thousand years, to be now, all at once, deemed incompatible with the peace and harmony of the community? How comes it that the poor-laws, which have existed for more than two hundred years, and always deemed a distinguished honour and blessing of England; how comes it that these sa-

cred laws are now deemed an evil? How happens it that the twelve judges require to be fifteen, and that projectors are at work for adding a hundred or two to the number? How comes it that commissions are necessary to inquire into what changes are to be made in our laws, from top to bottom, and that a Bourbon-police and hired magistrates are proposed to be established, as necessary to the safety of person and property? What is it, I say, that has produced, and is producing this revolution? It is that DEBT that you are labouring to perpetuate in its unmitigated amount, vainly imagining, apparently, that all other institutions can go to pieces, and that the whole of this industrious people can be reduced to beggary, while your particular order and that of the base usurers stand firm as rocks, and revel in luxury.

If this really be your imagination, vain, indeed, is that imagination; as vain as was that of the insolent and stupid noblesse of France, who feasted with and married amongst the tribes of the farmers-general and the intendants and rich *rentiers* (that is to say, *fundholders*) up to the very moment when their chateaux were in flames! Their cause, rightly understood, was the cause of the industrious classes. They joined the *rentiers*, however; they bore the sword, and compelled the people to administer to the heaps of the *rentiers*. When the taxes, arising from the debt (for that was the true cause) became intolerable, the people took vengeance, not on the *rentiers*, who were snugly out of sight; but on the noblesse, who had borne the sword and compelled them to submit to the exactions. This lesson, which would have been thrown away upon none of the rest of God's creatures, seems to have been wholly thrown away upon you, who come to the working classes and tell them that they shall pay the fundholders at the same rate that they pay them now. These abominable Jews, continually at work, taking away the fruits of industry and of estates into the bargain, will, I dare say, offer you the office of a Rabbi, and will chuckle all the while as their

progenitors did when they were crucifying the Christian English children at Lincoln, for which a just king hanged some and banished the rest from this land, in which banishment they remained for three hundred years, till revolution and corruption brought them back, again to curse that land.

When you are so very insolently speaking of the pamphlet of Sir James Graham, of the writings in the *Quarterly Review* and the *Morning Herald*, and of the petitioners of Scotland and of Hampshire, you ought to have reflected on what these *petitioners* said, at any rate. The rest of us were mere individuals, or editors of publications ; but these petitioners were a part of the PEOPLE ; that very people whose voice produced the Reform Bill, in spite of a vast majority of your order. You ought to have recollected this, and that ought to have led you to reflect on the ultimate consequence of these opinions being so decidedly entertained by that people.

The people, then, see clearly that they had nothing to do in the contracting of the debt ; that the debt never was contracted by them nor for them, by any sanction of theirs. Every working man, who earns thirty pounds a-year, to keep himself and family, knows that he pays six or seven of the pounds towards the interest of this debt. All the people know that this is unjust, and these petitioners actually complain of the injustice. Having thus made up their minds, the next thing they do is to look about for the *cause of the continuation of this injustice*. They do not blame the Jews ; they do not see them : they do not know their names : they are out of sight : they neither know nor care, whether they have beards or not. But, *they know who it is that takes the money from them*. They do not blame the mere journeymen tax-gatherer and exciseman. They dislike them, but they know that they are not the real cause. They look higher up, to find those who set tax-gatherers and excisemen to work ; and, having found them, and examined into the *motives* from which they support the Jews,

their feelings towards these supporters are commensurate with the merits of the case ; and that that case it is impossible for any one of common sense seriously to contemplate, without coming to the conclusion, expressed in the proposition with which I began this letter ; " that, if this rate of payment be not soon put a stop to, there will not be an established church and a House of Lords in existence, in not a great many years from this day."

You will start when I tell you that thousands and even millions will exclaim " so much the better !" Ah ! do not deceive yourself : such is the pass to which things are come, that, as I have so frequently said, something must give way ; and it must be some *great thing*, too : it must be, in short, that which is falsely called the NATIONAL DEBT, or it must be that establishment and that aristocracy which, in one shape or another, have existed in England, ever since the country bore that name. In France the infernal system of funding and of paper, by creating bands of rentiers with a noblesse to bear the sword of taxation for them, overset a government of twelve hundred years' standing. Here the monster has establishments of only a thousand years' standing to encounter ; and, whether it be a thousand more or less, unless the monster be arrested in his progress, the fate of these establishments is as certain to come as the fate of those establishments which we have witnessed in France.

Lest my endeavours to convince you and men of your order of the danger which is at hand ; lest my arguments and opinions should be cast aside, in consequence of your entertaining a doubt of my sincerity ; and of your believing that I wish to see that realized which I appear to be labouring to cause to be avoided ; lest this should be the case, not with you, solely (for perhaps nothing will change your opinion upon the subject) ; but, lest the same effect should be produced on the minds of others who belong to your order : lest this should be, I will here insert a passage from my *Year's Residence in America*, dated in Long Island on the

10. of December 1818, and remonstrating with Mr. Birkbeck, against his endeavours to inveigle English farmers across the Alleghany mountains. That unfortunate gentleman had differed with me upon several points, relating to other and more general matters; and, after having made my remonstrance upon the subject above-mentioned, I concluded my letter in the following words:—

“ You have been deceived. A warm heart, a lively imagination, and I know not what caprice about republicanism, have led you into sanguine expectations and wrong conclusions. Come, now, confess it like yourself; that is, like a man of sense and spirit: like an honest and fair-dealing John Bull. To err belongs to all men, great as well as little; but to be ashamed to confess error, belongs only to the latter.

“ Great as is my confidence in your candour, I can, however, hardly hope wholly to escape your anger for having so decidedly condemned your publications; but, I do hope, that you will not be so unjust as to impute my conduct to any base self-interested motive. I have no private interest, I can have no such interest in endeavouring to check the mad torrent towards the West. I own nothing in these States, and never shall; and whether English farmers push on into misery and ruin, or stop here in happiness and prosperity, to me, as far as private interest goes, it must be the same. As to the difference in our feelings and notions about country, about *allegiance*, and about *forms of government*, this may exist without any, even the smallest degree of personal dislike. I was no hypocrite in England; I had no views farther than those which I professed. I wanted nothing for myself but the fruit of my own industry and talent, and I wished nothing for my country but its liberties and laws, which say, that the people shall be *fairly represented*. England has been very happy and free; her greatness and renown have been surpassed by those of no nation in the world; her wise, just, and mer-

ciful laws form the basis of that freedom which we here enjoy; she has been fertile beyond all rivalry in men of learning and men devoted to the cause of freedom and humanity; her people, though proud and domineering, yield to no people in the world in frankness, good faith, sincerity, and benevolence: and I cannot but know, that this state of things has existed, and that this people has been formed, under a government of king, lords, and commons. Having this powerful argument of experience before me, and seeing no reason why the thing should be otherwise, I have never wished for republican government in England; though, rather than that the present tyrannical oligarchy should continue to trample on king and people, I would gladly see the whole fabric torn to atoms, and trust to chance for something better, being sure that nothing could be worse. But, if I am not a republican; if I think my duty towards England infeasible; if I think that it becomes me to abstain from any act which shall seem to say, I abandon her, and especially in this her hour of distress and oppression; and if, in all these points, I differ from you, I trust that to this difference no part of the above strictures will be imputed, but that the motive will be fairly inferred from the act, and not the act imputed unfairly to any motive.”

Now, Sir, have the justice to bear in mind, that this was written while I was in voluntary exile, to avoid the dungeons prepared for me in my own country; that it was written at a time when it was very uncertain whether I should ever be able to see England again; that it was at once published among a people notoriously the rivals in every respect, and in some respects the enemy of the people of England; and lastly, be pleased to recollect, if you know any thing of the matter, that at all times, in all places, in all manners, and addressing myself to all sorts of persons, I have invariably said the same thing. But, I beg you to observe that sentence of this extract in which I say, what I

would gladly see rather than see the then tyrannical oligarchy continue to trample on king and people; I beg you to observe that, and if you do well observe it, you will gather from the whole (viewing the change that has already taken place) that there is perfect sincerity in every thing that has now been addressed to you, by,

Sir,

Your most humble and
most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Sir, if you had read "PAPER AGAINST GOLD," a book that I wrote twenty-two years ago, and which any bookseller would have sold you for 5s., which is not much more than the price of a mouthful of the turtle that you so frequently swallow, you never could have sent out into the world this heap of senseless trash about stocks and paper-money. That you may not have this turtle-like excuse for ignorance in future, I here subjoin the 25th letter of the work. Read it; and then, you never will again so unceremoniously talk of the "*unflinching impudence*" of those who hold, upon this subject, opinions different from yours. W. C.

LETTER XXV.

"Nothing is more certain than death, and nothing more uncertain than the time of dying; yet, we can always fix a period beyond which man cannot live, and within some moment of which he will die. We are enabled to do this, not by any spirit of prophecy, but by observation of what has happened in all cases of human or animal existence. If, then, any other subject, such, for instance, as a system of finance, exhibits, in its progress, a series of symptoms indicating decay, its final dissolution is certain, and, from those symptoms we may calculate the period of that dissolution."—*Paine, Decline and Fall of the British System of Finance, published in 1796.*

The subject of Depreciation discussed—Lord Stanhope's Bill—Lord King's Notice to his Tenants.

GENTLEMEN, — The foregoing letter we began with proposing to discuss the question of *depreciation*, but were stopped by the desire of showing how childish, and, indeed, how unjust it was

in our Government to complain of the endeavours said to be used by the French for destroying our paper-money, seeing the endeavours which were used here to destroy the *Assignats* in France. We will now resume the subject of *depreciation*, and see whether the paper-money of England be, or be not, *actually depreciated*; and, if we find that it is, we will inquire whether it can be restored to its former value by any of the means, called *remedies*, that have been pointed out by any of those who are our rulers, or lawgivers,

To *depreciate* means to *lower in value*; and the word *depreciation* is used to signify that state, in which anything is, when it is *lowered*, or has *fallen*, from its former value. Hence the term *depreciation*, as applied to Bank notes; and, when we thus apply it, accompanied with the affirmative of the proposition, we say, that Bank notes have *fallen in value*, and, of course, that any given sum in such notes is *not worth so much as it formerly was*.

Much puzzling has, upon this subject, arisen from a very natural cause; namely, that the note always retains its *nominal* value; that is to say, always goes by the *same name*; a *pound note* still is called a *pound note*, whether it be *worth as much as it formerly was*, or not. But, to this point we shall come more fully by-and-by, after we have spoken of the way in which a depreciation of money, or the lowering of the value of money, takes place.

Money, of whatever sort, is, like everything else, lowered in its value in proportion as it becomes *abundant or plenty*. As I said upon a former occasion, when apples are *plenty* apples are *cheap*; and cheap means *low in price*. The use of money is to serve men as a sign of the amount of the value of things that pass from man to man in the way of purchase and sale. It is *plenty*, or *scarce*, in proportion as its quantity is great or small compared with the quantity of things purchased and sold in the community; and, whenever it becomes, from any cause, *plenty*, it *depreciates*, or sinks in value. Suppose, for instance, that there is a community of *few*

men, who make amongst them 100 purchases in a-year, each purchase amounting to one pound. The community, in that case, would possess, we will suppose, 10 pounds; and no more, because, the same money might, and naturally would, go backwards and forwards, and because, except under peculiar circumstances, men do not hoard. Now, suppose, that the money in possession of this community is doubled in quantity, without any other alteration taking place, the quantity of goods and chattels and the quantity of things, including services, purchased, and the number of purchases all continuing the same. Suppose this; and, we are here speaking of money of *any sort*. No matter what sort. Suppose it to be gold, and that its quantity is thus *doubled*. The consequence would be, of course, that at each of the hundred purchases, *double the sum would be given that was given before*; because, if this were not the case, part of the money must be kept idle, which, upon a *general scale*, can never be, there being no motive for it. Suppose that one of the hundred purchases was that of a horse. The purchase, which was made with one pound before the doubling of the quantity of money, would require two pounds after that doubling took place; and so on through the whole; and, in such a state of things people would say, that *prices had risen*, that commodities had *doubled in price*, that everything was *twice as dear* as it used to be. But, the fact would be, that *money* was become *plenty*, and like everything else, *cheap* in proportion to its abundance. It would be, that money had *fallen*, or had been depreciated, and not that things had *risen*; the *loaf*, for instance, having a *real value* in its utility in supporting man, and the money having only an *imaginary value*.

Prices in England have been *rising*, as it is commonly called, for hundreds of years; things have been getting *dearer* and *dearer*. The cause of which, until the Bank note system began, was the increase of gold and silver in Europe, in consequence of the discovery of South America and the subsequent working of

the mines. But the increase of the quantity of gold and silver was slow. "Nature," as PAINÉ observes, "gives" those materials out with a sparing "hand;" they came, as they still come, in regular annual quantities from the mines; and that portion of them which found its way to this country was obtained by the sale of things of real value, being the product of our soil or of our labour. Therefore, the quantity of money increased very slowly; it did increase, and prices gradually rose, but the increase and the rise were so slow as not to be strikingly perceptible. During the average life of man the rise in prices was so small as hardly to attract anything like general attention. Curious men observed it, and some of them recorded the progress of prices; but, as there was no sensible difference in prices in the average life of man, the rise never became an object of general interest, as long as *gold* and *silver* were the only currency of the country.

But, when the *funding system* began, and paper became, in many cases, a substitute for gold and silver; when the increase of the quantity of money in the country was no longer dependent upon the mines; when the check which nature had provided was removed; then money, or its substitute, paper, increased at a rate much greater than before, and *prices* took a *proportionate rise*, as they naturally would. The nature of the *FUNDING SYSTEM* has been fully explained before; we have also seen how it would naturally cause the paper-money to go on increasing. We have seen, that the Government, as soon as it began to make loans, was compelled to establish a Bank, or a something, in order to get the means of *paying the interest upon the loans*. The amount of the loans would naturally go on increasing in order to meet the rise in prices, and thus the increase of the paper would continue causing rise after rise in the prices, and the rise in the prices would continue causing addition upon addition to the quantity of the paper. This was the natural progress, and it was that which actually took place.

Still, however, the paper passed in company with the gold and silver. Money was more *plenty*; it was of *less value*; and, of course, any given quantity of it would purchase less bread, for instance, than formerly; but, still there was no difference in the *quality* of the two sorts of money; *metal* and *paper* both not only passed at the sums that they had usually passed at; but people liked the one just as well as the other; and, it was a matter of *perfect indifference* to any man, whether he took a hundred guineas in gold, or one hundred and five pounds in paper. And, the reason of this indifference was, that the holder of a bank-note could, at any moment, go to the Bank, and there demand and receive payment in guineas. This was the reason why the paper passed in society with the gold. But, it was impossible that this society should long continue after the paper increased to a very great amount, and especially after the notes became so low in nominal value as five pounds; for, then, it was evident, that all the taxes would be paid in paper; that the Government would receive nothing but paper; that the Bank could get nothing but paper from the Government; that whatever gold went out of the Bank would never return to it; and, of course, that the Bank would, in a short time, be unable to pay its notes in gold, if called on for that purpose to any great extent.

A call of this sort was made upon it in 1797; and, as we have seen, and now feel, the Bank was unable to pay. Its creditors, that is to say, the holders of its notes, demanded their money; the Bank flew to the Minister Pitt for protection; the Minister, by an Order of Council, authorized the Bank to refuse to pay its creditors; the Bank did refuse; the Parliament passed an act to shelter the Minister and the Bank Directors and all who had been guilty of this violation of law, and, at the same time enacted, that, for the future, the Bank should not be compellable to pay its notes in gold or silver. After this memorable transaction, the full and true history of which I have recorded in the foregoing letters; after this, the

whole concern assumed a new face and indeed a new nature. The holder of a bank note could no longer go and demand payment of it in guineas; it was impossible, therefore, that he should look upon 105*l.* in notes as quite equal in value to 100 guineas. Still, however, in consequence of the meetings and combinations of the rich, and of the enormous influence of the Government, to which may be added the dread in every man of being marked out as a Jacobin and Leveller; in consequence of all these, and of the necessity of having something to serve as money, the notes continued to circulate; and, as the alarm subsided, the guinea returned and circulated in company with them; but, not with that cordiality that it used to do. It became much less frequent in its appearance in company with the notes; it held itself aloof; seemed to demand a preference; but not appearing to like to assume this superiority over an old and familiar associate, and yet unwilling to pass for so much less than its worth, it soon began to keep away altogether, retiring to the chests of the hoarders, or going upon its travels into foreign parts, until such time as it found itself duly estimated in England, which would naturally be when people began to make openly a *distinction* between paper and coin.

That time arrived about two years ago; but, no sooner was the distinction thus made, and acted upon, than the Government began to prosecute the actors, and commenced, I believe, in the well-known case of *Dr Yonge*, who, under laws, passed about two hundred years before such things as bank notes were ever heard of, was convicted, about a year ago, of, the crime of exchanging guineas for more than their nominal value in bank notes. *Dr Yonge* moved for an *arrest of judgment*; the case has been since argued before the judges; and their decision thereon has recently been promulgated. Other persons have been prosecuted in the same way and upon the same ground, the effect of which naturally has been to deter people from openly purchasing and selling guineas,

and also from tendering them generally in payment for more than their nominal value in paper. But, it is very notorious that the distinction is, nevertheless, made, and that, in payments, men do take gold at *its worth* in comparison with the paper. *Two prices* are not yet openly and generally made; but, they exist partially, and the extent of them is daily increasing,

To this point, then, we are now arrived, and here we see proof, not of a depreciation of money of *all sorts*, arising merely from that general *plenty* of money spoken of above; but arising from the abundance, or plenty, of *paper*, that is to say, the great quantity of the paper compared with that of the coin. Hence we say, that the bank notes have depreciated, or fallen in value; and, that there should be found any human being to assert the contrary, or to believe, or to affect to believe, the contrary, is something that, were not the fact before our eyes, no man could think possible; but, we live in times when wonder no longer seems to form a feeling of the mind.

This state of things it was easy to foresee; but, the nation has been deluded by the specious argument of the *equal powers of gold and paper in purchases*. "Go to market," we have been told, "and see whether the pound *note* and the *skilling* will not bring you as much meat or cloth as a *guinea*." This was conclusive with unreflecting minds, and it quieted, or assisted to quiet, all those, who, though they were capable of discerning, dared not look the fearful truth in the face. I looked it in the face rather more than eight years ago, and strenuously laboured to prepare my countrymen for what has now come, and what is now coming to pass. Upon one occasion, this standing delusive argument was made us of in answer to me: whereupon I made the following remarks:—"The objection of my other correspondent has more plausibility. These are his words: 'I think the argument, that Bank paper is depreciated, drawn from the difference between the sterling and the current

'value of a dollar, if it prove any thing, proves too much. That *guineas* are depreciated you will hardly insist, yet I would sturdily maintain, from your premises, that they are, since a guinea will not purchase so many dollars as it formerly would.'—Yes, but I do insist though, that guineas are depreciated: not in their intrinsic value, but in their value *as currency*, that is to say, in their power of purchasing commodities in this country. When there is a depreciating paper in any country, the current coin of that country depreciates in its powers along with the paper, because it has a fixed nominal value, and it can pass currently for no more than an equal nominal value in paper, until the paper is at an open discount. The metal is degraded by the society of the paper: but, there comes a time when it will bear this degradation no longer; it then rises above its nominal value, or, in other words, the paper is at a discount."

This was published so long as the 14. April, 1804. "*There comes a time!*" Aye, and that time is now come. But, let me not be guilty of robbery, and especially of the *Dead*, and more especially of one whose writings, and upon this very subject too, as well as other subjects, I formerly, through ignorance, condemned. I allude to the writings of PAINE, the abused, the reprobated, the anathematized, TOM PAINE. In his work, from which I have taken the perspicuous and impressive passage that serves me as a *motto* to this Letter, and the equal of which has seldom dropped from the pen of any man; in that work, PAINE thus exposes the delusive argument of which I have just been speaking; "It is said in England, that the value of paper keeps *equal pace* with the value of gold and silver. But the case is not rightly stated: for, the fact is, that the paper has *pulled down* the value of gold and silver to its own level. Gold and silver will not purchase so much of any purchasable article at this day (March, 1796) as they would have

"purchased if no paper had appeared, nor so much as they will in any country of Europe, where there is no paper. How long this *hanging together* of paper and money will continue makes a new case; because it daily exposes the system to sudden death, independent of the *natural death* it would otherwise suffer." Here he lays down the principle; and, if, instead of reviling his writings, the Government of England had lent a patient ear to him, and taken a lesson from his superior understanding and experience, how different would have been our situation at this day. He proceeds thus: "I have just mentioned that paper in England has *pulled down* the value of gold and silver to a level with itself; and that this *pulling down* of gold and silver money has created the appearance of paper-money *keeping up*. The same thing, and the same mistake, took place in America and in France, and continued for a considerable time after the commencement of their system of paper; and the actual depreciation of money was hidden under that mistake. It was said in America, at that time, that everything was becoming *dear*; but gold and silver could *then* buy those articles no cheaper than paper could; and therefore it was not called *depreciation*. The idea of *dearness* established itself for the idea of depreciation. The same was the case in France. Though everything rose in price soon after *assignats* appeared, yet those dear articles could be purchased no cheaper with gold and silver, than with paper, and it was only said that things were *dear*. The same is *still the language in England*. They call it *dearness*. But they will soon find that it is an *actual depreciation*, and that this depreciation is the effect of the funding system; which by crowding such a continually increasing mass of paper into circulation, *carries down the value of gold and silver with it*. But gold and silver will, in the *long-run*, revolt against depreciation, and *separate from the value of paper*; for the pro-

gress of all such systems appears to be, that the paper will take the command in the *beginning*, and gold and silver in the *end*."

How well is this expressed, and how clearly, the truth of it is now verified. Yes: we talk about *dearness*; we talk of *high prices*; we talk of things *rising in value*; but, the fact is, that the change has been in the *money*, and not in the articles bought and sold; the articles remain the same in value, but the money, from its abundance, has *fallen in value*. This has of late been imperceptible to the mass of the people, who were convinced of the non-depreciation by the argument built on the circumstance of the guinea and the paper being upon an equal footing at market. They did not perceive, that the paper had *pulled down* the gold and silver along with it; they did not perceive that the coin was sliding by degrees out of the society of the paper; they did not perceive that, in time, the coin would disappear altogether; they did not perceive that an open contest would, at last, take place between the guineas and the paper, and that, if the *law* came to the assistance of the paper, the coin would *quit the country*. Now, however, they do perceive this; the facts have all now been established in a way that seems, at last, to have produced conviction even in the minds of this "*most thinking*" people; but, there is reason to fear, that this conviction will have come *too late*. How happy would it have been for this nation, if the opinions of Mr. PAINE, touching this subject, had produced, at the time, their wished-for effect! No man in England dared to publish his work. Any man who had published or sold it would have been punished as a *sedition libeller*. Yet, in my opinion, does that work, that little work, in the space of *twenty-five pages*, convey more useful knowledge upon this subject, and discover infinitely greater depth of thought and general powers of mind, than are to be found in all the pamphlets of the *threescore and two* financiers, who, in this country, have, since I came into this jail, favoured the world with their

opinions upon the state of our money system. The writings of these people would make *twenty-five thick octavo volumes*; and in all of them there is not so much power of mind discovered as in PAINE's *twenty-five pages*. Yet no man would dare to publish this little work in England. By accident I possess a copy that I brought from America, but which I never read till after my return to England. In 1803, when there was much apprehension of invasion, and when great complaints were made of the *scarcity of change*, I began to read some books upon the subject; and, after reading several without coming to anything like a clear notion of the real state of our currency, I took up the little essay of PAINE. Here I saw to the bottom at once. Here was no bubble, no mud to obstruct my view: the stream was clear and strong: I saw the whole matter in its true light, and neither pamphleteers nor speechmakers were, after that, able to raise even a momentary puzzle in my mind. PAINE not only told me what would come to pass, but showed me, gave me convincing reasons, *why it must come to pass*; and he convinced me also, that it was my duty to endeavour to open the eyes of my countrymen to the truths which I myself had learned from him; because his reasoning taught me, that the longer those truths remained hidden from their view, the more fatal must be the consequences. The occasion of this work of PAINE is worthy of notice. One of the motives of writing it was, as he says, at the close, to *retaliate upon PITT*, who, in speaking of the French Republic, had said, that she was "*on the verge, nay, even in the gulf of bankruptcy*." PAINE said, that England would soon be in a worse situation than France as to her finances; and, in less than twelve months after he wrote his work, the Bank became unable to pay its notes in cash.

To return to the subject of *depreciation*, the fact has now been established in all sorts of ways. Gold coin has been, and is, sold at a premium: a guinea will sell for twenty-seven shillings, and the other coins of the realm in the same pro-

portion; many persons in London have written upon their shop windows notifications that they will take the coin at a higher than the nominal value; in numerous cases a distinction is made in prices paid in coin and prices paid in paper. If these are not proofs of an *actual depression of the paper*, what, I should be glad to know, will ever be admitted as a proof of that fact? Indeed, there is no longer any doubt remaining upon the subject; and, therefore, we will now proceed to take a view of the REMEDIES that have been proposed by our rulers and lawgivers, who, if they had followed the advice given in PAINE's Second Part of the *Rights of Man*, instead of prosecuting the author, would not, I am convinced, have had to lament the present state of our finances.

As to REMEDIES, Gentlemen, I, in the first of this series of Letters, stated to you, that the bullion committee had recommended to the House of Commons to pass a law to compel the Bank to pay their notes in gold and silver *at the end of two years*. This same proposition has been since made in the House; but the House have resolved, that *no such measure is necessary*. Those who *opposed* the proposition said, that the Bank had not the gold, and could not get it, and that, therefore, they could not pay in gold. This was a very sufficient reason: and, I must confess, that I was and am, as far as this goes, exactly of the opinion of these gentlemen. For, to what end pass such a law, if the gold was not to be had? There were several sensible men belonging to the bullion committee, and the gentleman who brought the measure forward in the House, is looked upon as a person of good understanding. It, therefore, appeared astonishing to me that they should propose such a measure, seeing that I have never been able to discover any way whatever, by which gold could possibly return to the Bank, and remain there in quantity sufficient to enable that company to pay their notes in gold upon demand. To resume payments in gold would, indeed, be a *complete remedy*; but, to do this, in my

opinion, and, for many years past, has been utterly impossible. By what means are the Bank Company to get the gold? We are told, that *there is gold enough* if the Bank Company will but purchase it. What are they to give for it? Why *their paper*, to be sure; and, as it would require twenty-seven shillings in their paper to purchase a guinea, this would be a most charming way of obtaining the means of paying off the paper with guineas. Let us take an instance. Suppose the Bank Company, by way of preparing for cash payments, to be purchasing all the guineas they can find, and, in such case, they would, of course, apply to our old friend, Mrs. DE YONGE, to whom, hy-the-by, I here present my congratulations on the late decision of the judges in favour of her husband; the Bank Company would, I say, naturally apply to this good lady, who, it being now decided that the old biting law, does not forbid the buying and selling of Bank notes and guineas, would drive with them as good a bargain as she could. Suppose them to buy 100 guineas of her at the present price, twenty-seven shillings each, they would, of course, give her for them 135 pounds in their notes. And thus they must go on with other people. Having, at last, got a good lot of guineas together, they begin paying their notes in guineas. It is pretty evident that the vast increase of paper occasioned by the purchase of the guineas, would have caused a new and great depreciation of the paper, and that, therefore, the moment that the Bank was open to demands in coin, people would crowd to it in all directions. I can fancy the eager crowd now before me pressing in from every quarter and corner; and, amongst the very foremost and most eager, I think I see our friend Mrs. DE YONGE. "What do you do here, Madam?" I think I hear a dejected director say, "what do you do here, you who *"sold us guineas but the other day?"* "Aye, Sir," says the lady, "and for these very guineas I am come again, and mean to take them away too with 105 pounds of the 135 that you gave me for them."

Need I say any more upon this subject! Is it not something monstrous to suppose, that it would be possible for the Bank Company to *buy* gold in quantity sufficient to be able to pay their notes in it? "Well," say others, "but the Bank may *lessen the quantity of its paper by narrowing its discounts.*" To be sure they might; and the only consequence of that would be, that *the taxes would not be paid*, and, of course, that the soldiers, the judges, and all other persons paid by the public would have to go without pay. The *discounts* make a part of the system; and, if it be put a stop to, that is neither more or less than one of the ways of totally destroying the system. To *lessen* the quantity of the paper is, therefore, impossible without producing ruin amongst all persons in trade and agriculture, and without disabling the country to pay the taxes, at their present nominal amount.

But, supposing all other difficulties were got over, did these gentlemen of the bullion committee ever reflect upon the consequences of *raising* the value of money to what it was before the Bank stoppage? Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, in his speech, during the bullion debate, told them of these consequences. He observed, and very justly, that, if money were, by any means, to be restored to the value it bore in the year 1796, the interest of the national debt never could be paid by the people; that interest, he observed, was now 35,000,000*l.* a-year; and, if the value of money was brought back to the standard of 1796, this interest would instantly swell to 43,000,000*l.* of money at the present value. All the grants, pensions, fixed emoluments, pay of soldiers, judges, chancellors, clerks, commissioners, and the rest would be raised, in point of real amount, in the same proportion; so that it would be utterly impossible for taxes to such an amount to be raised.*

* The above quoted speech is *my property*. I was in Newgate at the time that it was made; and, when the debate, during which it was uttered, was about to come on, I besought BURDETT to put on record these opinions, telling him, that *the time would come*

And, if it were possible, it would be frequently unjust; for, observe, all the money (making nearly one half of the national debt) that has been borrowed since the Bank Company stopped paying in gold and silver; all the money borrowed since that time; all the loans made in the name of the public since that time; all the money lent to the public, as it is called, has been lent in *depreciated paper*; and, that which has been so lent this year, has, if guineas are at 27 shillings, been lent in paper *27 shillings of which are worth no more than a guinea*? And, are the people to be called upon to pay interest upon this money in a currency of which *21 shillings are worth a guinea*? This would be so abominably unjust, that I wonder how any man like Mr. HORNER ever came to think of it. He expressly stated that the paper was now worth only 15s. 10d. in the pound; of course he must have known, that this was the sort of thing of which the loans, for some years past, consisted; and yet, he would have had a law passed, the effect of which would have been to make the people pay interest for this money at the rate of *twenty shillings in the pound*. This is what

and must come, when he would have to refer to them with triumphant exultation; that it was nonsense to hope to obtain *reform*, as long as the paper and funding system remained unhurt; that it could not so remain for a great many years; and that when it began to produce all the horrible calamities, that must, in its last stages, be its natural fruit, it would be a proud thing for him, and would give him great weight with the nation, to be able to show, that, if his advice had been followed, these calamities would never have been known, or, at the least, would have been greatly mitigated. Finding him willing to follow my advice, I gave him the opinions *on paper*; he took the paper away, made it his own, and uttered the opinions as above, almost in my very words. Since that time, he has, in the hope of keeping me out of my country for life, published my private letters, and has done everything within his power to destroy my character, and my means of being useful to my country. I have triumphed over him completely. He has been baffled in all his base attempts against me; but, I think it right, in justice to my readers, to pluck this shining feather (out of scores that I might pluck) from the wing of this ungrateful Jack-Baw.

never could have been submitted to: not because the people would have *resisted*; that is not what I mean; but, it is what could not have been carried into effect, and for the same reason that the man could not have two skins from the carcass of the same cat. If the quantity of the Bank paper were diminished, its value would rise; and, if its value rose, the value of the interest upon the national debt would rise also; therefore to enable the people to continue to pay the interest upon the debt, the amount of the interest must be *lessened*, and what would that be but a *partial sponge*. So that turn and twist the thing, whatever way you will, you still find it the same; you still find, that the system must go on in all its parts, or be put a stop to altogether.

In most other cases, when men talk of a *remedy*, they advert to the *cause of the evil*. If I find that my health is injured by drinking brandy, the first thing I ought to do in order to recover my health, would naturally be to leave off drinking brandy. What a fool, what worse than idiot, must that man be, who, feeling the fire burn his shins, still retains his seat. Yet, in this important national concern, never do you find any of our writers or legislators dwelling upon the *cause of the evil*, of which they appear so anxious to get rid. They tell us, indeed, that the *depreciation* of the paper is occasioned by its *excessive quantity*; but here they stop; they never go back to the *cause* of that excessive quantity of paper; or, if they do, they only speak of the *interests of the Bank Company*. If they did go back to the real cause, they would find it in the *increase of the national debt*, to pay the interest of which, commonly called dividends, has *required*, has rendered *absolutely necessary*, the present quantity of paper. Indeed, one engenders the other. Every loan occasions a fresh batch of paper to pay the interest upon it; that fresh batch of paper causes a new depreciation and a new demand for paper again to make up in the quantity what has been lost in the quality. So that to talk of *lessening* the quantity of the paper, while the re-

tional debt *remains undiminished*, does really seem to me something too absurd to be attributed to any man of sense. What, then, must it be to talk of *lessening* the quantity of paper, while the national debt is *increasing* at an enormous rate, and while it is notorious that that debt has been nearly doubled in amount during the last fourteen years; aye, while it is notorious, that, during the last fourteen years, that debt has increased as much as the whole amount of it was before; or in other words, that since 1796 as much money has been borrowed by the Government as was borrowed in the whole *hundred years* preceding! What must it be, then, to talk of *lessening* the quantity of the paper, while the national debt, which was, and is, *the cause of the paper*, keeps on in this manner *increasing*? One really would think that such a proposition could have originated only in Bedlam. In 1798, the next year after the stoppage, the amount of Bank of England notes in circulation was 13,334,752*l.*; and the amount of the interest upon the national debt, in that year, was, 17,750,402*l.* In 1809, the amount of the Bank of England notes in circulation was, 21,249,980*l.*; and the amount of the interest upon the national debt in that year was 30,093,447*l.* (exclusive of Irish loans). Now let this be tried by the Rule of Three, and you will see with what exactness the amount of the Bank notes keeps pace with the amount of the interest upon the national debt, commonly called 'the *dividends*, which many poor creatures in the country look upon, or rather, used to look upon, as something of a nature almost divine. Let us put this down a little more distinctly.

In 1798, the Dividends amounted to	£17,750,402
The Bank Notes out in circulation.....	13,334,752

In 1809, the Dividends amounted to	30,093,447
The Bank Notes in circulation	21,249,980

Here we have the real cause visibly before us. What folly, what madness, is it then, to talk of *lessening* the amount

of the notes, while we are continually *augmenting* the amount of the dividends, which are the *cause* of the notes? Here we have before our eyes proof that the dividends (by the use of which word I mean to include all the annual charges upon the debt) and the bank notes have *gone on increasing for the last ten years*, and I had before shown that they had done so theretofore; and, with this fact before our eyes, we, the people of this "*most thinking nation*," hear some of our legislators propose to *lessen* the amount of the *paper*, while not a man of them seems to dream of lessening the amount of the *debt*. We hear them propose to narrow the stream, while they say not a word about narrowing the spring whence it flows. They have seen, or *you*, at least, have seen, Gentlemen, that the bank-paper arose out of the national debt; you have seen that the Bank was created in a short time, after the debt began; you have seen the increase of the paper keep an exact pace with the increase of the Debt; and, is it not then, to war against facts, against a century of experience, against the nature of things, to propose to narrow the issues of the paper without previously narrowing the bounds of the Debt and its dividends? If the authors of this proposition had read the work of PAINE, they would never have offered such a proposition. Read this work they may, but they have not duly considered its arguments, or they have shut their eyes against the clear conviction that it is calculated to produce. He pointed out in his second part of the Rights of Man, the means of saving England in the way of finance. That work was written in 1791. So early as that he foresaw and foretold what we have now before our eyes, and what we have daily to expect. He there pointed out the sure and certain means of effectually putting a stop to further increase of the Debt, of ensuring a real diminution of it, and, at the same time, of doing ample justice to the fundholders. For this pamphlet he was persecuted, and having gone out of the country, he was *outlawed*. A royal

proclamation was issued principally for the purpose of suppressing his work, scores of pamphlets having been written in answer to him in vain. He was burnt in effigy in most parts of this his native country; and his works were suppressed by the arm of the law. Well, our Government had its way; it followed its own counsel and rejected that of PAINÉ; he was overcome by it, and driven from the country; those who endeavoured to cause his principles to have effect were punished or silenced, or both; and, *what is the result?* That result is now before us, and fast approaching us; and, in a short time, in all human probability, events will enable us to form a perfectly correct decision upon the respective merits and demerits of the then conflicting parties.

Now, Gentlemen, if you have attentively read the letters, of which I now address to you the XXVth, you will have no doubt at all, that the cause of the influx of paper and of the consequent depreciation of all money first, and then of the paper itself alone, as compared to the money; you will have no doubt that the real cause of all this is the increase of the National Debt! and, yet, in all the parliamentary debates upon the subject, you have heard of scarcely any man who ventured to mention this cause. It was a thing too tender to touch. It was what we call a *sore place*; and, the old proverb about the galled horse applied too aptly. If the depreciation had been traced to the National Debt, as Mr. HORNE TOOKE once traced it while he was in Parliament; for, *he* then foresaw and foretold what was now come to pass, and told the House, that, if they continued the then expenditure, the fundholder would not get, in a few years, a *quartern loaf* for the dividend upon a hundred pounds of stock, if the depreciation had thus been traced back to its real efficient cause, it would have awakened reflections of an unpleasant tendency; it would have set men to consider what was the cause of the increase of the Debt; to look back and inquire whither the money was gone; for what purpose it had been borrowed; *who were the persons that had profited from that borrowing*; who, in short, it was that had swallowed all that money the interest of which the nation was paying, and had so long been paying. These reflections it was not the desire of either party to awaken; but they belong to the subject, they naturally present themselves to every one who looks only a little beneath the surface, and I venture to say, that, in the end, they will become familiar to every man in the kingdom. If this *real cause* of the evil had been acknowledged, it would have saved a great deal of time; for, then men would

not have amused themselves with talking about such REMEDIES as that of Mr. HONNER; and all the talk about the *narrowing of discounts* and the *purchasing of gold* and the *improving of the exchange* would have been heard like the twice-told tale of an idiot. The short and the only question would have been this: *can we, by any means, diminish the amount of the dividends?* And if that question had been answered in the negative, there was no course, for those who wished to support the Pitt system to pursue, but that of letting things take their own course, and aid the paper with their wishes.

So much for the REMEDY of the bullion committee; but, our attention is now called to another, founded on more imperious circumstances. I allude to the proposition of EARL STANHOPE, which was, on the 27. of June, brought forward in the shape of a bill, and which is, in that shape, now actually before the House of Lords, where it has undergone a second reading. Compared with this proposition, all that has been said and done before is mere child's play. This bill brings the matter home to the public mind; it shows the most credulous that even those, on whose stoutness they rested their faith, begin to quiver. It cries, a truce with all *pretensions*. It puts the seuse and the sincerity of every disputant to the test. The Minister told us, that he wished the debate on the bullion report to come on, that the matter might be set at rest. Set at rest! Mercy on us! Set at rest! And so said OLD GEORGE ROSS too. But what did they mean by setting the matter at rest? Is it possible, that they could imagine, that this matter was to be set at rest; that this great question of paper money; that this subject, in which every human creature in the country is so deeply interested; is it possible that they thought this matter would be completely set at rest by a vote for their majority? No, no! This is one of the things that that House cannot do. They can do a great deal; they can do more than I dare to trust myself to describe; but, they cannot set this matter at rest, nor have they; and all the branches of the Government united, the power to stay the progress of the paper money only for one single hour. The Minister and his people have now seen what rest they ensured for the subject! I always said, that the "first man of landed property" who openly made a distinction between "paper and gold, would put the whole system to its trumps, and compel the bank-notes to sue for the power of the Government for "their protection." This has now been verified, and the remainder of my prediction, which I need not here repeat, is not far from its accomplishment.

The grounds of Lord STANHOPE's proposition were stated by himself very explicitly, in moving, the 2nd instant, the second reading of his bill. He said, that he had long thought upon the subject and had long entertained the opinion, that some legislative measure was

necessary to preserve the bank-note system from total ruin; that a notice recently given by Lord KING to his tenants, signifying that he would no longer receive his rents but in gold or in a quantity of paper equivalent in powers of purchase to gold,* had convinced him that there was no time to be lost, and that the measure in contemplation ought to be adopted before the Parliament rose. He said that the Ministers having declared, that their only objection to the measure arose from an opinion, that they thought no measure of the kind necessary, being persuaded that nobody would be found to follow the example of Lord KING, it was only necessary for him to show them that there were others to follow that example, in order to convince the Ministers, that the bill was entitled to their support. Having made these preliminary observations, he said, that he had a bundle of instances of this sort, and he only wished that a great many other persons would declare their intentions at once, and then the House would proceed to prevent the evil. He then produced a number of letters, from which he read extracts. One person wrote, that his landlord had said, "What *one* landlord can do, *all* can do; and if Lord KING succeed, I will do the same." Another letter related a recent transaction in Hampshire, where a man bought an estate for 400*l.*, and paid down 100*l.* of the money, and afterwards laid out several hundreds of pounds upon the premises, and when the time of payment came, the seller insisted upon having

payment in guineas, which the buyer could not obtain; the seller, however, would have it, or have his land back again; and the only consolation left to the buyer was an intimation from a friend of the seller that he could inform him where he might obtain the guineas at twenty-seven shillings each. Another letter stated that a lady, who was a land-owner, insisted upon her rent in gold, and that the tenant apprehended a seizure of his goods, and was ready to verify the facts if called on. Another informed him, on the part of an attorney, that the practice was become very common to sell guineas and then pay debts with the paper.

These were the grounds, stated by Lord STANHOPE, of the measure that he proposed; and, upon his stating these grounds, the Ministers, who had, at the first reading, said that they did not see any necessity for the measure, or any measure of the kind, allowed that there was such necessity, and supported the second reading accordingly.

Now, Gentlemen, before I offer you any observations upon this measure itself, or upon the conduct of Lord KING, whose notice to his tenants seems to have given rise to it, it may not be amiss for me to say, that, from all that has ever come to my knowledge, there is not a more disinterested man, or a truer friend to freedom and to his country, breathing, than Lord STANHOPE, whom I trace through the parliamentary proceedings of the last twenty years, always standing nobly forward in the cause of justice, liberty, and humanity, and, but too often standing forward *alone*. His protest against the Anti-Jacobin war, which began in 1793, and which has finally led to our present calamities, will live when we shall all be in our graves. He there pointed out all, *yea all*, that has now come to pass. That protest, every sentence of which is full of wisdom and of just sentiment, has these remarkable words: "Because war with France is, at present, most impolitic, *extremely dangerous to our allies the Dutch*, hazardous with respect to the internal peace and external power of this country, and is likely to be *highly injurious to our commerce*..... The war may, therefore, prove to be a war against our commerce and manufactures, against the proprietors of the funds, against our paper currency, and against every description of property in this country." How completely has all this been verified! Lord STANHOPE was abused; he was called a *Jacobin* and a *leveller*, and now the nation is tasting the bitter fruit of the spirit that dictated that abuse. Everywhere was he to be found, in those horrible days, where liberty was assailed. Not an act, which he deemed injurious to the rights of Englishmen, escaped his strenuous opposition. In short, were I called upon to name the peer, whom I thought to have acted the best and truest part in those times, and for the whole course of the last twenty awful years, I should certainly name this very nobleman.

* "By lease, dated 1802, you have contracted to pay the annual rent of 47*l.* 5*s.* in good and lawful money of Great Britain. In consequence of the late great depreciation of paper money, I can no longer accept any bank-notes, at their nominal value, in payment or satisfaction of an old contract. I must therefore desire you to provide for the payment of your rent in the legal gold coin of the realm. At the same time, having no other object than to secure payment of the real intrinsic value of the sum stipulated by agreement, and being desirous to avoid giving you any unnecessary trouble, I shall be willing to receive payment in either of the manners following, according to your option:—1st. By payment in guineas; 2d. If guineas cannot be procured, by a payment in Portugal gold coin, equal in weight to the number of guineas requisite to discharge the rent; 3rd. By a payment in bank paper of a sum sufficient to purchase (at the present market price) the weight of standard gold requisite to discharge the rent.—The alteration of the value of the paper money is estimated in this manner: the price of gold in 1802, the year of your agreement, was 4*l.* an ounce. The present market price is 4*l.* 14*s.*, arising from the diminished value of paper; in that proportion an addition of 17*l.* 10*s.* per cent. in paper money will be required as the equivalent, for the payment of rent in paper."

You will, therefore, Gentlemen, believe that, if I dissent from the measure which he has now proposed, that dissent proceeds from my conviction, that the measure itself is not calculated to produce that gold, which I am certain its author wishes it to produce.

The detail of the bill I will not attempt to discuss. Its principles are what have struck me, and these I gather from its chief provisions, which are, that, in future, the gold coins shall not be tendered or taken for more than their nominal value, and that the bank paper shall not be tendered or taken for less than its nominal value. This is Lord STANHOPE's REMEDY: and this he appears to think will prevent the possibility of a further depreciation of the paper. We have seen the cause and the progress of that depreciation; we have seen how the paper pulled down the coin along with it, till the coin could no longer endure the society; we have seen the time and the manner of their separation; but, Lord STANHOPE appears to think, that by the means of this bill, he shall be able not only to restore that harmony which formerly existed between them; but that he shall be able to chain them together for ever after; to bind them as it were in the bonds of marriage, and to render the ties indissoluble. If he do this, he will do what never was done before in the world; he will destroy all the settled maxims of political economy as far as they relate to finance; his achievement will be a triumph not only over the opinions and experience of mankind, but over the very nature of man, which incessantly impels him to seek his own interest, and, at the very least, to use all the means in his power to provide for his own preservation.

After having said this, I shall naturally be supposed to be convinced, that the bill would be utterly inefficient for the purposes it contemplates. Indeed, such is my decided opinion, and the reasons for that opinion I will now proceed to submit to you. A guinea is not to pass for more than twenty-one shillings. There must be some penalty to prevent the passing of it for more. Lord STANHOPE will propose nothing *cruel*; but for argument's sake, let the penalty be death. What, then? Why need any one risk any penalty, as far as *ready money* transaction goes? One of you goes to market with a pig for sale. "What do you ask for that pig, farmer?" Answer: "*Twenty-seven shillings.*" "I'll give you a guinea." "You shall have him." Where is the possibility, then, of enforcing such a law? The parties, in any case, have only to settle, before they deal, in what sort of currency payment shall be made, and then they will, of course, make the price accordingly. As to *debts*, indeed, whether book debts, or debts arising from contract, in the payment of them, the gold and notes must, if this bill pass, be taken at their nominal value; that is to say, the paper must; for, as to gold, who will be fool enough to tender gold in payment at its *nominal amount*, when it is notorious that it will fetch a premium of six

shillings upon the guinea? If the bill become a law, therefore, any tenant who has rent to pay, and who has guineas in his purse, will first go and purchase paper money with his guineas, and with paper money he will go and pay his rent. This rent, for instance, is 105*l.* a year, and he has a hundred guineas in his chest. But, he will not be fool enough to carry these to his landlord. He will go and buy 105 pounds worth of paper-money with *seventy-eight* of his guineas; and will then go and pay his rent, and will return home with 28 of his guineas still in his pocket. So that, as far as the bill will have effect, it appears to me that it will bear almost exclusively upon landlords.

I shall be told, perhaps, that, though guineas may now be bought and sold, in consequence of the decision of the judges, which, in the case of Dr YONGE, has been promulgated since I began this letter,* yet, we are not to

* The following is the report of this Decision, as given by the Chief Judge, Lord Ellenborough, in the Court of King's Bench, on the 3rd instant.—"THE KING against Dr YONGE.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH communicated the judgment of the court in this case, which along with another case, the King v. Wright, coming from the Assizes for the county of Buckingham, had been reserved for the opinion of the twelve judges, on a point of law. Both causes had been fully and ably argued before the judges in the Court of Exchequer Chamber, and the argument had occupied a number of days. The question arising in the present case was, the defendant having been convicted of purchasing 53 guineas at the rate, in bank-notes, of 22*s.* 6*d.* per guinea, whether, in so doing, he had been guilty of an offence punishable under the act of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI., which prohibited the exchanging of coined gold for coined silver, or for gold and silver, the party giving or receiving more in value than the same was current for at the time? All the judges, except three, were present at the whole of these arguments, and at the last of them the whole of the judges were present. The court had no opportunity of knowing what was the opinion of the absent judges on that part of the case at the argument on which they were not present, but they had no reason to presume that they dissented from the opinion of the other judges who were present, all of whom concurred in opinion that the defendant in this case was not liable under the act of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. The judgment, therefore, fell to be *arrested*; and the judgment was *arrested accordingly.*" Thus, then, this case is decided as I always said it must be, unless all semblance of law was banished from the land. Many people thought and said, that the conviction would be confirmed; but, I never thought so for a moment. Oh, no! The judges knew a great deal better than to do that!

suppose, that the present bill will not *provide against such traffic* by making it penal to be concerned in it. But, as I have shown above, men may go on with all *ready money* transactions, and, with perfect safety, make a *distinction* between paper and coin, which amounts to the same thing as *buying* and *selling* the coin or the paper. It will require but very little ingenuity to discover the means of so managing the matter that the landlord shall never see a shilling's worth of coin from the hands of the tenant.

But, suppose that the coin should not be permitted to be bought and sold; does any one believe, that any law will prevent a private traffic in the article? And, if that could be done, is any one mad enough to suppose, that the guinea will still circulate at par with the paper? Pass this bill, or any bill, that shall prevent men from passing the guinea for more than its nominal worth, and the consequence will be, that a guinea will never again be seen in circulation. Those who have them will keep them in their chests, waiting an occasion to export them, or more patiently waiting till circumstances have produced the repeal of the law which has driven the guinea into the board. The cause that we see no guineas now in common circulation, is, as I said before, that they cannot obtain their fair value. They would have been openly sold long enough ago, had there not been an opinion, that the traffic was punishable by law. Now that obstacle is removed; but, in all likelihood, another will be erected by the present bill. In that case the guineas will all either be hoarded or sent out of the country, and paper must and will be made to supply their place. The Dollars, the new things of three shillings and eighteen pence, now coming out from the Bank, will also be hoarded; and to notes for shillings and sixpences we must come, I am convinced, in the course of the year, if this bill pass; so that the bill, while it will be wholly inefficient for the purpose of arresting the progress of depreciation, will be efficient enough in producing a contrary effect.

The bill does not, the author of it says, make bank-notes a *legal tender*. It does not do it in words, but it appears to me to endeavour to do it in effect; and that being once done, all the usual consequences of a *legal tender* must follow. It was easy to see that the system would come to this pitch; there is nothing in the state to which we are come that ought to surprise any one; what has happened was to be expected, and was, indeed, long ago foretold; but, what might reasonably surprise one is, to hear this measure represented by the ministers as necessary to the *protection* of the *fundholder*. Can this be serious? Is it possible that they can be serious when they say this? If they are, nothing that they say or do can ever be a subject of wonder. Men, who are capable of believing that the bill of Lord Staunhope will operate as a *protection* to the *fundholder*, are capable.....

but, really, I want words to answer my purpose. Imagination can frame nothing that such men are not capable of in the way of belief. That the paper would, at last, become a *legal tender*, or *forced circulation*, it was easy to see. I did, indeed, for my own part, expect this state of the paper to be apparent long ago. The faith of this "*most thinking people*" I knew to be almost passing conception; but, still I did not think it adequate to the supporting of this paper-money for fourteen years after the issuers had ceased to pay in cash, and after they were protected by law against the demands of their creditors. It was, however, certain that the thing must come to this point at last; it was certain, that if the national debt and the taxes continued to increase, the time must come when landlords would see that they must either starve, or demand their rents in coin; and, whenever this time came, it was, as I have many times said, impossible to keep up the paper only for six months without making that paper a *legal tender*, which might eke out its existence, perhaps for a year or two, but which, in the end, must ensure its total destruction. I have several times been asked, what reason there was why landlords should not demand their rents in gold and silver, or in bank-notes to the amount of the gold and silver; and my answer has always been, that there was no reason at all against it now, but that there soon would be; for that the moment such demand was made, bank-notes would be made a *legal tender*. This was natural, and therefore the ministers are now doing just what I always expected they would do, whenever any landholder did what Lord King has now done; but, to hear them speak of it as a measure calculated to afford protection to the *fundholder* is what I never could have expected. They will see what sort of *protection* it will give him; and he will feel it! What will be his fate I shall not pretend to say; but I hope there is *justice* enough yet in the country, *real* justice enough to prevent him from perishing, while there exist the means of such prevention. I trust that his claims will meet with serious and patient consideration; that the question of *what is due* to him, and to *whom he ought to look for payment*, will be settled upon sound principles of equity. I am for giving real protection to the *fundholder*; but, to hear the ministers say that he is to meet with protection from a measure such as that now before Parliament, a measure that must inevitably accelerate the depreciation of the paper, is, surely, sufficient to fill one with surprise and dismay, if, at this day, and after all that we have seen, anything ought to produce such an effect in our minds.

On the 2d of July, a protest was entered in the House of Lords, against Lord STANHOPE'S bill, which protest I here insert. "Dis-sentient,—Because we think it the duty of this House to mark, in the first instance, with the most decided reprobation, a bill, which in our judgment manifestly leads

"to the introduction of laws, imposing upon the country the compulsory circulation of a paper currency; a measure fraught with injustice, destructive of all confidence in the legal security of contracts, and, as inveterable experience has shown, necessarily productive of the most fatal calamities:

GRENVILLE,
ESSEX,
LANSDOWNE,
COWPER,
JERSEY,
GREY,
KING,
LAUDERDALE.

"For the reason assigned on the other side, and because the repeal of the law for suspending Bank payments in cash, is in my judgment the only measure which can cure the inconveniences already felt, and avert the yet greater calamities which are impending from the present state of the circulation of the country. VASSALL HOLLAND."

In the protest of the eight peers I heartily concur; but I do not agree with Lord HOLLAND in his addition to it, if his Lordship means to say, that it is possible to resume cash-payments at the Bank. To pay the notes in gold upon demand, agreeably to the promise upon the face of the notes, is certainly the only cure for the inconveniences already felt, and the calamities now impending; but, that it is utterly impossible to adopt this cure is, to my mind, not less certain. His Lordship proceeds upon the notion of Mr. HORNER and the bullion committee, namely, that the cause of the depreciation consists in an excessive issue of paper, which is very true, if you compare the quantity of paper with that of the gold, or the real transactions of purchase and sale, between man and man; but, which is not true, if you compare the quantity of paper with the amount of the dividends payable on the national debt, and, I would beg leave to put, with sincere respect, this question to Lord HOLLAND: "If cash-payments were restored, and money, as must be the case, were restored to its former value, where does your Lordship think would be found the means of paying the dividends?"

It is impossible! The thing never can go back without combustion; no, not an inch; nay, and it must keep advancing. This very measure, by hastening the depreciation, will cause a new addition, and still larger than former additions, to the national debt, and of course to the dividends. Those additional dividends must be paid in an additional quantity of bank notes; and thus the system must go on, as PAINÉ foretold, with an accelerated velocity, until it can go on no longer. Having this opinion so firmly fixed in my mind, I was quite surprised to see the Marquis of LANSDOWNE endeavour to mend the bill of Lord STANHOPE by the introduction of a clause for prohibiting the Bank Company from augment-

ing the quantity of their paper after the passing of the bill. This shows that his Lordship has, what I deem to be, and which, I think, I have proved to be, a most erroneous view of the real cause of the depreciation. If he thought with me, that the cause is in the increase of the national debt and of the dividends, he would have proposed no such amendment as this.

As to the conduct of LORD KING, nothing could be more fair or more laudable. He wished to take no advantages of his tenants; he only wanted a fulfilment of his contract with them; and, as the spirit of the contract was more favourable to them than the letter, he abandoned the letter, and only required them to hold to the spirit. To hear him, therefore, charged with oppression, and by.....? But, it is as well to keep ourselves cool. Let others chafe and foam. And, if the House of Lords do choose thus to determine, why, all that I can say about the matter, is, that they are the best judges whether they stand in need of their rents, and, if they do not, I really do not see much harm in their giving them to their tenants; and, this act will be the more generous as they are about to do it by a law, so that the tenants will keep the rents without having to give the landlords even thanks in return. That such will be amongst the effects of the bill, if it pass, there can be no doubt; and, as far as it operates in this way, a most popular bill it will be. It will act as a distributor of wealth; of money, lands and tenements; for, to suppose that, in many cases, the tenants will not soon become the proprietors, is to discover but very little thought on the subject; and that, I am sure, would be a shame in a body of HEREDITARY LEGISLATORS in the "most thinking nation in the world." What a change this will make! Happy is the man who is a tenant! Much better off is he than the man who tills his own land; because the former has given nothing at all for his, whereas the latter has paid, at some time or other, purchase-money for what he possesses. The letting of long leases is out of fashion; but, in general, the lands of great proprietors are held upon lease, and these leases are not, upon an average, for less than seven years at the lowest. Some of these leases are nearly expired, of course, but, others will naturally be but just commenced. So that, the average time, for which the land is now let, I shall take at three years and a half. All the Duke of Bedford's estates, for instance, are let, then, for three years and a half yet to come. Now, if the paper depreciates three or four times as fast as it has hitherto done, the tenants of the Duke of Bedford will have a brave time of it for these three years and a half. But, if the bill, which is now before Parliament, should send down the paper to the state of the French assignats in 1794, what will, in that case, be the situation of the Duke of Bedford? There are many landlords who cannot hold out for three years and a half, and, who, therefore, must sell, in

whole or in part; but there will, indeed, be this convenience, that they will everywhere find a purchaser ready at hand in their tenant, and one, too, who will not only know the real value of the property, but who will have the money ready to pay for it. This is nothing in the way of a *joke*. I am in earnest; it is what I am convinced will take place, if the Bill of Lord Stanhope pass into a law; but, as I said before, if the Lords like it, nobody else can possibly have a right to interfere. They may surely do what they please with their own property. All that I wish to stipulate for is, that we Jacobins and Levellers shall never be accused of this act of distributing the lands and houses of the rich amongst those who are not rich; that we shall not be accused of this great act of *pulling down and raising up*. Hume remarked, that the funding system, in the space of 500 years, would cause the posterity of those now in the coaches, and of those upon the boxes, to change places; but if this Bill of Lord Stanhope pass, this change will be a thing of much quicker operation.

I shall be told, that *Lord King's example* would have operated even more quickly than this measure, in *destroying the paper*. Granted. It would, there is no doubt, have produced in a very short time, that which must have *totally destroyed the paper system, root and branch*, namely, TWO PRICES, against which, openly and generally adopted, no paper-money ever did, or ever can stand for any length of time. That that *example* would have been generally, nay, universally followed, there can be no doubt at all, for, no man voluntarily gives away his rents, or, rather, lets another withhold them from him. Some persons would have been a little shy at first; but, when they found that others did it, they would have got over their shyness, and the demand would have been universally made. Thus, then, the TWO PRICES would have been established; and the gold and silver, finding that they could pass current for their real worth, would have come forth from their hiding-places, some, while the rest would have hastened back from abroad. "Surely!" say you: "why then, are the Government alarmed?" at the effect of Lord King's example, if it "would bring back gold and silver into circulation?" Oh! there is good reason for their alarm; for, observe, THE TAXES WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PAID IN PAPER! When the tax-gatherer came to the door of one of you, for instance, you would, if you had only gold or silver in the house, beg him to call the next morning, or to sit down a bit, while you, with your gold, would go and purchase paper-money sufficient to pay him the amount of his demand! There needs no more to convince you that the Government has good reason for alarm at the prospect of seeing Lord King's example followed, as it assuredly would be, if there were no law to prevent it. In

short, that example would annihilate the paper system in a year.

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your friend,
WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Friday, 5. July, 1811.

DR. BLACK.

THIS man published (I have only just seen it upon coming to town), in his paper of last Saturday, an article *about me*, the *most lying* and the *most base* that ever yet came even from his at once viperous and stupid pen. I have no room for it in this *Register*; but, if I do not lash the vile tool for it, next week, as much as he *deserves*, it shall only be for want of the possibility of getting a whip heavy enough and sharp enough.

MR. WHITTLE.

THIS gentleman (to describe whom I need only say, that he is *precisely the contrary* of the subject of the foregoing article) has given up the editorship of the *Manchester Advertiser*, which his writings made the very best political newspaper in England; a step which I have heard of without surprise and without regret; and a step which I took the liberty to recommend to him long ago. In the conclusion of his "FAREWELL ADDRESS" he observes, that, rather than be induced to suppress his sentiments, he would return to that *plough* from which he started. "Plough!" No reflections, Mr. WHITTLE, I hope! If he had said, rather become a *stock-jobber*, a *roaring commissioner*, or a *pis-aller*, or an *exciseman upon a great scale*, as Wood, emphatically called "JOHN," is; if Mr. WHITTLE had said this, I should have understood him; but, to put "*the plough*" as an alternative merely preferable to a *hack-pen*, hurries my mind back to the smock-frock and nailed shoes, and rouses every drop of the plough-boy blood that continues to warm my veins. *Plough*, indeed! It is nothing but hard neces-

sity, "wayward fate," that has kept me from the plough so long, I can assure Mr. WHITLIE; and I am now pushing hard to get at it again. Why, Sir, we are ALL, we who are at anything else, *deserters* from the plough. God said to mankind: "there is ground, there are ploughs, use the latter on the former, "and bread and meat and flax and wool and leather and wood shall come; and you shall eat, drink, be clad and be lodged." So that this was the business of us all; and all who do not follow it are, in fact, *deserters*. My desertion has, God knows, been of too long duration; though remorse has induced me to make many attempts to return, and though I have, I must say, been thwarted by SIDMOUTH and others, in those conscientious attempts; but now for the rest of my life, I am resolved to return, and to adhere with fidelity to my native calling. You, Sir, are a young sinner, and may make atonement in a short time. Come, then; cast behind you the conceit, and presumption, and cant, that offer you, in return for their base gratification, the corrupting decanter and bed of down; come, and administer to the profitable wants of those more reasonable and more grateful animals, who, devoid of all false pretences, follow, without disguise, the dictates of nature, and repay your kindness and your care with their labour or their lives. "EDUCATION!" Look, I pray you, into LA MAISON RUSTIQUE, under the head of "Education DU CAÇON.".... But I have no time for any thing more now, other than to say, that I am proud to be thought

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A correspondent at OLDHAM asks me what "*La charrue, l'épée et la plume ne déroge pas*," means. I will tell him in my next Register; for it does not follow that *nobody* is to be book-learned, because it is worse than madness to compel people to give money to LORD MELBOURNE (*learned and bright as he*

is) that *he* may lay it out on school-masters and mistresses to teach those *same people's children*! Because this is far worse than madness, it does not follow that *no young man*, even if weaver, or ploughman, or carpenter, or other calling, is to learn French.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

J. S. GOOD, Woolwich, linen-draper.
GOULDEN, G., Liverpool, spirit-dealer.
LAWS, R. L., Greenwich, master-mariner.
OWLES, G., Great Yarmouth, grocer.
SOUTHALL, G., and W. Milnes, Pedlar's-acre-wharf, Lambeth, coal-merchants.
STORER, J., Manchester, grocer.
TINGLE, T., Sheffield, ironfounder.
WRIGHT, P., High-street, St. Giles, book-seller.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

CORNES, J., jun., Nantwich, timber-merchant.
DODD, T., Coventry, ribband-manufacturer.
EMERSON, E., and B. Fenwick, Stella, Durham, ironfounders.
HAMMOND, C., Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars-road, Italian-warehouseman.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 23.—The arrivals of Wheat fresh up to this morning's market were liberal from Kent, and moderate from other counties. These supplies, however, added to the parcels left over from last week, caused the stands to be well filled. The quality was generally inferior, and the market being very thinly attended by millers and dealers, the trade ruled extremely dull, and though selected lots were held at as much money as last Monday, yet all other descriptions were 1s. to 2s. cheaper, and at this decline the clearance effected was very limited. Old Wheat supported its former currency. In bonded Corn nothing transpiring.

We had a fair show of new Barley, principally from Kent, but the quality still proving thin, though the condition good, the range of prices did not exceed 34s. to 36s.; and 37s. to 39s. for prime lots. Old Barley was quite as dear, and sales were made at about 29s. We heard of little inquiry for the article in bond.

Malt dull, and prices nominally the same.
Rye was in less demand.

Oats were in good supply, and experienced a dull and languid sale at barely so good prices as this day week.

Having an increased supply of new Beans, and hardly any demand, both old and new qualities might have been purchased at a decline of 1s. to 2s.

White boiling Peas met a brisk inquiry, and the supplies being short, the article advanced full 2s. per qr. and must be noted at 48s.; an extra fine parcel having even realized 50s. Maple were firm, and 1s. better than last Monday. In gray no alteration.

Flour has at length been acted upon by the continued depression in the price of Wheat, and though the future currency was not definitively arranged amongst the leading millers, yet it was generally understood that the top quotation would settle down to 50s. at the close of the market, prices bring 48s. to 50s. for town made. Irish, 40s. to 42s.

Wheat	58s. to 64s.
Rye	30s. to 32s.
Barley	26s. to 30s.
fine	30s. to 38s.
Peas, White	36s. to 39s.
Boilers	42s. to 50s.
Grey	34s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
Tick	33s. to 36s.
Oats, Potato	25s. to 26s.
Feed	19s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	102s. to 106s.
Mess, new ...	56s. to 62s. 6d. per barrel
Butter, Belfast	76s. to 79s. per cwt.
Carlow	76s. to 80s.
Cork	75s. to 76s.
Limerick ..	75s. to 76s.
Waterford ..	73s. to 76s.
Dublin	72s. to 74s.

SMITHFIELD, September 23.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather numerous; but, like that of most others for several weeks, we might say months, past, in great part of middling and inferior quality; the supply of each kind of small stock moderately good. With prime small Pork, trade was somewhat brisk, at fully, with large Pork, as also Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, very dull at barely Friday's quotations; with Beef at a depression of full 2d. per stone.

Full five-sixths of the Beasts—the primest of which, as is invariably the case from the coming into season of grass-fed Beasts, till the great Christmas market, were from our northern grazing districts—consisted of about equal numbers of short-horns, Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts,—giving, if any difference, the numerical pre-

ponderance to the former; and the remaining sixth of Scots, with a few Norfolk homebreds, with, perhaps, 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c., chiefly, say about 2,500 of them, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire; with about 200 from the London marshes; a few from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and our western and midland districts.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs, and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few old Lincolnas, horned and polled Norfolk, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Full seven-eighths of the Lambs were new Leicesters, chiefly of the Downish cross, and South Downs; the remaining eighth Dorsets, with a few Kents, Kentish half breeds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 27.

The arrivals moderate, and the prices without alteration.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	88½	88½	88½	88½	88½	88½

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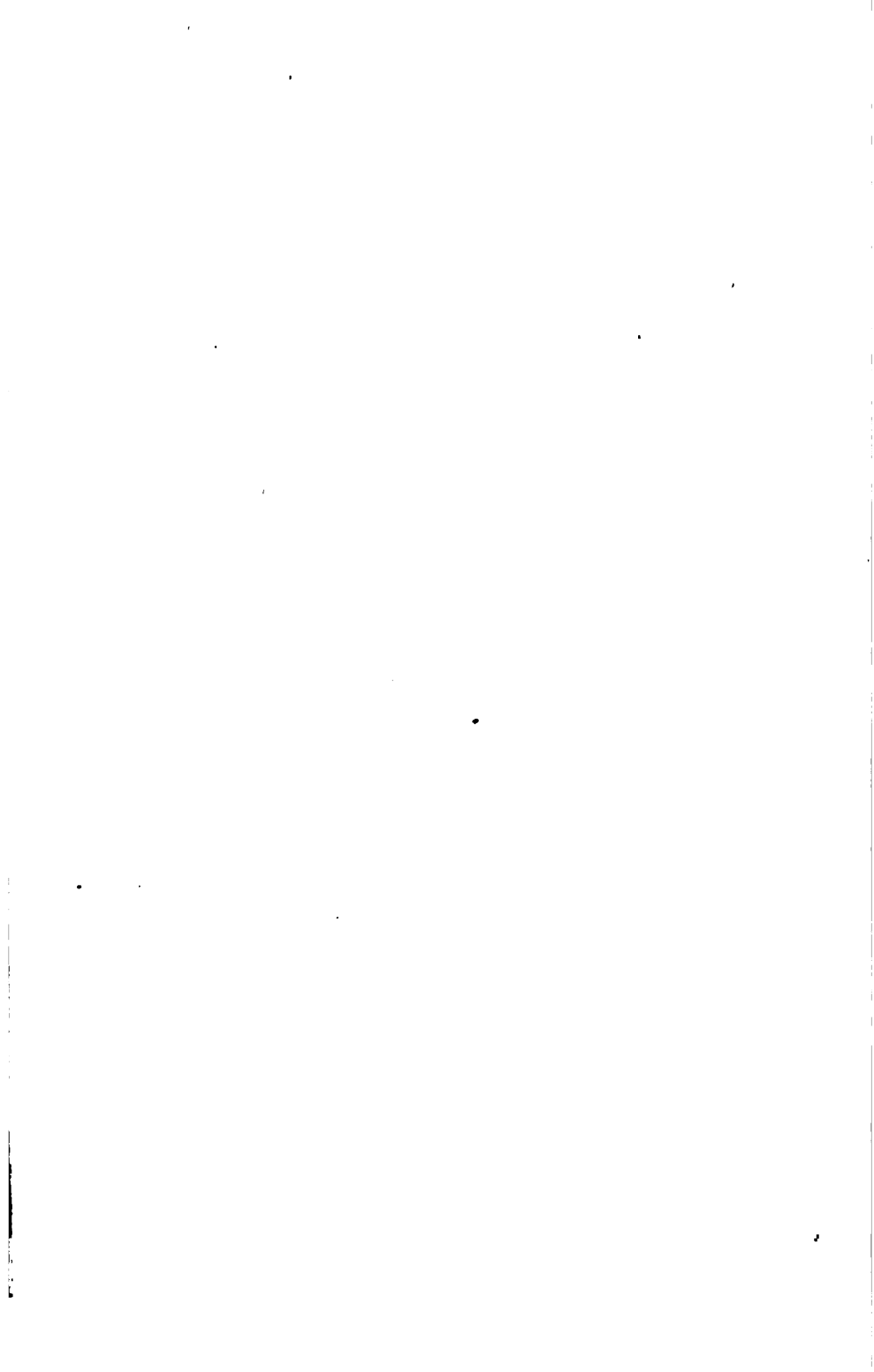
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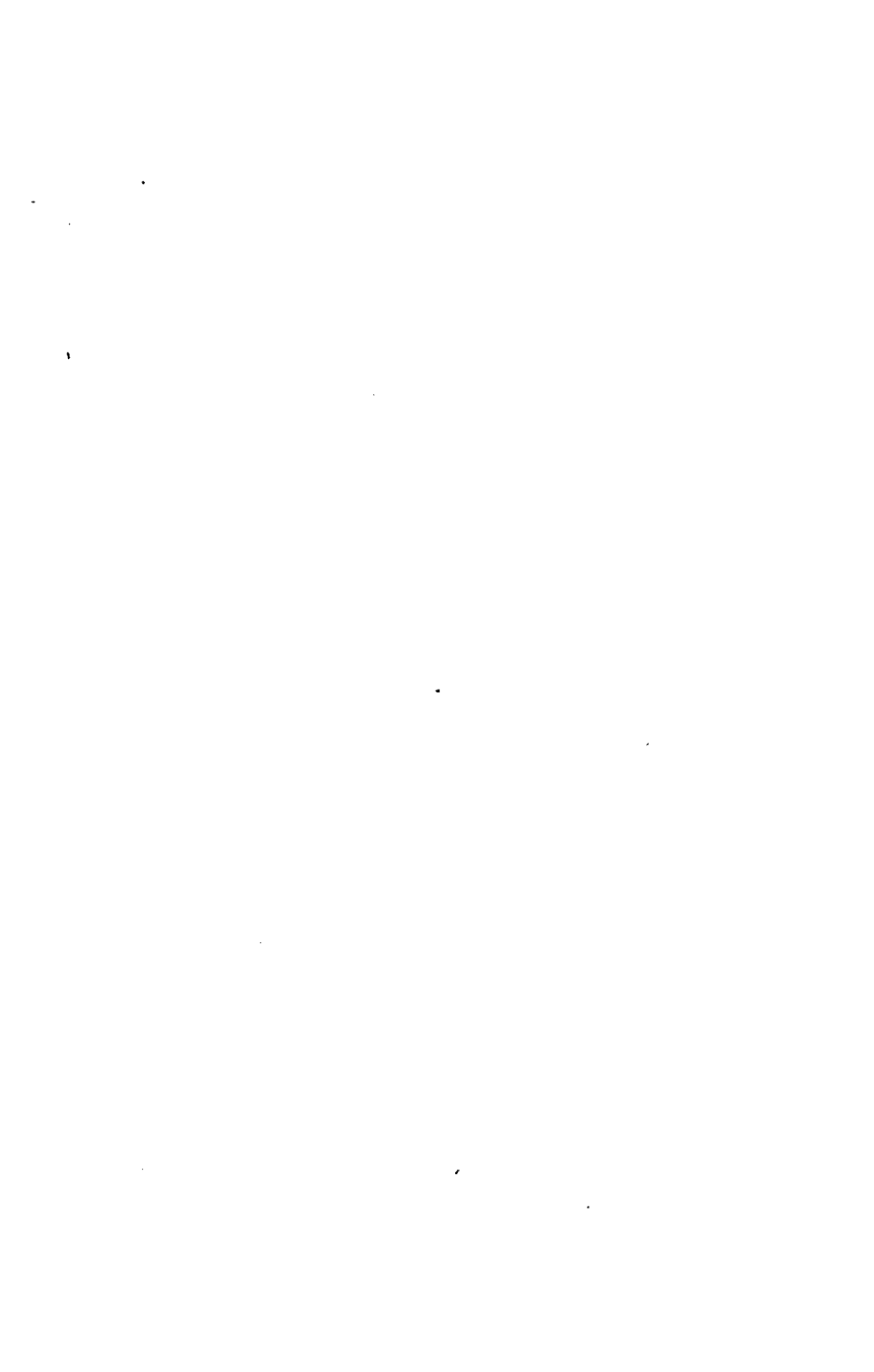
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